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THE
HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES
OF THE
CITY OF BOSTON;
vol. 1. ✓
THE

CAPITAL OF MASSACHUSETTS AND METROPOLIS OF NEW ENGLAND.

FROM ITS SETTLEMENT IN 1630 TO THE YEAR 1670.

WITH NOTES, HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL.

ALSO,

AN INTRODUCTORY HISTORY OF THE DISCOVERY AND
SETTLEMENT OF NEW ENGLAND.

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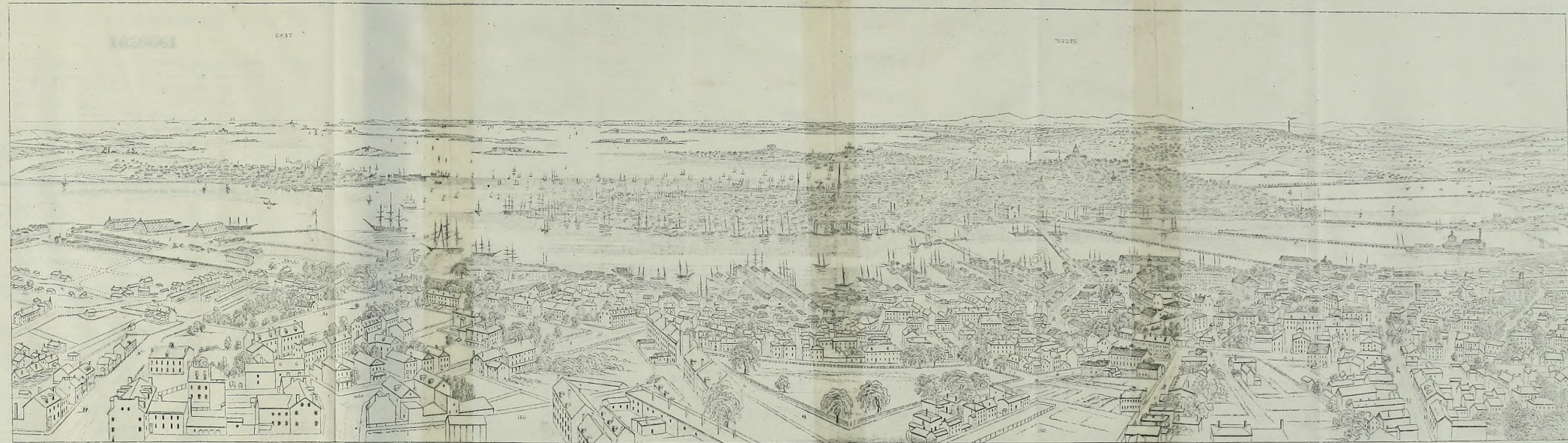
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TO THE READER.

THE Author of THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF BOSTON, though he does not feel called upon to apologize at this stage of his work, he would however respectfully observe to its Patrons, that while he has bestowed very great labor and attention upon it, and used all the care and diligence at his command to make it strictly and literally correct, he has had too much experience in this kind of labor to presume that he has not sometimes erred. At the same time he assures all those interested in the work, that he will be very grateful to them if they will communicate to him any discrepancies they may discover. To those friends who have called his attention to typographical or other mistakes, he feels greatly obliged.

It has been the Author's aim to be concise and direct in his language, and to treat his subject in the most perspicuous manner; employing always as few words as was consistent with these requisites. However, should there be faults in these particulars,—and there may be many,—the candid Reader will readily pardon them, when he is assured, that the many pressing duties of the Author have not allowed him *to rewrite a single page of his work*, from its commencement.

N. B.—Another volume will be issued with as much despatch as the nature of the subject and the avocations of the Author will allow.

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P R E F A C E .



THE History and Antiquities of Boston, to the year 1770, is now completed, and must abide the judgment of posterity. Whatever that judgment may be, the writer will rest conscious of having performed a service which will prove of some value to those who desire to obtain a knowledge of the rise and progress of the Metropolis of New England.

Although above five-and-twenty years have passed since the author began to collect materials for the work, it is but a few years since he determined to draw up a history from them, never before having found a proper time to devote to it. At length, after some changes of circumstances not necessary to be detailed, he was induced, partly through the influence of friends in whose judgment he had much confidence, to enter upon the composition of the work.

About four years ago, application was made to the writer to edit an edition of the work of Dr. Caleb H. Snow, and arrangements were accordingly entered into with a bookseller for that purpose; but, on a cursory examination of the work, it was found to be very far from such a history of the City as ought to be expected at the present day, and that it could not be made at all satisfactory, even by encumbering it with very extensive annotations, owing to the great chasms in the original text. This being represented to the undertaker, he at once changed his plan, and a new History was determined upon. The result is at length before the public, or that part of it previous to, and including a portion of, the year 1770.

As unthankful and unprofitable as the task of a local historian is, he cannot always escape the envy of sordid and narrow minds. Even John Stow, the famous Chronicler of England, had his envious traducers; but it is pleasant to reflect, that, while their names are quite forgotten, that of Stow is becoming more and more renowned

and resplendent. Those who would monopolize all knowledge seldom excel in any of its departments, though they may shine for a time with the borrowed lustre of others. Stow was not deterred by threats and intimidations from occupying ground open to all. Had he been, the world would have been deprived of one of its greatest antiquarian treasures.

The author of the *History and Antiquities of Boston* hopes to fare no worse than did his ancient brother, the Chronicler of London, who had the *privilege* of dying in poverty, notwithstanding "James, by the grace of God," gave him high-sounding "Letters Patent," allowing him ("then on the verge of his 80th year") *to sell as many of his books as he could!* Fortunately, in the present undertaking, no "Letters Patent" are necessary to give permission to the author or publisher to dispose of his work.

How many persons have had it in contemplation to write a History of Boston is unknown to the author; but the only one, probably, who, within the last thirty years, has seriously thought of it, was Mr. Alonzo Lewis. That gentleman was very competent for the task, and had he been at liberty to prosecute it, agreeably to his announcement about twenty-five years ago, it would have rendered this undertaking unnecessary.

Respecting those persons who have specially aided the author, by the loan of documents, suggestions, or otherwise, it is very difficult to speak without incurring the charge of partiality, and he would therefore observe that nothing can be further from his intention than to give the slightest ground for such a charge. Several of the gentlemen hereafter named, having, perhaps, too much confidence in the author's ability for the undertaking, strongly recommended to him the preparation of a new work, instead of spending time upon one necessarily very defective, and which could not be made such a History of Boston as the present time required. These were honest convictions and valid arguments, the author acknowledged, and all without any intention of disparagement to the works which had hitherto appeared upon the historical and descriptive condition of the City; those works being presumed to have been all that the times would warrant in which they were produced.

The names of several of the gentlemen to whom allusion has been made, as encouragers of this work, the author does not feel at liberty to omit, namely, William Whiting, Esq., President of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society; the Hon. Timothy Farrar, Vice-President of the same society; the Hon. Francis Brinley,

Recording Secretary of the same ; Mr. John Dean, its Treasurer ; Hon. George S. Hillard, Frederic Kidder, Esq., Mr. John W. Parker of Roxbury ; the Hon. David Sears, Mr. John F. Eliot, Mr. Edward Tuckerman, Mr. William B. Trask, Dr. William Jenks, Dr. Charles Lowell, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, Esq., T. L. Turner, M.D., Mr. James S. Loring, and William G. Brooks, Esq. From these, and likewise from many others, much kindness has been received in various ways ; and, for their approval and commendation of the work from time to time, as portions of it have appeared, the author tenders to them, one and all, his unfeigned gratitude. To one of those above named, however, a more special acknowledgment is due, namely, to Mr. John Dean, by whose quick perceptions and ready memory the author has been much benefited throughout his labors. The valuable aid of the friends referred to, although in almost every instance tendered unsolicited, is not the less appreciated by the author. Nor should the laborious services of Mr. Isaac Child, upon the extensive Index to this work, be passed over without particular acknowledgment.

As the work has appeared in parts, or numbers, it may be of use to specify the time of the appearance of those parts, in the event that questions may arise as to the work in which certain facts first appeared. The following statement is therefore given, which can easily be verified by the books of the publisher : Part I., including pages 1 to 48, was issued Sept. 1st, 1852 ; pages 49 to 96, Jan. 6th, 1853 ; 97 to 144, March 22d, 1853 ; 145 to 192, May 26th, 1853 ; 193 to 240, July 25th, 1853 ; 241 to 288, Sept. 23d, 1853 ; 289 to 336, Dec. 10th, 1853 ; 337 to 384, March 17th, 1854 ; 385 to 432, June 13th, 1854 ; 433 to 480, Sept. 18th, 1854 ; 481 to 528, Dec. 12th, 1854 ; 529 to 576, March 13th, 1855 ; 577 to 624, June 11th, 1855 ; 625 to 672, Nov. 14th, 1855 ; 673 to 720, Feb. 11th, 1856 ; 721 to 768, April 2d, 1856.

Some account of the materials used in compiling the work may be expected ; but, as justice cannot be done to that subject within the compass of a Preface, it is thought best to pass it by with only a remark or two. The Town Records, from the time of their commencement in 1634, are the most important, being full and perfect from that date to the present time. To these the author has had free access, granted, in the most obliging manner, by the Mayors of the City for the time being, the City Clerk, and others connected with his office. Beyond the Records in the keeping of the City Clerk, and the author's own collections, very little assistance has been received

besides that for which due acknowledgment is given in the notes to the work.

It will readily be perceived that to give an account of the materials consulted by the author, which have been collected by him through a period of more than a quarter of a century, would be a task not easily performed. As one item, however, his series of pamphlets may be mentioned. These alone number above five thousand, consisting of Town and City Documents, Reports of Societies, Historical Discourses, Hand-Bills, and, in short, everything of a fugitive character, which might in any way illustrate the History of the Town and City. To these, and a large collection of Newspapers, which have been laboriously consulted, the author is much indebted.

Respecting the works of the late Dr. Snow, printed and manuscript, put into the author's hands by the original undertaker, it is proper to remark that, having laid aside the plan of a new edition of that author's History of Boston, those materials have been of but very little service in this work.

The author has been earnestly urged by numerous friends to continue his work to the present time, and his inclination is to do so; but, as yet, no definite arrangement has been made for that purpose. It may be said to be in the hands of the public. An immense outlay has been made to produce the present volume, for which no adequate return has yet been realized. To bring the History down to near the present time, another volume of the same size as the present would be required, the materials for which are abundant.

As the work has been upwards of three years in passing through the press, some of its patrons may have become impatient to see the end of it, and some may have been misinformed as to the time it would take to complete it. It is therefore proper to state that no time for its completion was set, nor could it be with any degree of certainty. This it is thought necessary to bear in mind, because some of the agents engaged in its distribution may have made promises without any authority.

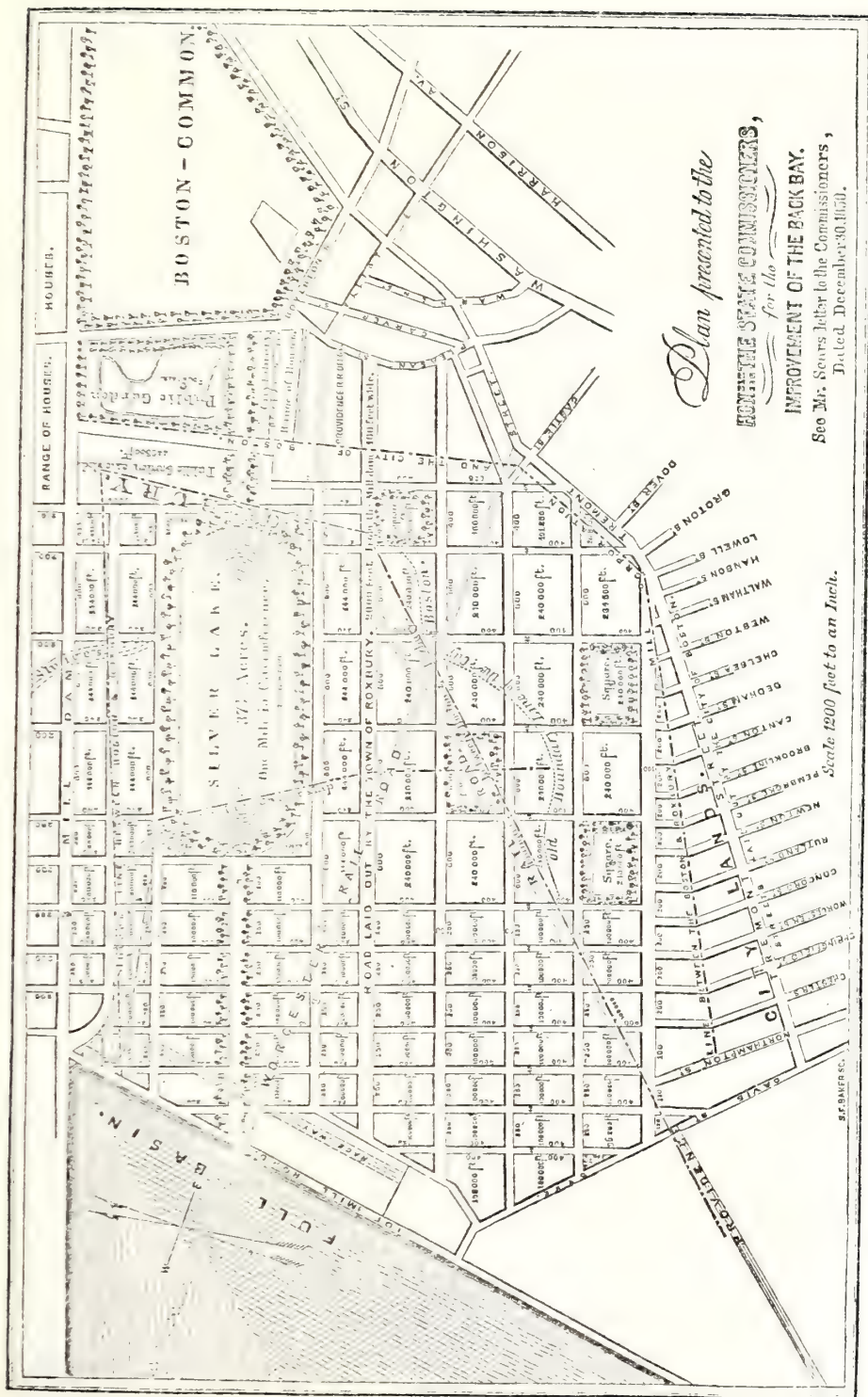
In presenting the History and Antiquities of Boston to the public, the author is far from presuming that it will be found perfect. All he pretends is, that he has endeavored to make it as near so as the nature of the undertaking, and the limits prescribed, allowed. He is well aware that numerous facts exist of much interest, of which notice could not be taken, notwithstanding there may be those who will wonder that so much has been found, and others may be disposed to complain of the unwieldy size of the volume. To them it may be

said that the increase in the size of the Histories has not kept pace with the growth of the City, and that it cannot be doubted, but, by the end of another quarter of a century, one will be required much larger than the present. Most readers of local history of the present age are not satisfied with general statements; they want minute details, those which will bring scenes and events home to their minds, and awaken associations enlivened by their own experience.

As it respects the commission of errors, the author would expressly state that he is well aware that many exist in his work; and that, however many, others may detect, he feels quite sure that no one can discover as many as himself. But, at the same time, he believes his work to be quite as free from them as any other historical work of the same magnitude. There are those who sometimes acquire among the superficial a reputation for knowledge and accuracy by carping at every error, or supposed error, pointed out to them in works of this kind; while the same individual could not produce a single octavo page without such blemishes. Who ever saw a perfect book,—one free from errors? Curious stories are told about immaculate typography and amateur printers. Dr. Cotton Mather, in his *Magnalia*, has some very good hints for those who would have it understood that errors in a book are unpardonable sins.

It may incur the charge of vanity for an author to append to his name his honors or titles; but if a long period of labor in historical fields can be any excuse, that may be offered in this instance; for it is above thirty years since the writer commenced his historical and antiquarian labors, and he has now reached the fifty-seventh of his age. This may be considered an unnecessary apology for adopting an ancient custom, especially as there are some instances, at the present time, of ostentatious displays of this kind to names in works to which even a claim to editorship may be questionable.

Saml G. Drake



Plan presented to the
ENGINEERING STATE COMMISSIONERS,
for the
IMPROVEMENT OF THE BACK BAY.
 See Mr. Sewers letter to the Commissioners,
 Dated, December 30, 1871.

Scale 1200 feet to an Inch.

W. C. DAVENPORT, JR.

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WEST



THE HISTORY OF BOSTON.

CHAPTER I.

Boston, the Metropolis of a vast Country. — Events which led to its Settlement. — Cabot's Discoveries — Influence of Columbus. — Spanish and French Enterprise. — Cortereal. — Aubert. — Verazzani's Discoveries — Their Importance. — Cartier. — DeMont's Discoveries. — Hawkins. — Hoare. — Froisher. — Hakluyt. — Robert Thorn. — School of Discovery. — Overthrow of the Spanish Armada. — English Energy transferred to America.

The vast tract of country, of which Boston is the most important place or metropolis, if New York be excepted, seems first* to have been known to the French with far greater accuracy than to the people of any other European nation. It is true the Cabots† were before the French in the American seas, in point of time, or the seas of this New World, (for it was before Americus had conferred his name upon the continent), but there is no evidence that they ever landed anywhere on the North American coast, although it is probably true that Sebastian Cabot, in his voyage of 1498, by some



SHIP OF 1594.

means not now known, secured two or three of the natives of the northern parts, supposed to be Newfoundland, whom he conveyed to England.§

Upon Cabot's discoveries, it may gratify the curious reader to see a

* It requires more credulity, in the opinion of the writer, than a historian should be possessed of, to recount in his text the vague stories of the discoveries and possessions of the Scandinavians or Northmen along the shores of New England. If they deserve notice anywhere, it should not be in a work of higher pretensions than one which might be well entitled "Speculative History."

† In 1497, John Cabot and his son Sebastian, at their own expense, discovered land far to the north. Neither Columbus nor Vesputius had yet seen North America. Thus did this voyage of the Cabots give England its original claim to the New World, such as it was. But it was in a second voyage that Sebastian Cabot ranged this coast from about 57° north, to the latitude of the "Fretum Herculeum," according to Peter Martyr; that is, to about 26° N. lat. See, also,

Stow's Chronicle, 805, ed. 1600; or p. 480, ed. 1631.

‡ This is a perfectly correct representation of an armed ship of the armada age, as published in Blundeville's treatise on "Navigation," 4to 1594.

§ Lord Bacon, at the end of his "History of the Reign of Henry the Seventh," devotes two pages to "The Remarkable Occurrences" in that reign. "This year, the seventeenth of this king's reign [which chronology is erroneous], Sebastian Cabot brought three Indians in to England. They were clothed in beasts' skins, and eat raw flesh. Two of them were seen two years after, dressed like Englishmen, and not to be distinguished from them." See, also, Purchas, 738, ed. 1614. Robert Fabian in Hakluyt, 515, ed. 1589. Works, Hakluyt Soc for 1859, p. 23.

few other particulars in this place ; they therefore follow, as Sebastian



SEBASTIAN CABOT.

himself related them : * “ When my father,” he writes, “ departed from Venice many yeeres since to dwell in England, to follow the trade of merchandizes, he tooke me with him to the cite of London, while I was very yong, yet hauing, neuerthelesse, some knowledge of letters, of humanity, and of the sphere.† And when my father died in that time when newes were brought that *Don Christofer Colonus Genuese* [*Columbus*] had discovered the coasts of India, whereof was great talke in all the court of king Henry the Seventh, who then raigned, inso-

much that all men with great admiration affirmed it to bee a thing more diuine, than humane, to saile by the West into the East where spices growe, by a way that was neuer known before ; by this fame and report there increased in my heart a great flame of desire to attempt some notable thing. And vnderstanding by reason of the Sphere, that if I should saile by way of the Northwest winde, I should by a shorter tract come into India, I thereupon caused the king to be aduertised of my deuise, who immediatly commaunded two Caruels‡ to bee furnished with all things appertaining to the voiage, which was, as farre as I remember, in the yeere 1496, in the begining of Sommer. § I began therefore to saile toward the Northwest, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turne towards India, but after certaine dayes I found that the land ranne towards the North, which was to me a great displeasure. Neuerthelesse, sailing along the coast to see if I could find any gulfe that turned, I found the land still continued to the 56 deg. vnder our pole. And seeing that there the coast turned toward the East, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land towards the Equinoc-tiall (ever with intent to find the said passage to India), and came to

* To Galeacius Butrigarius, the Pope's Legate in Spain, in *Hakluyt*, 512, ed. 1589. But it must be borne in mind that the passage extracted in the text is somewhat erroneous in several particulars, but not affecting our purpose. See *Biddle's Mem. of Sebastian Cabot*, ch. i. *Hakluyt* appears to have copied from an exceptional translation of Ramusio.

† Thomas Lanquet, in his *Chronicle*, says, Sebastian Cabot, son of a Genoese, born in Bristol, professing knowledge in the circuit of the earth, was sent from Bristol, to discover strange countryes, and he fyrste founde out

Newfoundlande in 1498. — *Barrett's Hist. of Bristol*, 172.

‡ Caravel or Carvel, a kind of light, round ship, with a square poop, rigged and fitted out like a galley, holding about six score or seren score tun : These are accounted the best sailers on the sea, and much used by the Portugueses. — *Phillips and Kersey's World of Words*.

§ “ In the year 1498, on St. John's day,” as it is in a manuscript in my possession, “ was Newfoundland found by Bristol men, in a ship called the *Matthew*.” — *Barrett's Hist. of Bristol*, 172.

that part of this firme land which is now called Florida,* where my victuallers sailing, I departed from thence and returned into England, where I found great tumults among the people, and preparation for warres in Scotland: by reason whereof there was no more consideration had to this voyage."

In another account† it is said that "one Sebastian Cabot with three hundred men directed his course so farre toward the North Pole,‡ that even in the mooneth of July he founde monstrous heapes of Ice, swimming on the Sea, and in a manner continual day lyght." "Thus seying suche heapes of Ice before him, he was enforced to tourne his sayles."

It is even doubtful whether Cabot saw any of the promontories on the coast of what is now New England,§ and all that can be gathered with certainty is that he did sail along the coast to a point not far from Roanoke Inlet, and then bore away for England. Nevertheless he gave the name Baccalaos|| to the country along which he sailed, "because that in the seas thereabout hee found so great multitudes of certaine bigge fishes much like unto Tunnies (which the inhabitants call Baccalaos), that they sometimes stayed his shippes."

From this notice of Cabot, it is evident that the expeditions of Columbus had kindled "a great flame" for discoveries in England, and not only in England but likewise in France, as will appear. Owing, however, to intestine wars and commotions, little was done for many years by any of the English nation; yet the French and Spaniards were not idle in the mean time, and the Portuguese took some part in western discoveries. One, of the nation last named, Gaspar Cortereal, in the year 1500, visited all the coast of Newfoundland, and a considerable part of Labrador. But he** did little more than Cabot, and in a second voyage he was lost, as was his brother in an attempt to find him.

In 1508, Thomas Aubert, of Dieppe, made a voyage to Newfoundland, and was the first European who sailed up the St. Lawrence. On his return to France, he carried thither several of the Indians, which were the first ever seen in that country.

* The limits of Florida must not be considered as they have since existed. The northern boundary was not defined for several ages. It suited the parallel cutting Roanoke Inlet, and the straits of Gibraltar.

† Martyr's *Decades*, chap. vi. Dec. 3, as trans. by Lok. — *Hakluyt*, v. 232-3, ed. 1812.

‡ Until he came, the 11 of June, 1498, to the septentrional latitude of 67½ degrees, and finding the seas still open, said, that he might and would have gone to Cataia, if the enimity of the master and mariners had not bene. — *Stowes, Chronicle*, 805, ed. 1600, or p. 480, ed. 1631. "There is a strong presumption in favor of Cabot's having actually discovered Hudson's Straits, and gained the 67th degree, through Fox's Channel." — *J. Winter Jones, in Works of Hakluyt Soc.*

§ Ils reconnurent l'isle de Terre-Neuve et une partie du continent voisin. On ajoute même qu'ils ramenerent à Londres quatre sauvages de ces contrées; mais de bons auteurs ont écrit qu'ils n'avoient débarqué en aucun endroit, ni de l'isle, ni du continent. — *Charlevoix, Histoire Gen. Nouv. France*, i. 4, ed. 6 T. 123.

|| The Baccalaos are certaine Iles lying against the influx of Canada, nigh unto Corterialis, and owe their first discovery unto Sebastian Cabot. — *Heylyn's Mikrokosmos*, 805, ed. 1631.

** A la verité on ne scauroit nier qu'il n'ait mis pied à terre en plusieurs endroits, et imposé des noms, dont quelques-uns subsistent encore. — *Charlevoix*, i. 4. And the same may be said at this day, as it regards the names of places.

The next voyage of importance to that of Cabot was performed by John Verazzani, by birth a Florentine. He was in the employ of Francis I., who fitted him out in 1523,



JOHN VERAZZANI.

and the following year, as he himself related to his master,* as follows: On "the 17 of January, by the grace of God, wee departed from the dishabited Rocke by the Isle of Madera, with fiftie men, well provided for eight moneths: And sayling westwards with a faire Easterly winde, in 25 dayes wee ranne 500 leagues, and the 20 of Februarie we were ouertaken with as sharpe and terrible a tempest as euer any saylers suffered: whereof with y^e diuine helpe and mercifull assistance of Almightye God, and the goodnesse

of our ship, accompaied with the good hap of her fortunate name,† wee were deliuered, and with a prosperous wind followed our course West and by North, and in other 25 dayes wee made aboue 400 leagues more: where we discovered a newe land, neuer before seen of any man, either ancient or moderne."

This "newe land" was, very probably, no other than the coast of South Carolina. Verazzani hove his little ship to, had intercourse with the natives, and was delighted with the country; and, after "seeking some convenient harbrough whereby to come a lande," and finding none, he lay along the coast southward, "fiftie leagues in vaine." The Dolphin was then headed to the north, and by July he had looked all along upon the coast of New England, and attained the 50th degree of northern latitude. Thence he returned to France.‡

Verazzani probably saw nothing of the land of Massachusetts, except its promontories, and possibly some of the hills of its more interior parts, yet no other European had seen as much, nor had any Englishman then set foot on any part of it.

That part of the continent discovered during this voyage was called *Norumbega*,§ which name has since been applied, sometimes to a cer-

* *Divers Voyages*, in *Works*, Hakluyt Soc., 55-6.

† Which name "happened" to be the Dolphin.

‡ In the fancy of some modern writers, Verazzani is made to look miserly for mineral wealth upon the hill-tops of New Jersey, and to be struck with the conveniences of the harbor of New York: and, although he lay at anchor many days in the harbor of Newport, nothing is said about his having even seen the wonder of the place — the "stone mill."

§ Or *Nurumbega*, as appears by the following passages, from a piece entitled "*Discorso*

d'un gran Capitano di Mare Francese," inserted by Ramusio in his Collection, vol. iii., p. 425, edit. 1565: "Della terra di *Norumbega*."

... "La terra è dette da paesani suoi *Nurumbega*," etc. According to Michael Lok's map, and also that of Ortelius and some other geographers, *Nurumbega* comprised the district between the river and gulf of St. Lawrence and the Hudson River. Claverius, however, in his *Introductio ad Universam Geographiam*, p. 552, Amstel. 1697, says: "Pars tamen ejus [Nova Francia], *quo ad mare accedit* *Norumbega* ab urbe cognomine dicta." And this cor-

tain tract of country now included in Maine, and sometimes to another in that region, by which writers about it have confused themselves as well as their readers. Fishermen and traders to those parts, in after years, had probably heard something of a place called Norumbega, and may have confined it to a much smaller tract of country than it originally included, while in reality it embraced all New England.*

It is necessary, in the next place, to notice the three voyages of Cartier, performed between the years 1534 and 1541. From the time of these voyages a constant intercourse appears to have been kept up between Europe and America. James Cartier performed a great service by these voyages. He led the way into the heart of Norumbega, by ascending the St. Lawrence to Hochelaga, to which he gave the name of Montreal. He spent the winter of 1535-6 in Canada, and returned to France in the spring. He returned again, and spent another winter in Canada, in the service of Roberval, who had made vast outlays to establish a colony in New France; but the severe winters and the provoked Indians had probably not a very inconsiderable effect in bringing to an end the hopes and lofty projects of a nobleman of the mild and sunny fields of France.



JAMES CARTIER.

Indeed, proof is abundant that, from near the time of Cabot's voyage, numerous vessels were upon the coast of New England continually. In 1527, an English captain found, in the harbor of St. John, Newfoundland, eleven sail of Normans, one Breton, and two Portuguese, engaged in the fishery.† In 1585, Queen Elizabeth sent some of her ships of

response with the map in Ramusio (vol. iii., p. 424, edit. 1555), where Norumbega appears to comprise the southern portion of that district, from Long Island Sound to the Bay of Fundy. — *J. Winter Jones in Works of Hak. Soc.*

* On Dr. Peter Heylyn's exceeding rude map of America, dated 1656, "Norumbega" is the first name north of Cape Cod; but whether intended for the Massachusetts Bay, or the country from this cape to the Bay of Fundy, there is nothing to certify. But in his *Mikrokosmos*, before cited, he describes *Norumbega*, as having "on the north *Nova Francia*, on the south *Virginia*. . . . The chiefe towne is called *Norumbega*, and is possessed by the French." p. 786. There is a "Mappe of the World" in a copy of *Boterus Relations of the World*, 1630, in my possession, on which "New France" extends

north from the parallel of 40°. north latitude, to "New England," which extends south from 50° north; and *Virginia* extends from 40° north latitude to the peninsula of Florida. In his work, p. 62, he says, "America Septentrionalis contains the Provinces of *Estotilandt*, *Terra de Labrador*, *Terra de Baccaleos*, *Nova Francia*, *Norimbega*, *Florida*, *Nova Hispania*, and others;" saying nothing of New England in this connection. But near the end of his book, p. 636, he says: "The Northerne parts of *Virginia* be called *New England*, better discovered and inhabited. Both Plantations have severall Townes and forts of the English upon them."

† *Hall & Grafton's Chronicle*, as cited by *Purchas*, 747, ed. 1614.

war into the New England seas, to drive away vessels which might be found fishing here, contrary to the rights of her subjects. Many were found, and some were captured and carried prisoners into England. Ten years before this, one hundred and fifty French vessels were at Newfoundland in a season; and, in 1604, a man named Savalet, an old mariner who frequented Canseau, had made no less than forty-two voyages to those parts.*

Had the French maintained their claim to Norumbega, Boston would have been a French, instead of an English town. They, indeed, claimed it. In 1605, De Monts explored all the coast of New England, from its northern limit to Cape Cod. No minute description remains of his explorations, and if he looked as far into Massachusetts Bay as the peninsula of Shawmut, no account of it has been found. Three years afterwards, De Monts sent over three ships with families, and, under the conduct of Champlain, they effected the first permanent settlement in Canada, at a place called Quebec by the Indians; ever since the capital of the province.

From the expeditions of the Cabots, to the actual colonization of Canada and Virginia, the voyages of the English to the northern coasts of America were much less frequent than those of the French. But the nature of their situation would not admit of their remaining idle, without the natural incentive of rivalry. As early as 1530, Capt. William Hawkins,† of Plymouth, father of Sir John Hawkins, sailed to and from Brazil. One bold enterprise stimulated the undertaking of others; and "Master Hore, of London," may have naturally enough said, "If Hawkins can go to Brazill, I can go to Newfoundland." This he undertook to do in 1536; being "a man of goodly stature and of great courage and giuen to the studie of cosmographie."‡ This voyage, so

*There was a port named *Savalet*, for this French captain. De Monts probably gave the name in honor of him; he having fallen in with him in his progress southward. See *Purchas*, 751. Another port was named *Rossignol*, that being the name of an unfortunate captain whose ship was confiscated for trading with the Indians. "A poore preferment," says *Purchas*, "to leave name to a port by his miserie." A harbor and a lake still bear his name; the former on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, to the south-west of L'Have; the latter in the interior of the same province, little known, except to the Indians seventy years ago.

†He was the first Englishman who made a voyage to Brazil. His wife was Joan, daughter of William Trelawney, Esq., of Cornwall. Their son, the celebrated Sir John Hawkins, had a monument erected to his memory by his widow, Margaret, in St. Dunstan's Church, London, "with a large inscription, giving an account of his life and death." He had lived in the parish connected with this church "at least thirty years."—*Magna Britannia*, iii. 85-6.—A copy of this exceedingly rare and valuable work is in the library of the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Soc.—Six volumes 4to.

‡It may not be unworthy of remark, that,

among the names of the "divers gentlemen" whom Master Hore "encouraged to accompany him," are recognized several of those which have always been prominent in New England. Although Master Hore's company "were about six score persons, whereof 30 were gentlemen," these only are named by Hakluyt:—"M. Wickes a gentleman of the West country of five hundred markes by the yeere living. Master Tucke a gentleman of Kent. M. Tuckfield, M. Thomas Buts the sonne of Sir William Buts, knight, of Norfolk, which is yet alive, and from whose mouth I wrote most of this relation. Master Hardie, master Biron, master Carter, master Wright, master Rastall Serieant Rastall's brother, master Ridley, and diuers other, which all were in the admirall called the *Trinitie*, a ship of seven score tunnes. In the other shippe whose name was the *Minion*, went a very learned and vertuous gentleman, one master Armaigil Wade, father to the worshipfull master William Wade now [1589] clerk of the priue counsell, Master Oliver Dawbeney merchant of London, M. Joy afterward gentleman of the Kings chappell, with diuers others of good account."—*Hakluyt, Voyages*, 517, ed. 1589.—See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* iii. 9.

ostentatiously begun, ended in great misery.* Of Master Robert Thorne's voyage to Newfoundland, nine years before, Hakluyt, in his day, could find no one to give him any particular information, though he says, "I have made great inquirie of such as by their yeeres and delight in navigation might giue me any light." He had learned from "master Hall and master Grafton's" chronicle, that Master Thorne had with him "diuers cunning men;" and though Sir Martin Frobisher had heard the same related, he could not tell Master Hakluyt the name of one of them.

That those men who contributed to bring about the settlement of this country, in a very remarkable degree, or that were the prime movers of the great undertaking, should stand out in bold relief on the pages of history, requires no argument to support it. Among those men, *Martin Frobisher* holds a station in the front rank, but, unfortunately for his fame, his hardships and sufferings to make discoveries in the north were not crowned with any golden returns. Success in those days, as well as in these, it must be allowed, was measured by its immediate pecuniary returns.

The great school of discovery was thus opened in the time of Henry the Eighth; but "the Spaniard," as Spain used then to be termed, was master of the sea. The English were compelled to go stealthily from port to port, and to pay exorbitant tribute for the use of the common highway of nations, and to brook such insults as their haughty lords thought proper to impose.

But the future master of this great school of discovery, he who was to show his countrymen that their career upon the ocean was but begun; that the arrogance of Spain should not drive them from the seas, and that the world could be encompassed by an Englishman as well as by a Spaniard, had just drawn breath, on the banks of the Tavy. A few years more, and he is wending his way into the Indies, there to stem adversity, administered in injuries, by overbearing bigotry. These were days when might triumphed over right; days of reprisal and revenge. Philip of Macedon was not more arrogant than his namesake of Spain. England had dared to assume some importance on the seas; for this assumption, England, heretical England, must be humbled and become a province of Spain. The little island is already parcelled out to greedy followers, and its nobility and gentry are consigned to slavery and the inquisition. To carry this lofty manifesto into effect, an *armada* is prepared to enforce the decree; an armada such as the world never before saw. It approaches the coast of England, as the eagle hovers over its victim, nothing doubting of its prey. All eyes are upon the mariner of Tavistock; so long as he is in the van, every Englishman is invincible — no man doubts the issue — the armada is overthrown, Spain is humbled, nor is ever itself again.

* It is said that this "Master Hore brought New Albion, (in Force,) 17 and 18. but this, I think, is very doubtful.
home diuers of the chief Indian Kings to Eng-
land" from Newfoundland. — *A Description of*

The English energy and confidence, then and there exhibited, could not long be confined within the narrow limits of a small island. Nothing less than a continent was sufficient for its full development, and thus it became transferred to America.

CHAPTER II.

Influence of the Mariner of Tavistock in bringing about the Colonization of New England. — Raleigh. — Gilbert. — Frobisher. — Harcourt. — Smith. — Hakluyt. — His Notice of North America in 1600. — State of Europe then. — Gosnold's Discovery and Attempt to colonize in Massachusetts. — Incidents of the Undertaking. — Pring's Voyage to Cape Cod. — Weymouth on the Coast. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges. — Challenge. — Pring.

It has been conceded on all hands, that, but for the extraordinary energy and perseverance of one man, New England, and indeed all North America, would not have been inhabited by Englishmen for many years, perhaps ages, after the period in which its permanent settlement was made. Few readers will require to be told to whom reference is here made. The navigator of a northern sea would as soon require to be pointed to the polar star, as the reader of the annals of Queen Elizabeth would require to be pointed to the morning star of her reign. This star was not only the wonder of that age, but of all succeeding ages, and will continue to be the admiration of those which are to come.*

By the wonderful achievements of that great seaman, a spirit of emulation was brought into practical activity, one of the results of which was the settlement of Massachusetts Bay, as it was then and long afterwards called; the capital of which the history is undertaken in these pages.

The inspiration diffused by Drake into his countrymen is distinct

*The achievement which had the greatest influence on the world, in the opening of the maritime age of England, was, doubtless, the circumnavigation of Drake; of whom it was said by a cotemporary, that "he had a head to contrive, a heart to undertake, and a hand to execute, whatever promised glory to himself, or good to his country." He was the first that discovered gold in California, which was in 1579. "There is no part of earth here," says a writer of one account of his voyage, "wherein there is not a reasonable quantitie of gold or silver." — *Hakluyt*.

Sir Francis Drake was born near South Tavistock, in the village of Crowndale, Devonshire,

about the year 1537; died on board his own ship near Portobello, in the West Indies, 23 Jan., 1596. Though married, he left no posterity. He sailed on his voyage round the world, 15 Nov., 1577, and returned to the same port whence he sailed, "Plymouth," 26 Sept., 1580. — See *North American Review*, July, 1844, in which I have stated some reasons for placing the date of Drake's birth very different from other writers. The date of his return to England is wrong in almost every account.

For a beautiful tracing of the autograph of Sir Francis Drake, I am indebted to R. H. Major, Esq., of the British Museum; an accurate copy of which is here presented.

and clear, from the moment that a knowledge of his successes was circulated among them. Sir Walter Raleigh was, by the first marriage of his father, connected with the family of Drake, and the connection of the illustrious and lamented Sir Humphrey Gilbert with Sir Walter Raleigh is well known. Gilbert pointed out the way in which Raleigh reaped his chief renown. Capt. Robert Harecourt, of Stanton Harecourt, ancestor of the Earls of that name, and Capt. John Smith, succeeded, and added lustre in the field of discovery and enterprise. It was during the reign of Elizabeth, that British perseverance first showed itself able to surmount all obstacles. Men not courtiers came to be patronized by royalty, and merchants and mariners could hold meetings in London and elsewhere, to mature plans for the extension of commerce, without being suspected of plotting against the state.



SIR HUMPHREY GILBERT.

From a copy of a portrait of Sir H. Gilbert, in Holland's *Herologia*.

Little more can be done, in this review of the progress towards the settlement of New England, than merely to glance at a few of the stirring spirits of that age; among whom must be mentioned Sir Humphrey Gilbert, as deserving more than a passing notice. He was born the same, or if not the same year with Sir Francis Drake, he was not more than two years his junior. They were indeed kindred spirits. Gilbert was wanting in none of that thirst for daring adventure, of which Drake was so large a proprietor; and while his early career was more prosperous, he

was less fortunate in the end; having been cut off almost in the beginning of his career. When about thirty-three years of age, he published that masterly "Discourse to prove a passage by the Northwest" to the East Indies, which is in a style superior to most writings of that age. In 1578, he obtained a patent of Queen Elizabeth, empowering him to discover and possess any unsettled land in North America. By the energy and perseverance which he employed to improve the advantages under his ample charter, he has been declared, by some writers of respectability, "the real founder of the English possessions in America." He made two voyages to Newfoundland between 1578 and 1583. At St. John he gave leases to certain individuals, under which permanent settlements were eventually there made. On the 9th of September, of the year last named, having embarked for England, his ship foundered, and he was swallowed up in the sea.

When on the "Gold Coast" of North America, Drake did not doubt but that he could sail around the north point of the continent, and return to

England by the North Sea, as the North Atlantic Ocean was then called. Circumstances, however, prevented his satisfying himself of its utter impracticability. But while this bold navigator was upon his voyage of circumnavigation, Capt. Frobisher, by three several voyages to the northern regions of America, settled the question for a time, with regard to a north-west passage—a question, it is a pity it had not remained settled to this day, contrasting the immense sacrifices made from that time to the present, with the small benefits that have accrued to the world.

Frobisher's name became indelibly fixed upon a northern strait of North America, as maps show to the world; but the part he acted with Drake, subsequently to his northern discoveries, is often read, and better known. But to him is undoubtedly due whatever honor attaches to the revival of discoveries in the north. He had the confidence of Drake in a high degree. When Frobisher and his friends proposed a fourth voyage to the north, Drake subscribed seven hundred pounds towards it.

After Drake, no man, perhaps, deserves greater credit for pushing onward the current of discovery and settlement, than the learned and persevering Richard Hakluyt. He came upon the stage just in time to participate in those memorable enterprises which have characterized the age of Elizabeth. His views were by no means confined to discoveries alone; colonization, *western* colonization, was his favorite theme, and he did not fail to enforce it with ability and learning. "Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir Robert Cecil, the Lord High-Admiral Howard, Sir Philip Sidney, and Sir Francis Drake, were among those who supported him in his labors by their commendations, and encouraged him to proceed."* These are but few of those that might be named, as his encouragers and co-workers. In a dedication of a book† to the last named gentleman printed in 1589, now of great rarity, the author says he was moved to dedicate his work to him by his very good and learned friend, Mr. Richard Hakluyt, "a man of incredible devotion towards yourself."

If, indeed, as was doubtless the case, gentlemen encouraged Hakluyt "to proceed," he in his turn encouraged them. Of Raleigh's exertions in settling Virginia, he says to that nobleman, in one of his dedications, "If your enterprise may speedily and effectually be pursued, it will proue farre more beneficiall in diuers respects vnto this our realm, than the world, yea many of the wiser sort, haue hitherto imagined."‡ And, in the year 1600, in a dedication to Sir Robert Cecil, he says, "Your good testimony of myself, together with the infallible signes of your earnest desire to doe mee good, which very lately, when I thought least thereof, break forth into most bountiful and acceptable effects." Although he does not express in what those "bountiful and acceptable effects" consisted, it is probable they were of a pecuniary nature, to

* Works of Hakluyt Society.

† Voyages, iii. 365.

‡ Certain Briefe and Speciall Instructions, &c.
By Philip Jones. — *Ibid.*

enable him to complete his great work, the "TRAFIQUES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE ENGLISH NATION."

The dedication to which allusion is here made, is to the "third and last" volume of his voyages, which volume is especially devoted to America; the earliest voyages to it, and discoveries in and about it. This dedication is a learned and excellent introduction to the work, and discovers great intellectual sagacity, and a comprehensiveness of understanding, as well in relation to the future greatness of America, as to the past events of the world. He speaks "of the new and late discovery of America by *Columbus* in 1492, a world, in respect of the huge extension thereof, which to this day [1600] is not thoroughly discovered, although on the hither side it be known vnto vs for the space of fve thousand leagues at the least, and for 3000 more on the backe side in the South Sea. So that it seemeth very fitly to be called A Newe Worlde."* "Howbeit," he adds, "it cannot be denied but that Antiquitie had some kinde of dimme glimse, and vnperfect notice thereof." He then refers to the since noted passages of Plato, Diodorus, and others, of "a mighty and fruitful yland discovered in the Westernne Ocean," "bigger then all Africa and Asia," and then continues, "Of this New World and euery speciall part thereof in this my third volume I have brought to light the best and most perfect relations of such as were chiefe actours in the particular discoveries and searches of the same, giuing vnto euery man his right, and leauing euery one to mainteine his own credit." Hakluyt then closes his dedication with the following modest reference to his own endeavors: "I have portrayed out," he says, "in rude lineaments my Westernne Atlantis or America: assuring you, that if I had been able, I would have limned her and set her out with farre more liuely and exquisite colours: yet, as she is, I humbly desire you to receiue her with your wonted and accustomed fauour at my handes, who alwayes wil remaine most ready and devoted to do your honour any poore seruice that I may. From London the first of September, the yeere of our Lord God 1600.

Richard Hakluyt †

Preacher."

Notwithstanding the numerous expeditions which had been undertaken to discover the coast of America, there were not, at the termination of one hundred and ten years after Columbus' discovery, any Europeans, saving Spaniards, who had made any effectual settlements

* A new world it may be called, for that the world of new and unknown creatures which the old world neuer heard of, and here only are produced: the conceit whereof moued Mercator to thinke (which I dare not thinke with him) that the great deluge in the dayes of Noah, drowned not these parts, because men had not heere inhabited, who with a deluge of sinne might procure that deluge of waters.—*Purchas, His Pilgrimage*, 717, ed. 1614.

† Copied from a fac-simile in "*Hakluyt's Discoverers Voyages*," published by the Hakluyt Society.

in the New World.* But in 1598, France was quieted by the edict of Nantz, in April, and by a peace in May, with Philip, King of Spain and Portugal. Just before Queen Elizabeth died, the disturbances in Ireland were quelled, and she expired in peace [on the 24th of March, 1603] with all the princes and states in Europe, except Philip, King of Spain, and Archduke Albert, sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands. And King James, as King of Scotland, being then in amity with all the world, upon his accession to the English throne, the two British crowns became united in him; and, as King of England, he soon left the Dutch to defend themselves. The French and English, being thus at liberty, began to look more seriously now than ever to the new found world. The English at this time extended Virginia from Florida to the bay of Fundy, and divided it into North and South Virginia.†

One year wanting two days before Queen Elizabeth died, Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold sailed from Falmouth for the north part of Virginia, in a small bark called the Concord; and although he had but *thirty-two* people‡ in his company, with this small number it was intended to begin a settlement in what is now New England.

Capt. Gosnold was the first Englishman who had come in a direct course to this part of the continent, and the first of any nation who thus reached any part of what is now the United States, except Verazzani; the circumstance of the shortness of the voyage is found in the fact that he had in his company several of the old mariners who had been with Sir Francis Drake, who, in his voyage of 1585, made the very short passage of forty days from Virginia to England. Gosnold would have made a still shorter passage, but for the weakness of his ship, which would not bear much sail.

After a voyage of *forty-nine* days, namely, on the 14th of May, "early in the morning," Capt. Gosnold made the land of New England, in latitude 43°.§ From a rocky point not far off, "came towards us," says

* "I cannot find," says the accurate Prince, "at this point of time [1602], so much as one European family in all the vast extent of coast from Florida to Greenland."

† Prince, *Chronological History of New England*.

‡ Where of eight mariners and sailors, twelve purposing upon the discovery to return with the ship for England, the rest remain there for population.—*Gosnold's Voyage*.

§ This being about the latitude of the Isle of Shoals, or Boon Island, it was hereabouts, doubtless, he made his land-fall; though Oldmixon, and others following him probably, suppose "Savage Rock" to have been that part of the northern shore of Massachusetts Bay about Nahant. The facts to be found in the *reliable* accounts are too vaguely stated, perhaps, to warrant a positive decision as to the precise locality of "Savage Rock." Opinions, under such circumstances, are generally worth but little in the judgment of the writer; however, on a careful comparison of the several accounts, he

feels warranted in the conclusion that it was in the vicinity of Great Boar's Head, in Hampton, that Gosnold first anchored on the coast; true, indeed, as he says, "in no good harbor, and withal, doubting the weather." Hence "Savage Rock" is not difficultly located from this vicinity, if they were at anchor near Great Boar's Head, "an out point of woody ground, the trees thereof very high and straight, and from the rock east north-east." There is to this day a point of rocks near Cape Ann known as the "Salvages." If Gosnold made the coast in latitude 43°—as it seems both from Archer and Brereton that he did, "about 6 o'clock in the morning"—and did not come to anchor till noon of the same day, but was, meantime, "standing fair along by the shore," he must, in all probability, have been in the vicinity of the noted headland before mentioned. "The shore full of white sand, but very stony or rocky," noted by Brereton, as seen soon after land was discovered, corresponds exactly to Rye beach and neighborhood. Archer is not so

the writer of the account, "a Biscay shallop with sail and oars, having eight persons in it, whom we supposed at first to be Christians distressed." But they proved to be Indians, were friendly, and desired the English to tarry with them. The principal man among them was dressed chiefly in European clothes; as waistcoat, breeches, stockings, shoes, hat and band, &c. One or two of the others had "a few things made by some Christians." It was soon discovered that they had not been strangers to Europeans. "With a piece of chalk they described the coast thereabouts, and could name Placentia of the Newfoundland, and spoke divers Christian words." In short, the voyagers confess that these Indians understood what was said to them much better than they understood the Indians. How they came by their European bark and other things, does not appear, but probably by way of trade; for they showed no signs of fear, as they probably would have done, had they been guilty of mischief. "They came boldly aboard us," says the account, "being all naked, saving about their shoulders certain loose deer skins, and near their wastes seal skins tied fast like to Irish dimmie trowsers. They are in color swart, their hair long, uptied with a knot in the part of behind the head." The place whence these Indians came Gosnold named *Savage Rock*.

Leaving that part of the coast, Capt. Gosnold stood to the southward, and the next day, May 15th, came to anchor near a cape, where, taking "great store of cod-fish," he called it *Cape Cod*; a name which it bears to this day, and which it is ever likely to bear.* Here the captain, with Mr. Brereton and three others, landed the same day, and saw a young Indian with copper ornaments in his ears, and a bow and arrows in his hands, who came to him, and seemed desirous to serve him in some way. The day following he coasted the land southerly, about twelve leagues, and, discovering a point of land, named it *Point Care*.

clear in his account of this part of the voyage as Brereton, though he is more minute. He says nothing of anchoring; but, after the interview with the Indians, he says, "Finding ourselves short of our purposed place, we set sail westward." And, "About sixteen leagues southwest from thence [the place of the interview with the savages], we perceived in that course two small islands, the one lying eastward from *Savage Rock*, the other to the southward of it. The coast we left was full of goodly woods, fair plains, with little green round hills. The fifteenth day we had again sight of land," &c., which proved to be *Cape Cod*. And Brereton says, "about twelve of the clock the same day," after "standing fair along by the shore," "we came to an anchor, where eight Indians in a Biscay Shallop with mast and sail, an iron grapple, and kettle of copper, came boldly aboard us," &c. "About three of the clock the same day in the afternoon we weighed, and standing southerly off into the sea the rest of that day and the night following, with a fresh gale of wind, in the morning we

found ourselves embayed with a mighty headland," which was *Cape Cod*. With these facts before us, where are we to locate "*Salvage Rock*"? From the account of Capt. Pring's voyage, Dr. Belknap "supposes it to be situated on the northern shore of Massachusetts Bay." This is a very indefinite location. The truth seems to be, that the Doctor found himself as much perplexed about the situation of "*Salvage Rock*" as his predecessors, and therefore avoided committing himself further in regard to it. The chief difficulty seems to be the uncertainty, as to the lands noticed in the accounts, whether they were all islands that were supposed such. If they were mistaken in this respect, and doubtless they were, the *Salvage Rock* could not have been to the west of the *Salvages* of the present day; nor can I with much confidence fix upon that point as the real one in question.

* It is probably a mere fancy by which some writers would lead their readers to suppose that Gosnold saw the coast of Massachusetts in the vicinity of Cohasset.

The same now called Sandy Point, the extreme southern land in Barnstable county. Here they saw Indians, all having pipes and tobacco, copper ornaments, &c. "One of them had his face painted over, and head stuck with feathers in manner of a turkey-cock's train." "These Indians call gold *wassader*, which argueth there is thereof in the country."*

On the 21st of May, Gosnold, having overshot the Vineyard Sound in the night, discovered an island which he named Martha's Vineyard. Not that since so called, but a small one, known as Nomansland, lying very near the southern extremity of the large island, since called Martha's Vineyard. Gosnold took the great island to be a part of the main land, but when it† was found to be an island, the name conferred on its appendage very naturally extended to it, and the name Martha's Vineyard‡ has continued since the time of this discoverer.

From Nomansland, Gosnold sailed round into the Vineyard Sound. The striking cliff's now known as Gay Head he called Dover Cliff, probably after those of the same name in his native island. On the 24th of May he discovered the island which the Indians called *Poocutohhunkunuk* (Kutshunk or Cuttyhunk). "This island Captain Gosnold called Elizabeth's isle, where," says the writer of his voyage, "we determined our abode." Here it was that the first attempt was made to settle a colony in New England.

After spending three weeks in preparing a store-house, when they came to divide their provision, there was not enough to victual the ship, and to subsist the planters till the ship's return. Some jealousy also arose about the intentions of those who were going back; and after five days' consultation they determined to give up their design of planting, and return to England. They accordingly sailed on their homeward voyage, June 18th, and on July 23d arrived at Exmouth in the southwest of England, § the same year in which it was begun, || with a profitable cargo of sassafras.

The next year, 1603, Massachusetts Bay is again visited. Some

* See a very judicious note on Gosnold's voyage, by Mr. Harris, in his most valuable edition of Hubbard's History of New England, 677-8.

† Yet a writer in the *North American Review*, vol. v., p. 215, marvels that such a change could possibly happen! The same writer is shocked beyond description at the name "Cuttyhunk," and fled with horror from the "Sow and Pigs," and from "Quareek Island," as though he had been an M. D.!

‡ That the name *Martha's Vineyard* should be Martin's Vineyard, as some have supposed, is to be utterly rejected. The name was conferred by Gosnold himself, a year before the voyage of Pring. Why the name *Martha* was chosen, is not known. It may have been the name of his own lady, or some other valued female acquaintance.

§ Belknap, *American Biography*, i. 238.

|| Of those who were in this voyage, we find the names of these only:

BARTHOLOMEW GOSNOLD, *Captain, who died in Virginia in 1607.*

BARTHOLOMEW GILBERT, *second officer.*

WILLIAM STRETE, *master. Same after mentioned?*

JOHN BRERETON, *gentleman, journalist of the voyage.*

GABRIEL ARCHER, *gentleman, journalist, went to Virginia afterwards. Archer's Hope, near Williamsburg, bears his name.*

JAMES ROSIER, *gentleman, journalist.*

WILLIAM STRETE, *who discovered the sassafras.*

ROBERT SALTERNE, *who was also with Pring the next year, and was afterwards a clergyman.*

[A Bideford name. See Watkins, *Hist. Bid.*]

JOHN ANGEL.

— TUCKER, and perhaps — HILL.

Bristol merchants, by leave of Sir Walter Raleigh, sent over Captain Martin Pring, in a small ship of fifty tons, called the *Speedwell*, thirty men and boys;* and William Browne in a bark of twenty-six tons, called the *Discoverer*, thirteen men and one boy. These sailed from Milford Haven on the 10th of April, and arrived on the coast near the same point Captain Gosnold did the preceding year. He is supposed to have entered the mouth of the Penobscot, and to have examined the coast pretty minutely all the way thence to Martha's Vineyard. There is no certainty that he went very deep into Massachusetts Bay, though he looked up the Pascataqua several leagues, and, after doubling Cape Ann, probably laid his course south-westerly until he found that the land to the southward did not consist of islands through which he could proceed on his course.

Pring was in pursuit of a cargo of sassafras, and he soon found his way around the cape, and commenced loading his ship with it from the Vineyard islands and main land in the vicinity. By the 9th of August he was ready to return to England, and on that day he sailed from the American coast, and on the 2d of October following he arrived in King-Road, not far below Bristol, whence he had sailed. Here he found Captain Browne, who had arrived about a fortnight before him. Thus was a successful voyage performed into the New England seas in the space of six months' time.

Captain George Weymouth's voyage falls next under consideration. It is memorable on account of discoveries in Maine, and for having more deeply interested Sir Ferdinando Gorges in colonizing New England; a gentleman of great energy, perseverance and liberality.† Gorges himself, however, lays great stress upon certain circumstances or accidents connected with the voyage of Weymouth, who, he says, "falling short of his course, happened into a river on the coast of America, called Pemmaquid, from whence he brought five of the natives. And it so pleased our great God, that Weymouth, on his return to England, came into the harbor of Plymouth, where I then commanded." Three of which natives, namely, *Manida*, *Skettwarroes* and *Tasquantum*, "I seized upon. They were all of one nation, but of several parts, and several families. This accident must be acknowledged the means, under God, of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations."

The undertaking of Sir Ferdinando Gorges ended in misfortune and losses,—a striking instance that the best prospects are sometimes strangely blighted, and the best directed endeavors at once baffled and ruined,—for no one had entered upon the design of settling New England under better auspices than had that gentleman. He made it his business to understand those Indians which "accident" had placed in

* It may be well to note that Capt. Browne's mate was named Samuel Kirkland. — See Belknap, *Amer. Biog.* ii. 124.

† Weymouth was sent by the Earl of Southampton and the Lord Arundel of Warder. He was by them directed to treat the Indians kind-

ly, for their object was to make settlements in the country, and so propagate the Gospel among them. — *Sith's Hist. Virginia*, Book i., pp. 33-4. — And *Vindication of the Bishop of Landaff's Sermon by A Lover of Truth and Decency*, pp. 12, 13, ed. 8vo. New York, 1768.

his hands. He says he found them "of the better sort, and far from the rudeness of our common people;" that he learned from them "what goodly rivers, stately islands and safe harbors those parts abounded with. And having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of," &c.*

Thus having gained a knowledge of the country, Sir Ferdinando 1606. fitted out a ship for New England, in which "Mr. Henry Challouge" went as master. With him also went two of the before-mentioned Indians to serve him in the business of the voyage. But Captain Challouge, owing to adverse winds, was not able to hold a northern course, and finally made the West Indies. Thence sailing northward, was captured by a Spanish fleet, and carried into Spain; "where," says Sir Ferdinando, "their ship and goods were confiscate, themselves made prisoners, the voyage overthrown, and both my natives lost."

In the mean time, it appears that Chief Justice Popham had agreed to send a vessel to the aid of Challouge, which was accordingly done before his miscarriage was known in England; "for," says Gorges, "it pleased the Lord Chief Justice, according to his promise, to despatch Captain Pring from Bristol, with hope to have found Capt. Challouge; but not hearing by any means what became of him, after he [Pring] had made a perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors [of New England], brings with him the most exact discovery of that coast that ever came to my hands since; and indeed he was the best able to perform it of any I met withal to this present."†

The success of the English, thus far, to establish themselves in New England, might well have caused them to doubt of the justice of their proceedings, in the sight of Providence. And whether the Frenchmen, as was the custom of the age, taunted them for having brought their misfortunes upon themselves by their attempts to rob them of their justly acquired territories, is not known; but certain it is, if discovery and actual possession gave a valid claim to territory, it is plain that the French had a better right to New England than ever England had before the settlement of Plymouth. They had been permanently seated in Canada sixteen years when Plymouth was settled, and twenty-six before Boston existed.‡ But a nation torn within by its own hands, is sure to be robbed without by the hands of others. France could not protect itself at home, and England, under the pretence — and it was nothing better — that it was theirs by prior discovery, contrary to the usual course of things, made that good by perseverance which was and ever will be bad in the abstract.

* The veteran sea-captain, JOHN FOSTER WILLIAMS, gave it as his opinion that the first land seen by Waymouth, was that point of the island of Nantucket called Sankoty Head, and that he then bore off north-westerly, and next fell in with the island of Monhegan; which was May 17th, 1605. He saw Nantucket three days before. — *Belknap, Amer. Biog.*, ii. 146.

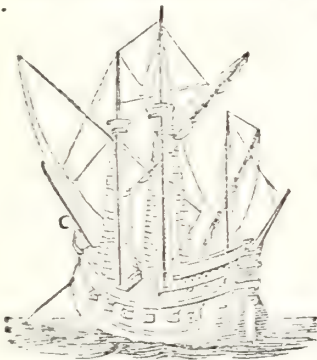
† What became of this map by Pring, is unknown. If lost, it is to be lamented, as it might settle many questions now remaining in doubt and obscurity.

‡ There are a multitude of authorities for this statement in Chalmers's *Annals*, 82, and Holmes' *American Annals*, vol. I., *sub anno* 1604.

CHAPTER III.

Colony of Sagadahock. — Spread of England's Commerce. — Explorations. — Harlow's Voyage to New England. — Indians carried off. — Cape Cod. — Capt. John Smith's Voyage to New England. — His "Trials." — Surveys the Coast of New England. — Hunt's Conduct in Relation to the Indians. — Smith names the country New England. — Why so named. — First Maps of New England. — Massachusetts the Paradise of New England. — Smith's Interchange with the Indians. — Hobson sent to New England for Gold. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges. — Harlow's Return to England. — Smith's continued Efforts for New England. — Captain Dermer. — Smith falls into the hands of Pirates. — His Literary Labors. — His Death and Inscription to his Memory.

In 1607 was the abortive attempt to settle a colony at the mouth of the Kennebeck river;* and the same year a more successful one was



SHIP OF THE TIMES OF THE PILGRIMS.†

made in Virginia. There the enterprising Gosnold, who had explored Cape Cod, and the resolute John Smith, effected a permanent settlement. But the original Jamestown at this day presents ruins of not much greater interest than are to be found on Cuttyhunk or Stage Island.†

By this time England began to send out its rays of commerce to almost every part of the world. Such an interest was there in a trade to the East Indies, that James chartered a number of merchants with exclusive privileges to trade there forever. Other companies soon spread their charters over all the new

* The colony consisted of one hundred men. The winter was extreme; their Governor, Popham, died; Captain Rawley Gilbert, their Admiral, hearing that his brother, Sir John Gilbert, had died, to whom he was heir, and "finding nothing but extreme extremities, they all returned for England."—*Smith*, ii. 174.

† It has been supposed by some that the Gospel was first proclaimed in North America by those who settled at the mouth of the Kennebeck, in 1607. This is a mistake. Frobisher and his companions proclaimed it in Newfoundland in 1577, and two years after, Richard Hakluyt proclaimed the fact to the world. An Episcopalian friend is desirous that it should be understood at this day, that the Church of England service was performed in New England prior to any religious services by dissenters. The following extract from a journal of the voyage of the Sagadahock Colony will show the grounds of his claim: "August 17th, 1607, Capt. Popham, in his pinnace, with thirty persons, and Capt. Gilbert in his long-boat, with eighteen persons more, went early in the morning from their shipp into the river Sachadehoc, to view the river, and to search where they might find a fitt place for their plantation. They sayled up into the river neere forty leagues, and found yt to be a very gullant river, very deepe, and seldome lesse water than three

fathomes when they found sest; whereupon they returned homewards. August 19th, they all went ashoare, and there made choise of a place for their plantacion, at the mouth or entry of the ryver on the west side (for the river bendeth yt self towards the nor-east, and by east), being almost an island, of a good bignes, being in a province called by the Indians Sabino, so called of a Sagamo or chief commander under the graund bassaba. As they were ashoare, three canoas full of Indians came to them, but would not come neere, but rowed away up the river.

"August 19th, they all went ashoare, here they had made choise of their plantation and where they had a sermon delivered unto them by their preacher; and after the sermon, the president's commission was read, with the lawes to be observed and kept."—*Strachey, Hakluyt Soc.* 171-2.

Since the preceding part of this note was written, some portion of Strachey's work has been reprinted in this city. But for its very recent issue in London, it would strongly commend itself to the notice of the *Maine Historical Society*.

‡ In a corner of Captain Smith's map of New England is found a view of a ship, from which the above is copied.

countries to which England could lay claim. Meanwhile, the Dutch were not idle. Henry Hudson, in their service, explored the river which bears his name for near one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth; and four years later, New York began to be settled.

Thus, by degrees, New England, though not yet so named, is coasted wherever the sea gives access to its boundaries, and every succeeding voyage to its shores adds to the common stock of knowledge, soon sufficient to enable the persecuted fathers to take and keep possession of its soil. But other attempts are yet required.

1611. Notwithstanding the failure of the Sagadahock colony, Henry, Earl of Southampton, and some merchants of the Isle of Wight, fitted out Captain Edward Harlow, "to discover an island supposed about Cape Cod," but their charts so "much abused them"* that they fell in with "Monahigan." And afterwards sailing southwards "they found only Cape Cod no Isle but the maine. There they detained three Saluages aboard them, called *Pechmo*, *Monopet* and *Pekenimne*, but *Pechmo* leapt overboard and got away; and not long after, with his consorts, cut their boat from their sterne, got her on shore, and so filled her with sand, and guarded her with bowes and arrowes, the English lost her. Not far from thence they had three men sorely wounded with arrowes. Anchoring at the ile of Nohono, the Saluages in their canowes assaulted the ship till the English guns made them retire; yet here they tooke *Sakaweston*, that after he had lived many yeers in England went a souldier to the warres of Bohemia. At Capawe they tooke *Conceconam* and *Epenow*, but the people at Agawom vsed them kindly; so with five saluages they returned for England."†

From these accounts, by eye-witnesses as it were, no one will be at a loss to account for whatever hostilities succeeding voyagers met with from the Indians of Massachusetts.

1614. Captain John Smith had acquired a world-wide reputation by his extraordinary adventures, which had now been of "near twice nine years" continuance. The four quarters of the world had witnessed his enterprise and bravery, and now New England is to become the theatre of his operations. A new era begins in its annals with the voyage of Smith to its shores in 1614; nor must he be overlooked among its fathers; especially as he prosecuted the planting "of New England," as he himself says, "for the increase of God's Church, converting Saluages and enlarging the king's dominions."

* After mentioning that "Capt. Bartholomew Gosnold" had printed an account of "Elizabeth Iles," and that "Capt. Waymouth" had printed another of Pemmaquid, he says, "From all these diligent observations, posterity may be bettered by the fruits of their labours. But for divers others that long before and since have ranged those parts, within a kenning sometimes of the shore, some touching in one place, some in another, I must entreat them pardon me for omitting them; or if I offend in saying that

their true descriptions are concealed, or neuer well observed, or died with the authors: so that the coast is yet still but even as a coast unknowne and undiscovered. I have had six or seauen severall plots of these northern parts, so unlike each to other, and most so differing from any true proportion, or resemblance of the countrey, as they did mee no more good, than so much waste paper, though they cost me more."

—Smith, *Descrip. of N. E.*, 1616, p. 3.

† Smith, ii. 174.

But, with all these honest intentions, Smith had his calumniators — those who affected to sneer at his undertakings. Of them, how-



JOHN SMITH.

ever, he had vastly the advantage. He could not only hold them up to contempt in his own day, but there they remain posted for all time to come in his imperishable "Historie, writ with his owne hand." His traducers, he says, were such persons as could not "say their compasse, yet would tell what all England is by seeing but Milford Haven."*

What time Smith sailed on his first voyage to New England, he does not state in his first publication of the account of it, but he says, "In the moneth of April,† 1614, at the charge of Capt. Mar-

maduke Roydon, Capt. George Langam, Mr. John Buley and William Skelton, with two ships from London,‡ I chanced to arriue at Monahigan an Ile of America, in 43.4 of northerly latitude : our plot was there to take whales, for which we had one Samuel Crampton and diuers others expert in that faculty, and also to make trialls of a mine of gold and copper ; if those failed, fish and furs were then our refuge to make ourselues sauers howsoeuer : we found this whale fishing a costly conclusion. We saw many, and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any ; they being a kinde of *Iubartes*, and not the whale that yeelds fins and oile as we expected ; for our gold it was rather the Masters deuice to get a voyage that proiected it than any knowledge he had at all of any such matter." Hence much time was lost before it was found that fishing and trading with the Indians were all they had to depend upon "to saue themselues howsoeuer." Therefore, "whilest the sailers fished," continues Smith, "myselfe with eight others, ranging the coast in a small boat, wee got for trifles neere eleuen thousand beuer skinnes, one hundred martins, as many otters, and the most of them within the distance of twenty leagues. We ranged the coast both east and west much further, but eastward our commodities were not esteemed. They were so neare the French who affords them better : and right against vs

* One of Captain Smith's friends, in some poetry "to his honest Captaine," says :

"I neuer knew a Warriyer : and I make the bolder,
For, many a *Captaine* now, was neuer a *Souldier*.
Some such may swell at this : but (to their praise)
When they haue don like thee, my Muse shall raise
Their due deserts to Worthies yet to come,
To line like thine (admir'd) till day of Doome."
N. England's Trials.

† In his "New England's Trials" he says, "I went fro the Downes the third of March,

and arriued in New England the last of April," and that he sailed for England the 18th of July. In the same work he says he had "but fortie-five men and boyes ;" that they "built seuen boates, and that 37 did fish." Dr. Belknap loses his usual care when he says Smith sailed from London in April. — *Amer. Biog.*, i. 305.

‡ In another part of his "Generall Historie," he says, "I was sent forth at the sole charge of foure merchants of London." — ii. 262

in the Main was a ship of Sir Francis Popham,* that had there much acquaintance, hauing many yeares vsed onely that porte, that the most parte there was had by him. And forty leagues westwards† were two French ships, that had made there a great voyage by trade, during the time wee tryed those conclusions, not knowing the coast, nor Saluages habitation : with these fures, the traine oile and cor-fish, I returned for England in the barke, where, within six moneths after our departure from the Downes, wee safely arriued backe. The best of this fish was sold for 5*li.* the hundred³, the rest by ill vsage betwixt three pounds and 50 shillings. The other ship stayed to fit herself for Spaine, with the dry fish, which was sold at Maligo at forty rials the quintall, each hundred weighing two quintalls and a half. But one Thomas Hunt, the master of this ship (when I was gone) thinking to preuent that intent I had to make there a plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding countrey still in obscurity, that onely he and some few merchants more might enjoy wholly the benefit of the trade, and profit of this countrey, betraied foure and twenty of these poore Saluages aboard his ship, and most dishonestly and inhumanly for their kinde vsage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little priuate gaine sold those silly Saluages for rials of eight ; but this velle act kept him euer after from any more imploiment to those parts.”‡

During this voyage of Smith, he made a map or chart of the coast, and named it New England,§ which is, as he expresses it, “that part of America in the Ocean Sea, opposite to Noua Albion in the South Sea, discovered by the most memorable Sir Francis Drake in his voyage about the world, in regard whereof this is stiled New England.”

On the map of which Smith speaks, the names strike the eye of a modern observer with a kind of surprise, like that which might arise

* This ship of Popham was probably commanded by “one Capt. Williams,” who, before 1611, had “diuers times” been there to trade and fish, “but for any plantations there was no more speeches.”—*Smith, Gen. Hist.*, ii. 174-5.

† Thus it appears that the French were before the English in and about Cape Cod. They probably came in to the present harbor of Boston, and the harbors in Narraganset Bay. This may account for the French coin which have been digged up in the vicinity of Boston, as will be hereafter mentioned.

‡ If these were really the sentiments of Captain Smith, and I have no doubt they were at the time he published them, he saw cause to change his mind subsequently, in some degree, probably, as will be seen. Dr. I. Mather is particular relative to the kidnapping of the Indians, of which unfortunate affair he thus speaks in his *Relation* : “Hunt enticed Indians into his vessel, they in confidence of his honesty went aboard, to the number of twenty from Patuxet, since called Plymouth, and seven from Nosset (now known by the name of Estam), these did this Hunt seize upon, stowed them

under hatches, and carried them to the Straights of Gibraltar, and there did he sell as many as he coul^d of them for 20*l.* a man, until it was known whence they came; for then the Friars in those parts took away the rest of them, that so they might nurture them in the popish religion.”

§ “Now because at this time I had taken a draught of the coast, and called it New England, yet so long he [Hunt] and his consorts drowned that name with the eecho of *Cannaday*, and some other ships from other parts also, that upon this good returne the next yeare went thither, that at last I presented this discourse with the map, to our most gracious Prince Charles, humbly intreating his Highnesse hee would please to change their barbarous names for such English [names] as posteritie might say that Prince Charles was their God-father.” Thus Smith’s Indian names on his original map of New England, became, on that we now have, Boston, Cambridge, Plymouth, Bristow, &c.—See *Smith, Gen. Hist.*, ii. 176.

were he to look on a mirror expecting to see his own face, which, though indeed he might see, he could scarcely recognize it for the numerous deformities upon it. Yet it is no small matter of wonder that Smith has presented an outline of the coast of New England so near the actual outline as it unquestionably is. This map, though drawn six years before Plymouth was settled, and sixteen before Boston, yet both these names find a place on it. So do Cambridge, Sandwich, Dartmouth, Ipswich, Hull, Barnstable, Bristow, London, Oxford and many others. But Boston has given place to Portsmouth, Hull to Hampton, Cambridge is far "down east," Smith's Isles, Cape Anna, Talbott's Bay are conspicuous. The last named bay is Boston harbor, but instead of Boston at the head of it, we read Bristow; yet Cape Anna is Cape Ann to this day, and Tragabigzanda, the name of Smith's deliverer from slavery, is handed down only in the history of his eventful life.

This same map bears in one corner a portrait of "Captayne Iohn Smith," in the background of which the observer discovers that the author was but thirty-five years of age when he surveyed the coast of New England.

In his account accompanying his map, Capt. Smith describes the whole coast of New England, from Penobscot to Cape Cod, with much accuracy, which he says he has done "as he gathered from the nigardly relations in a broken language to his understanding, during the time he ranged those countries." The "Tarrantines" lived on the east side of the Penobscot, with whom "the French lived as one family," and they were "mortall enemies" to the Indians on the west side. As he proceeds westward he mentions nearly all of the important bays and headlands, chiefly known by the same names at this day; speaks of numerous cornfields and great numbers of people. The great bay he speaks of, north of Cape Ann, is doubtless that extending thence to the Isle of Shoals. Flowing into that bay, "the Indians reported a great river [the Merrimac] and at least thirtie habitations."

"And then the countrie of the Massachusits which is the paradise of all those parts:* for here are many Isles all planted with corne; groues, mulberries, saluage gardens, and good harbors: the coast is for the most part, high clayie sandie cliffs. The Sea Coast as you passe, shewes you all along large corne fields, and great troupes of well proportioned people: but the French hauing remained heere neere six weekes, left nothing for vs to take occasion to examine the inhabitants relations, viz. if there be neere three thousand people vpon these Isles; and that the riuer doth pearce many daies iourneies the intralles of that countrey.† We found the people in those parts verie kinde; but in

* "I would rather liue here then any where, and if it did not maintaine it selfe, were we but once indifferently well fitted, let vs starue." — *Smith's Gen. Hist.*, ii. 184.

† The historian of Dorchester entirely mistakes Capt. Smith, and seriously misleads his readers, by his quotations from him. Compare

the extract in the *Hist. of Dorchester*, p. 3, with a full extract from Smith, "namely, if there be neere three thousand people vpon these Isles; and that the Riuer doth pearce manie daies iourneies," as he understood by the information he got from the Indians. — See Smith (in Force) p. 15.

their furie no lesse valiant. For, vpon a quarrell wee had with one of them, hee onely with three others crossed the harbor of Quonahassit [Cohasset] to certaine rocks whereby wee must passe, and there let flie their arrowes for our shot, till we were out of danger.”*

From Cohasset rocks Smith proceeded along the west side of the bay to Accomack, since Plymouth, “an excellent good harbor, good land, and no want of anything but industrious people.” All along experiencing much kindness from the Indians, until, “vpon a small occasion,” a quarrel arose, and a fight was unavoidable. A smart skirmish ensued, in which were engaged “fortie or fiftie” on the part of the Indians, and notwithstanding “some were hurt and some were slaine, yet within an heure after they became friends.”†

The place where this fight happened was probably about Nauset, though Smith mentions no place except Chawum between Accomack and Cape Cod; which cape, he very aptly observes, is “in the forme of a sickle,” on which “doth inhabit the people of Pawmet.”

It is evident, on a comparison of Smith’s accounts, that he did not proceed up the bay as far as the peninsula of Shawmut, and possibly he stretched across from about Cape Ann to Cohasset, and may not have landed higher up the bay than that place. Had he done so he would hardly have failed to obtain the names of such places as he visited.‡ That he had no accurate knowledge of the bottom of *this* bay, is not only evident from his map, but from his own faithful account in 1631, in which he says he mistook “the fairest reach in this bay for a river, whereupon I called it Charles River,§ after the name of our royall King Charles; but they [later observers] find that faire channell to divide itselfe into so many faire branches as make forty or fifty pleasant islands within that excellent Bay.”||

While Smith was on his voyage, or, as he expresses it, a little before his return from his service on the coast of New England, “some of Plimouth, and diuers gentlemen of the West Countrey [Plymouth and places adjacent] in search for a mine of gold about an Ile called Capawuck, southwards from the Shoales of Cape Iames” [Cape Cod] had set

* “Yet one of them [Indians] was slaine and another shot through his thigh.” — *Smith’s Gen. Hist.*, ii. 194.

† In his “*Generall Historie*,” Smith gives a few additional facts. He says the Indians continued the fight “till they had spent all their arrowes, and then we tooke six or seuen of their canowes, which towards the evening they ransomed for beaver skinnies.” — *Ib.*

‡ It is true he speaks of “the Iles of Mattahunts on the west side of this Bay,” but not as having seen them; nor is it unlikely that by Mattahunts we are to understand Mattapan; a neck of land like Shawmut, easily mistaken for an island, especially as he had his knowledge of them from the Indians.

§ From Smith’s later “*Relations*,” it is evident he had no information about the stream

since called Charles River. He undoubtedly supposed what is now Boston harbor was the mouth of a great river, such as appears on his map. Writing in 1629, he speaks of “the Bay of Massachusetts, otherwise called Charles River.” And it is evident that Capt. Squeb supposed he was in Charles River when he turned our fathers ashore at Nantasket, as we shall see hereafter.

|| Here again the Historian of Dorchester has made Capt. Smith say in *his* work, what Smith does not say in his own. Compare *Hist. Dorchester*, p. 3, with the extract in the text, and the charge of “a direct contradiction” in Smith, will at once disappear. That the quarrel between Smith’s men and the Indians “hastened his explorations,” does not appear certain, for they were “friends again in an hour.”

out an expedition to secure it. They had been assured of its existence by Epanow, the Indian before mentioned, hoping thereby to regain his liberty, "being a man of so great a stature, he was shewed up and downe London for money as a wonder;" who, continues Smith, "it seemes of no lesse courage and authoritie, than of wit, strength, and proportion; for so well he had contriued his businesse, as many reported, he intended to haue surprised the ship; but seeing it could not be effected to his liking, before them all he leaped ouer board.* Many shot they made at him, thinking they had slaine him, but so resolute they were to recouer his body, the master of the ship was wounded, and many of his company; and thus they lost him; and, not knowing more what to do, returned againe to England with nothing, which so had discouraged all the West Countrey men, they neither regarded much their promises, and as little either me or the countrey, till they saw the London ships gone and me in Plimouth according to my promise, as hereafter shall be related."

This was one of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' unfortunate enterprises. Instead of attributing the misfortune attending it, however, to the real cause, he attributed it to the enmity of the Indians to the English, growing out of Capt. Hunt's conduct already spoken of. But he strongly intimates that Hunt did not steal his Indians near enough to Cape Cod for it to cause the effect which Gorges imagines. He kidnapped them, according to Smith himself, far down the eastern coast, and Capt. Hobson's repulse and Epanow's adventure were at Martha's Vineyard. Moreover, the affair at the Vineyard must have happened very near the time Hunt left the coast.†

1614. Capt. Smith's return to England was before the return of Capt. August Hobson, and hence Hobson's bad success was not then known. Reporting "himself to his honourable friende Sir Ferdinando Gorge, and some others," who, hearing from Smith himself the success which had attended him in his voyage, they encouraged him to continue in the service, and, as an inducement, offered him the government of New England for life. Accordingly, he engaged to go again for that country, and Sir Ferdinando and his associates agreed to get ready "four good ships to his hand" for the voyage, by the next Christmas; and Smith's affairs calling him to London, he proceeded thither, accompanied by Michael Cooper, the master of the bark in which Smith had returned from New England, and some others who had been in the same service.

Meantime, the ship, which had been sent to Cape Cod, under Capt. Harlow, with the crafty Epanow, returned to Plymouth, bringing the news of the complete overthrow of the voyage, by the loss of the Indian pilot, who had engaged to conduct his credulous followers to a gold

* In my LOOK OF THE INDIANS, this affair, in which Epanow acted so conspicuous a part, is more fully treated of. See that work, Book II. ch. i. pp. 72-4, ed. 1851.

† Compare *New England's Trials*, 16, *Gorges' America*, and *Smith's Gen. Hist.* ii. 206

mine. The news of this disaster very much damped the ardor for a new undertaking, and several, who had been very forward to fit out the necessary ships, thought their money of more consequence than their honor, and so would not fulfil their engagements; while Gorges' ideas of integrity would not allow him thus to shuffle off obligations. Yet the affairs were much retarded by those desertions from the company.

Things lying in this state of inactivity with the Plymouth company, the London, or South Virginia Company, always jealous of its rival at Plymouth, stimulated as well by an emulation as by the accounts of the country by those who had been with Capt. Smith, without loss of time got ready four ships for New England, and offered the command of them to Smith. Under other circumstances, Smith would willingly have embarked with the London Company, but he was under obligation to that of Plymouth, and would not act dishonorably in the matter; but he used his utmost endeavors to try to bring the two companies to act in concert in the work, and to unite their interests for the common good of colonizing New England; but *that* he says "was most impossible," and "might well have been a worke for Hercules." And, having spent some time in trying to bring this about, and the day having arrived for 1615. him to be at Plymouth, "with two hundred pound in cash for ad-
Jan. venture, and six gentlemen well furnished," he left London for that place. On arriving there, instead of the four ships that were promised, he "found no such matter." He found, too, that the great forwardness among many, when he left for London, to adventure in the enterprise was "extinct and qualified." "Notwithstanding," to use Smith's own forcible language, "at last, with a labyrinth of trouble," and the chief burthen upon himself and a few of his particular friends, "Sir Ferdinando George and Master Doctor Suttle, Deane of Exeter," a ship of 200 tons and another of 50 were got ready, and Smith departed again 1615. for New England. But, he says, "ere I had sayled 120 leagues,
March. she brake all her masts; pumping each watch five or 6000 strokes; onely her spret saile remayned to spoone before the wind, till we had reaccommodated a iury mast to returne for Plimouth, or founde in the Seas." The smaller ship, commanded by Capt. Thomas Dermer, pursued her voyage unharmed, and returned to England in about five months, making a prosperous voyage.

As soon as he could refit, Smith put to sea again, but in a short time was taken by pirates, who stripped him of everything, kept him above three months, and from whom he escaped in the most surprising manner; "far beyond all men's reason, or his expectation."

1617. If Smith had been a fatalist, he would hardly have undertaken, or attempted to have undertaken, another voyage to New England, as he did within two years from his disasters by storms and pirates. But he was one of those whom no success could enervate, or misfortunes discourage, and we find him in the spring of this year ready, with three good ships at Plymouth, and men to begin a settlement in the country. His ill-fortune, however, still pursued him,—he was wind-bound three

months, and the voyage was finally abandoned. In consequence of his losses and disappointments about New England, it is said that the Plymouth Company conferred upon him the title of Admiral of that country, which office he was to hold for life.

It was thus by a combination of untoward events, which continued for several years, that Captain John Smith was prevented from being the founder of the first colony in New England, and probably the first settler of the peninsula of Boston—for his skilful and practised eye could not have overlooked the most favorable point, and the best harbor in the country, that he had himself denominated the "Paradise of New England."*

How Captain Smith employed his time, after the year 1617 to the time of his death in 1631, there is nothing to show farther than is contained in his *General History*; from which it is certain he had the great object of settling New England continually in view. The publication of his works gave him some employment. After he had published his "*Generall Historie*," Sir Robert Cotton and others of his friends learning that he "had likewise undergone diuers other as hard hazards in the other parts of the world," requested him "to fix the whole course of his passages in a booke," which he consented to do, because his "fatal tragedies had been acted on the stage, and his relations had been racked at the pleasure" of those who had exhibited no disposition to do him justice, and, to "prevent future misprisons."

There is ample evidence that Capt. John Smith was a generous friend, as well as a magnanimous foe. In writing of his own achievements, he never forgets those of others who shared his fortunes. "To speak only of myself," he says, "were intolerable ingratitude. I cannot make a monument for myself, and leave them unburied in the fields, whose lives begot me the title of a soldier; for as they were companions with me in my dangers, so shall they be partakers with me in this tomb." At the same time he thus remembers his enemies, whose "envie hath taxed me to haue writ too much and done too little; but that such should know how little I esteem them, I haue writ this."

Speaking in the third person, Smith himself says "he was born in Willoughby in Lincolnshire,"† and from a reference already made to one

* The names of the men that were to have begun the settlement of Massachusetts, in 1615, are given by Captain Smith, as follows:—

John Smith, <i>Admirall [or Governor]</i>	} Gent.
Thomas Dermer	
Edward Stallings [Rocroft?]	
Daniel Coge	
Francis Abbot	} Soldiers.
John Gosling	
Thomas Digbie	
Daniel Baker	
Adam Smith	
William Ingram	
Robert Miter	
David Cooper	
John Patridge	
and two boies	

Thomas Watson	} Were to learn to be Sailers.
Walter Chisell	
John Hall.	

† There can be no mistake in what Smith himself says, so far as his own knowledge went, but it is remarkable that Fuller, who wrote during and after the civil wars, should say in his *Worthies*, that "Captain Smith was born in the county of Cheshire." This statement of Fuller is the more remarkable, because he unqualifiedly says, "Master Arthur Smith, Capt. Smith's kinsman, and my old school-master did inform me so." But, although Fuller makes up quite a story about Smith, he does not appear to have been very well informed with regard to him, and was unfavorably impressed towards him, as is very evident from the sneer-

of his maps, it appears that he was born in 1579; and from a monument to his memory in St. Sepulcher's Church, London, erected by "a friend," it also appears that he "departed this Life, the 21st of June, 1631." And, as the inscription upon his monument has never, to the writer's knowledge, been published in the land for which he made so many sacrifices, it is here presented.*

"To the living Memory of his deceased Friend, Capt. John Smith, some time Governour of Virginia and Admral of New England, who departed this life the 21st of June, 1631.

Accordiamus, vincere est vivere.

Here lies one conquer'd, that hath conquer'd Kings,

Subdu'd large territories, and done things

Which to the world impossible would seem,

But that the truth is held in more esteem.

Shall I report his former service, done

In honour of his God and Christendom?

How that he did divide from Pagans Three,

Their heads and lives, types of his chivalry:

For which great service in that climate done,

Brave Sigismundus (King of Hungaria)

Did give him as a Coat of Armes to wear,

Those conquered heades, got by his sword and spear.

Or shall I tell of his adventures since,

Done in Virginia, that large continent?

How that he subdu'd Kings unto his yoke,

And made those heathen flee, as wind doth smoke.

And made their land, being of so large a station,

A habitation for our christian nation;

Where God is glorified, their wants supply'd,

Which for necessities might have dy'd.

But what avails his conquest now he lies

Interr'd in earth, a prey to wormes and flies!

O may his soul in sweet Elysium sleepe,

Untill the keeper, that all souls doth keep,

Return to judgement; and that after thence,

With Angels he may have his recompence."

New England as well as Old owes the memory of Captain Smith a debt which remains unpaid. Let Virginia look to this. Her sons will by and by be inquired of for the monument which they have *not* erected to his memory. So far as books go, we have several that aim at doing him justice,† and paintings and prints are not wanting, but an EDITED edition of his works?—there is *none*!

ing manner in which he speaks of "his ranting Epitaph," as he calls it, and which he did not think worth his while to copy. That Fuller knew little about Smith, is evident from another fact, namely, his supposing him to have died in old age; whereas he was but 52 when he died. This is only one instance among many, wherein this curious author bends his facts to his conceits. He wished to say, that "Smith had a prince's mind imprisoned in a poor man's purse," which obliged him to add, as he fancied, that "he led his old age in London." Now Smith's *Life and Travels* were common when Fuller wrote, and he has no excuse for errors about his birthplace, or age when he died.

* Maitland's *Hist. Lond.*, p. 1180. 2v. fol. 1760.

† The neat and classic memoir of Captain Smith, by Mr. G. S. HILLARD, is creditable to its gifted author. It forms half of the second volume of Mr. Spark's *American Biography*; but loses its importance by sleeping in the same bed with Wilson, the Ornithologist.—Mr. W. G. SIMMS has given the most elaborate life of Smith that has yet appeared, but he does not pretend to give us anything new. It would be difficult, indeed, to find anything in the same compass, superior to the memoir of Smith, by Dr. Belknap; although it is to be regretted that the part in which we are most interested is so slightly touched upon by his able hand.

Among the last labors of Capt. Smith, was probably that of superintending the printing of his "Advertisements for the inexperienced Planters of New England, or any where."* It bears the date 1631 on its title-page, and this was the year "he finished his earthly career," as has just been stated.

About one year before the settlement of Boston by the company which came with Winthrop, Captain Smith recapitulated the affairs of New England, as follows: "When I went first to the north part of Virginia, [in 1614] where the Westerly Colony [of 1607] had been planted, which had dissolved itself within a yeare, there was not one Christian in all the land. The country was then reputed by the Westerlings [the Plymouth Company] a most rockie, barren, desolate desert; but the good return I brought from thence, with the maps and relations I made of the country, which I made so manifest, some of them did beleieve me, and they were well embraced, both by the Londoners, and Westerlings, for whom I had promised to undertake it, thiinking to have joyned them all together. Betwixt them there long was much contention. The Londoners indeed went bravely forward, but in three or four yeares, I and my friends consumed many hundred pounds amongst the Plimothians, who only fed me but with delayes, promises and excuses, but no performance of any thing to any purpose. In the interim, many particular ships went thither, and finding my relations true, and that I had not taken that I brought home from the French men, as had beene reported; yet further for my paines to discredit me, and my calling it New England, they obscured it and shadowed it with the title of *Cannada*, till, at my humble suit, King Charles confirmed it, with my map and booke, by the title of New England. The gaine thence returning did make the fame thereof so increase, that thirty, forty, or fiftie saile, went yearely only to trade and fish; but nothing would bee done for a plantation, till about some hundred of your Brownests of England, Amsterdam, and Leyden, went to New Plimouth, whose humorous ignorances, caused them for more than a yeare, to endure a wonderful deale of misery, with an infinite patience; but those in time doing well, divers others have in small handfulls undertaken to goe there, to be severall Lords and Kings of themselves, but most vanished to nothing; notwithstanding, the fishing ships made such good returnes, at last it was ingrossed by twenty Pattenties, that divided my map into twenty parts, and cast lots for their shares; but money not comming in as they expected, procured a proclamation none should goe thither without their licences to fish; but for every thirty tunnes of shipping, to pay them five pounds. Besides, upon great penalties, neither to trade with the natives, cut downe wood for their stages, without giving satisfaction, though all the country is nothing but wood, and none to make vse of it

* This, a tract of some fifty pages, contains be very justly entitled the "Book of Good history, natural as well as civil, and a variety Counsel," as well to undertakers as actual set- of things, told in an agreeable way. It would tlers

with many such other pretences, for to make this country plant itself, by its owne wealth. Hereupon most men grew so discontented, that few or none would goe ; so that the Pattenties, who never one of them had beene there, seeing those proiects would not prevaile, have since not hindered any to goe that would ; so that, within these few last yeares, more have gone hither than ever."

Thus, how affairs stood, and what influences operated, alternately, to retard and forward settlements in New England, is quaintly, yet graphically set forth, by one who lived in and among those affairs and influences ; one who not only knew them better than any other, but also was, unquestionably, better than any other qualified to describe them. And, to do him full justice, his own summary recapitulation of his various fortunes shall here follow, which would suffer in any hands but his. Although delivered in the third person it is nevertheless his:—"Now to conclude," he writes, "the travels and adventures of Captain Smith, how first he planted Virginia, and was set ashore with about an hundred men in the wild woods ; how he was taken prisoner by the Savages, and by the King of Pamaunke tied to a tree to be shot to death ; led up and down their country to be shown for a wonder ; fatted as he thought for a sacrifice to their idoll, before whom they conjured him three dayes, with strange dances and invocations, then brought him before their Emperor Powhatan, that commanded him to be slaine ; how his daughter Pocahontas saved his life, returned him to Iames towne ; releaved him and his famished company, which was but eight and thirty to possess those large dominions ; how he discovered all the severall nations, upon the rivers falling into the Bay of Chisapeacke ; stung neere to death with a most poisoned taile of a fish called Sting-ray ; how Powhatann out of his Country tooke the Kings of Pamaunke and Paspahagh prisoners, forced thirty nine of those kings to pay him contribution ; subjected all the Savages : how he was blowne up with gunpowder, and returned for England to be cured.

"Also how he brought our new *England* to the subjection of the Kingdom of great Britaine ; his fights with the Pirats, left alone amongst a many French men of Warre, and his ship ran from him ; his sea fights for the French against the Spaniards ; their bad vsage of him ; how in France in a little boat he escaped them ; was adrift all such a stormy night at sea by himselfe, when thirteene French Ships were split, or driven on shore by the Ile of Ree ; the generall and most of his men drowned, when God brought him safe on shore to all their admirations that escaped." *

In another place he says, "I have spent five years, and more than five hundred pounds, in the service of Virginia and New England, and in neither of them have I one foot of land, nor the very house I built, nor the ground I digged with my own hands ; but I see those countries shared before me by those who know them only by my descriptions."

Such are some of the last words of an honest man, one who shrunk from no responsibilities, and never knew fear; and, that friends and foes should never differ about what he said and did, he closes by saying "John Smith writ this with his own hand."

CHAPTER IV.

Promoters of New England Settlements. — People early in the Country. — Voyages of Whitbourn. — Hawkins. — French Ship surprised by the Indians. — Indians' Idea of an Almighty Power. — Destroyed by Disease. — Does not affect the English. — Sir F. Gorges. — Sir John Popham. — Origin of the two Virginia Companies. — Discoveries Continued. — Baffin. — Death of Capt. Dermer. — Capt. Incroft. — Charter of 1629. — A Settler in Massachusetts Bay. — Settlement of Plymouth.

THE distinguished men by whose exertions New England had become known, and by whom the minds of the people of England had been prepared for the great work of colonization, had chiefly gone, one by one, to the tomb, before any great settlements had been effected in the country. Gilbert had perished in the commencement of his career; Frobisher was sacrificed to the blindness of those who controlled his services; Drake had fallen a victim to disease, while in the service of his Queen; envy and misfortune had paralyzed the exertions of Raleigh, who finally perished upon the scaffold. Smith alone saw the sailing of a frail bark or two, with a feeble colony, for New England; he did, indeed, live to witness a second governor sent to the country of which he had held the office of Admiral. But death closed his eyes before he had very sanguine hopes that these efforts would found a permanent state.

It is true that there were a few fishermen scattered along the coast, who had made lodgments in several places upon islands and on the main land, even from the time of Smith's last voyage; but who they were, and where they were located, remain in as much uncertainty as the times of their arrival.*

1615. Voyages had become so frequent to the northern parts of America, that it was no uncommon thing for people to remain in the country, while the ships which brought them returned home and came again to the same coasts.

Captain Richard Whitbourn, who made a voyage to Newfoundland this year, says there were then on that coast two hundred and fifty sail of English ships fishing, "greate and smale." He had a commission equal to that of governor, held courts and corrected abuses. In a short time he heard complaints from one hundred and seventy captains or masters of vessels, of injuries committed on their trade; nor is this to be wondered at, when the fact is considered that there were congregated

* "The time when these things happened is controverted more than the things themselves." — *Mather's Relation* 3

in those seas "many thousands of English, French, Portuguese, and others."

Sir Richard Hawkins, not long returned out of a Spanish captivity, son of the famous Sir John Hawkins,* was the same year on the coast of New England. He was president of the Plymouth Company, and came over, on its behalf, to search into the nature of the commodities of the country, but finding a war raging among the Indians along the coast, he judged it unsafe to proceed in his intentions. Sailing hence to Virginia, he returned to England, without accomplishing anything of moment. At least, there appears no record of anything.

^{1616.} In the autumn or fall of this year, a French ship was cast away somewhere about Cape Cod,† but the crew succeeded in getting safely to land. They were soon discovered and made prisoners by the Indians, who treated them in their barbarous manner, and eventually killed them all but three or four. These they sent as curiosities about the country, from one sachem to another. Three years after, when Captain Dermer was at Cape Cod, he found two of them alive, whom he redeemed out of their hands. As an illustration of the ignorance and simplicity of the Indians, it may be interesting to observe here their ideas of an Almighty power. When the English inquired of them why they killed the Frenchmen, they justified the murders on some frivolous grounds; and when they were told that the great God was angry with them for their crimes, and would destroy them, they looked significantly on one another, and inquired, sneeringly, of the English, if they thought *they* were such fools as to believe that God could kill *all* the Indians?

It was very remarkable in this case, and the superstitions of the Indians might well lead them to the belief that the white people truly held their fate in their hands: for, immediately after they had so cruelly treated the poor French mariners, a deadly sickness broke out among them, which, as old authors say, caused them "to die in heaps

* I have no authority expressly to this point. Southey, the biographer of Sir Richard, makes no mention that he ever made a voyage to New England, nor does the editor of his "Observations," republished by the Hakluyt Society, make any mention of it, or that he was a member of the first parliament of James I. He was a most expert seaman; had served under Drake, and was in "the journey against the Spanish Armada." His "Observations," a copy of the original edition of which is before me, shows him to have been a man of learning, and possessing an excellent judgment and great experience in sea affairs; yet he was superstitious, as probably were nearly all seamen of that age. He believed there was much of good or evil to happen to a ship, as she had a fortunate or an unfortunate name. When he had caused an elegant ship "to be builded in the river Thames," for his famous South Sea expedition, he requested his mother-in-law to give it a name, "who, knowing what voyage was pretended to be undertaken, named her the Re-

pentance." This so disturbed Sir Richard that he would not undertake the voyage in her. Among a great many examples of ships with unfortunate names, he mentions the "Thunderbolt of London, who in one voyage had her mast cleft with a thunderbolt."

† Captain Dermer's letter in Purchas. Dermer says the ship was cast away to the "North East of Cape Cod," which is not a very definite locality. Morton, of Ma-re-Mount, learned some important facts from the Indians relative to the French ship, which, he says, was riding at anchor, by an island, afterwards called Peddock's Island, that the Indians set upon the men at disadvantage, killed many of them, and burnt the ship. The captives they distributed among five sachems of different territories. This, so far as it goes, agrees with what Dr. I. Mather relates of the same tragedy. His informant gave him the name of the Frenchman living in his time, which was *Monsieur Finch*

all up and down the country, insomuch that the living were in no wise able to bury the dead." What kind of malady this was that swept them off in so fearful a manner was never known. Some have conjectured it was the plague, and others that it was the small-pox ;* but whatever it was, its ravages were very extensive, even several hundred miles along the coast ; probably from the Penobscot to Narraganset Bay ; but neither the Penobscots nor Narragansets were affected by it.

The disease that carried off the Indians with such fatality seems not to have affected the English at all ; for Sir Ferdinando Gorges says his agent, " Mr. Richard Vines, and the rest with him," were with the Indians in the time they were " dying mightily," and though they lived and slept in the same cabins with the Indians, yet " not one of them ever felt their heads to ache."

To Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who persevered so long and so unsuccessfully to colonize New England, something more than has yet been said in these pages is justly due. He was an intimate friend of Raleigh, and appears to be first noticed by the English historian in connection with the unfortunate Earl of Essex, with whose conspiracy against Queen Elizabeth he had knowledge, which he communicated to Raleigh. In the latter wars with Spain he served with reputation in the navy, and when James I. came to the throne, and peace was settled, Gorges was appointed governor of Plymouth, in Devonshire. He was of an ancient family, the ancestor of which, as appears by the roll of Battle Abbey, and other ancient records, came over with William the Conqueror.

Gorges' interest in New England grew out of the mere accident as he relates, of some Indians happening to be brought into Plymouth, whom he took into his keeping. Having at much pains learnt from them something of the nature of their country, his imagination was soon brilliant with golden harvests to be reaped in the western continent, and, naturally endowed with a sanguine temperament, he pursued his favorite project with a constancy that deserved a better issue than that which happened to him.

The high moral standing of Sir Ferdinando Gorges is apparent from the fact of his interesting with him, in his plan of discovery, the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Sir John Popham ;† by whose acquaintance with many noblemen and gentlemen, an interest at Court secured a patent for making settlements in America.

1606. The patent to Sir Humphrey Gilbert became void soon after April 10. his death,‡ and that to Raleigh, by his attainder, had reverted to

* Major Gookin says, in his valuable *Historical Collections*, that " some old Indians, who were then youths, told him, that the bodies of the sick were all over exceeding yellow before they died, which they described by pointing to a yellow garment."

† In the 30th of Elizabeth (1588) Judge Popham did, " by the Queen's command, inquire how many men, women and children there were in London, and then found that there

were to be numbered about 900,000 persons." — *Proceedings in the House of Commons*, 1621, i. 317. — Chief Justice Popham died on the 10th of June, 1607, at the age of 76 years. — *Harvis in Hubbard's New England*, 682.

‡ The terms of his patent were, to secure his discoveries to himself forever, provided he made settlements in the countries discovered, within six years from the date of its execution.

the crown, after the melancholy death of the former ; therefore, there remained no obstacle in the way for whatever grants of territory the king thought proper to make in North America. The first step was to divide the whole country into two parts, because, "being found, upon experience and tryall," too large for one government. This division being made, the respective territories were named North and South Virginia. The latter of these districts was entrusted to the care of certain noblemen and gentlemen, who styled themselves the London Company, because the principal part of them resided in and about London ; the other was under the direction of gentlemen of Bristol, Exeter and Plymouth. These were called the Plymouth Company, because they held their meetings at Plymouth. Of this company, Gorges and Popham were probably the most enterprising members. The proceedings immediately succeeding the procurement of these charters, so far as deemed necessary to a full understanding of their bearing upon this history, have been detailed in the preceding chapter.

Notwithstanding the disasters which attended the Sagadahock colony, Gorges continued his efforts to further his great object of colonizing New England almost alone ; and although ships in considerable numbers were sent by the London and Plymouth Companies every season, fishing and trade with the Indians seem to have been the only thing aimed at in their voyages.

Voyages of discovery, too, were kept up in the North American
 1616. seas. Sir Thomas Smith, an eminent writer on government, and then Governor of the Virginia Company, with other gentlemen in England, sent out a ship for the fifth time, named the Discovery, to search for a passage to China by the north-west. William Baffin went as pilot, and the captain's name was Robert Bylot. The Discovery sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of March. In this voyage Horn Sound, Cape Dudley Digges, Wolstonholme's Sound, Sir Thomas Smith's Sound, Whale Sound, Haklayt's Island, Cary's Islands, Alderman Jones Sound, and James Lancaster's Sound, were discovered and named. Thus far Captain Bylot seems to have had no ambition to leave his own name on any of the frozen sounds or gulfs in the north. But when the discoverers entered a great sea or bay in 78°, it was named for the pilot, Baffin's Bay, who was, very likely, the most important man in the voyage. He is said to have been a great mathematician, and the first of navigators who made use of lunar observations for finding longitudes at sea. He was afterwards an engineer in the war against the Portuguese, and was slain at the siege of Ormuz, "as he was trying his mathematicall projects and conclusions," before the year 1629.*

Captain Thomas Dermer, one of the noblest of the seamen of these
 1619. times,† of whom but slight notice has been taken, was engaged to

* Hutton, who professes to notice mathematicians in his *Mathematical and Philosophical Dictionary*, has not the name of Baffin. Perhaps the omission may be accounted for from the fact that the geographers of Hutton's time,

who were thought the wisest of their craft, decided that no such bay as that laid down by Baffin existed ! It is somewhere stated that Baffin was killed in 1622.

† Ledyard's *Naval History*, ii. 457.

carry out Sir Ferdinando Gorges' views in his endeavors to colonize New England; but his death prevented all hopes Gorges may have entertained from his tried services and abilities. He was killed by the Indians in the midst of his enterprises in this manner: Being at Newfoundland, Gorges prevailed upon the Company to send Captain Edward Rocroft* to New England, with orders to remain there until Captain Dermer should join him. On his arrival Rocroft fell in with a French ship, which he took as a lawful prize, and sailed with it to South Virginia. Here, in some private quarrel, Rocroft was killed and his bark sunk.† Meantime, Captain Dermer returned to England, and having conferred with Gorges and the Company, sailed for New England in a ship which Gorges owned, expecting to meet Rocroft there; but, disappointed in this, he ranged the coast and examined it minutely; and, transmitting the result of his observations to Gorges, sailed for South Virginia.‡ Here learning the fate of Rocroft, and, disappointed of supplies, he returned again to the coast of New England. At the island Capawock he met with that subtle Indian, Epenow, who escaped so adroitly from Captain Hobson five years before. Suspecting some sinister design upon himself, knowing that Captain Dermer was in the employ of his old master, Epenow conspired with the other Indians to kill him and those with him, or to make prisoners of them. Watching his opportunity, therefore, when they came on shore to trade, not expecting mischief, he laid violent hands upon Captain Dermer and his accomplices at the same moment fell furiously upon his men; and thus was a very desperate fight begun. The English fought only to escape, while the Indians fought for victory as well as for revenge of former injuries. But Captain Dermer, "being a brave, stout gentleman," de-

* This person went under the name of Stallings at some period, and some of the old writers say Rocroft alias Stallings. *Prince* is copious in regard to him and his misfortunes. His name is written Rocroft, Rocraft, &c.

† Rocroft was expected to winter on the coast, but his men mutinied, and some of them left him and went to Monhiggon, where they spent the winter. Monhiggon then or soon after belonged to Mr. Abraham Jennings, of Plymouth, in Devonshire. These men were afterwards taken off by Capt. Dermer. Sawgun-tuck, the place where Rocroft captured the Frenchman, is said by Willis to be Saco. See *Prince*, 145-6, 151; *I. Mather*, Rel. 3-4; *Willis*, Portland, 9. — *Report on Lincoln Difficulties*, 40.

The facts collected by *Dr. I. Mather* concerning Rocroft are thought worthy a place in this note. He says Rocroft's men "conspired against him, intending his death, who having secret intelligence of this plot against his life, held his peace until the day was come wherein the intended mischief was to be put in execution, then unexpectedly apprehending the conspirators; he was loth to put any to death, though

they were worthy of it. Therefore he resolved to leave them in the wilderness, not knowing but they might haply discover something which might be advantageous. Accordingly he furnished them with ammunition and some victuals for their present subsistence, and turned them ashore to Sacodehock, himself with the rest of his company departing to Virginia. These English mutineers got over to the island Monhegin, three leagues from the main, where they kept themselves safe from the fury of exasperated Indians, until the next spring. One only having died of sickness."

‡ In his way thither he sailed through the whole length of Long Island Sound, discovering the island to be such; the Indian name of which is rather uncertain; while it may be said to be quite certain that it had many names; as *Matouake* — the residence of the Manito; *Sawanhake* — wampum island, or the place or residence of the wampum-makers, &c. These appellations were probably conferred by other than resident Indians. Montaukett and Montauk are probably variations of the original name of the east end of the island, whatever the primary name may have been.

fended himself with his sword, and finally escaped though not without fourteen wounds. All his men who accompanied him on shore were killed, excepting him who kept the boat, and this man, in the last extremity, saved the life of his captain, who, as he regained his boat, was about to receive a fatal blow, which was warded off in a moment of the utmost peril.

No mention is made of the number of men killed in the onslaught upon Captain Dermer, but it put an end to his labors in New England; for, going to Virginia as soon as he was able, to have his wounds cured, he died there not long after his arrival. He was a very worthy man, whose loss so discouraged Gorges, "that it made him," he says, "almost resolute never to intermeddle again in any of these courses." But soon after this a prospect began to open from a quarter where it was least expected. When Virginia was divided into two colonies, there was this singular proviso, that neither company should settle within one hundred miles of the other.

By the regulations of the South Virginia Company, none were allowed to trade or plant within their limits not authorized by them, while the North Virginia Company had no such restrictions. More effectually to place themselves on equal footing with their rival neighbors, some of the principal members of the North Virginia Company, among whom Gorges was the most active, solicited of the king a new Charter, which after some delay they obtained; and this is the famous charter of the third of November, 1620, which became the foundation of all the grants which were subsequently made of territory in New England. Its extent was from the 40th to the 48th degree of northern latitude, and between these parallels from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean.*

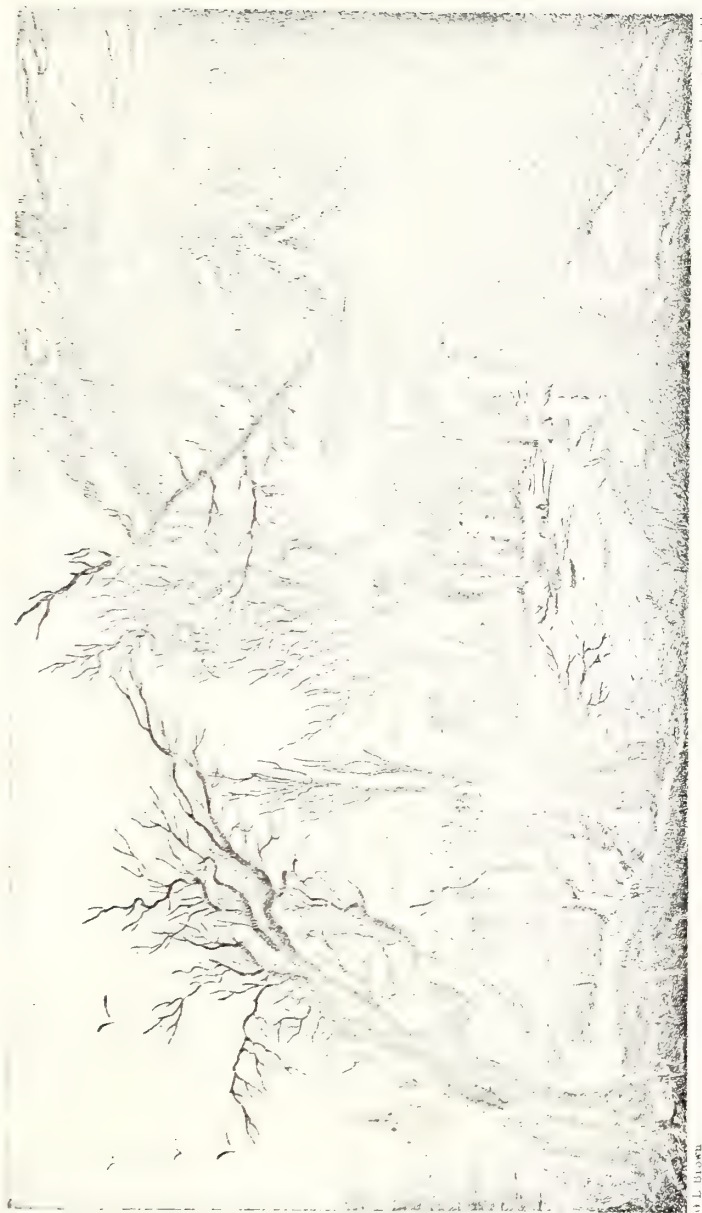
* The charter recites, that, "henceforth, there shall be forever hereafter, in our towne of Plymouth, in the county of Devon, one body politique and corporate, which shall have perpetual succession, which shall be called and knowne by the name the Councill established at Plymouth, which shall have perpetuall succession, which shall consist of the number of fortie persons and no more, and shall be called and knowne by the name, the Councill established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering, and governing of New England in America," &c.

The names of the forty gentlemen composing the council, here follow, as they are printed in Hazard's *State Papers*:

Lodowick, Duke of Lenox, *Lord Steward of the King's household.*
George, Lord Marquess Buckingham, *High Admiral of England.*
James Marquess Hamilton,
William, Earl of Pembroke, *Lord Chamberlaine of the King's household.*
Thomas, Earl of Arundel,
William, Earl of Bath,
Henry, Earl of Southampton,
William, Earl of Salisbury,
Robert, Earl of Warwick,
John Viscount Haddington,

Edward Lord Zouch, *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.*
Edmond Lord Sheffield,
Edward Lord Gorges,
Sir Edward Seymour,* *Knight and Bart.*
Sir Robert Manselle,
Sir Edward Zouch, *Knight Marshall.*
Sir Dudley Digges,*
Sir Thomas Roe,*
Sir Ferdinando Gorges,
Sir Francis Popham,*
Sir John Brook,*
Sir Thomas Gates,
Sir Richard Hawkins,
Sir Richard Edgecombe,
Sir Allen Apsley,
Sir Warwick Hale,
Sir Richard Catchmay,
Sir John Bouchier,
Sir Nathaniel Rich,
Sir Edward Giles,*
Sir Giles Mompesson,*
Sir Thomas Wroth, *Knights,*
Matthew Suttcliffe, *Dean of Exeter,*
Robert Heath, *Esq., Recorder of London,**
Henry Bouchier, *Esq.,*
John Drake, *Esq.,**
Rawleigh Gilbert, *Esq.,*
George Chudley, *Esq.,*
Thomas Hamon, *Esq.,*
John Argall, *Esq.*

Those names to which a star is added were members of James I.'s third Parliament, of



LANDING OF THE PILGRIMS AT PLIMMOUTH, DEC. 1620.

1619. While these apparently more important public affairs were in progress, an individual, David Thompson by name, explores the islands in Boston harbor with a view of making some one of them his permanent residence. Having fixed upon one—that which to this day bears his name—he with the Indian Sachem of Agawam, as a witness, takes formal possession of it. The name of the Indian chief is believed to be Mascononomo, who says this island was made choice of by Mr. Thompson, “because of the smale river, and then no Indians vpon it, or any wigwam or planting, nor hath been by any Endeans inhabited or clajmed since, but two years agoe, Harmlen, an old Indian of Dorchester.”* Thompson did not reside regularly on the island. It is not unlikely that, soon after he took possession of it, he returned to England, and may have influenced the emigration of others. He was afterwards interested in the settlement at Pascataqua, and may have been there to select a location for others before this time. He had a grant of the island.†

Meantime, the small number of English families which had fled into Holland to avoid persecution under the laws enacted against dissenters, having resolved upon a removal to America, obtained leave of the South Virginia Company to settle within its territory. Accordingly they sailed for South Virginia, and probably intended to fix upon some point not far from the mouth of Hudson’s river; but the Dutch, knowing or supposing this to be their destination, bribed their pilot; and the force of circumstances prevented their compelling him to perform his promise of carrying them to Hudson’s river, and thus the first permanent settlement in New England was made within the bay of Cape Cod, on the ELEVENTH OF DECEMBER, 1620, O. S., eight days after James I. had signed the new patent of New England, of which notice has been taken, but of which they knew nothing.

Thus the Pilgrims—as these emigrants were afterwards with much propriety called—found themselves within the North instead of the South Virginia patent; and thus to an iniquitous and highly criminal act New England became indebted for its first permanent colony. And hence it may with truth be said, that sometimes from accident and sometimes from iniquitous designs the most important and beneficial consequences flow.

Notwithstanding their hardships and sufferings, these pious Pilgrims found themselves intruders upon territory to which they had no claim; but fortunately for them it was very agreeable to the Plymouth Company to learn that there was at length, though very unexpectedly, a set-

1620-1, or, there were persons in that Parliament of these names. The thirteen noblemen first on the list were probably members of the upper house; but I have not a list of that house at hand. In the same Parliament there was a good deal of puritan spirit. Papists were arraigned and their conduct scrutinized with an earnestness that a remembrance of the flames of Smithfield was calculated to excite in the minds of those whose kindred had suffered. A member from Devonshire moved that “none be justices of the peace, whose wife, alliances [connections], or children are papists.” — *Proceedings and Debates in House of Commons*, i. 314.

* Depositions of Miles Standish, Wm. Trevoire and Mascononomo, in 1650; copied from the originals, and communicated to me by Wm. Gibbs, Esq., of Lexington, in 1834. The same has been since printed by Mr. Thornton in his *Examination of Mr. Young’s Chronicles of Massachusetts*. See *Bost. Dai. Cour.*, 26 Aug. to 28 Sept., 1846.

† *Ibid.*

tlement begun within their limits. Therefore, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, ever the friend of New England, caused a patent to be issued for them to Mr. John Pierce, their agent in England.

Fortunate it was for the Pilgrims, in another respect, there were no Indians in the place where they settled, nor does it appear that any ever laid claim to it afterwards. The occupants had all died of the pestilence before mentioned.*

CHAPTER V.

Colony of Wessagusset. — Weston. — Thomas Morton. — Weston's Colony Dissolved. — Standish attacks the Indians. — Pratt's Narrative. — Settlement of Nantasket. — Of Pemaquid. — First Settler in New England. — Settlements on the Pascataqua. — Robert Gorges. — Capt. West. — First Governor of New England. — Parliamentary Action relative to Trade and Fishing in New England.

1622. THERE came into the harbor of Plymouth a ship called the Sparrow, May, which had been on a fishing voyage at Damaris Cove at the eastward. It was sent thither by Mr. Weston, a merchant of London, and Mr. Beauchamp, and there were then about thirty other ships there upon the same design. In the Sparrow came a letter for Governor Carver, from Mr. Weston, dated the preceeding January, in which he informs him that

* The following is an exact list of the inhabitants of Plymouth, or of such as arrived there in the Mayflower, Dec. 1620; the Fortune, 9 November, 1621; the Ann, &c., July or August, 1623. All these are usually considered as the

Pilgrims. For its preparation I am indebted to the excellent little volume, "*Guide to Plymouth*," by W. S. Russell, Esq., 1846: The small letters at the end of each name refer to the respective ships in which they came over.

Adams, John <i>f</i>	Crackston, John <i>m</i>	Hilton, William <i>f</i>	Rand, James <i>a</i>
Alden, John <i>m</i>	Cushman, Robert <i>f</i>	Holman, Edward <i>a</i>	Ratliffe, Robert <i>a</i>
Alorton, Isaac <i>m</i>	Cushman, Thomas <i>f</i>	Hopkins, Stephen <i>m</i>	Ridgale, John <i>m</i>
Allerton, John <i>m</i>	Cuthbertson, Cuthbert <i>a</i>	Howland, John <i>m</i>	Rogers, Thomas <i>m</i>
Annable, Anthony <i>a</i>	Deane, Stephen <i>f</i>	Jenny, John <i>a</i>	Simonson, Moses <i>f</i>
Benge, Edward <i>a</i>	De la Noye, Philip <i>f</i>	Kempton, Manasses <i>a</i>	Snow, Nicholas <i>a</i>
Bartlett, Robert <i>a</i>	Dix, Anthony <i>a</i>	Leister, Edward <i>m</i>	Soule, George <i>m</i>
Bassite, William <i>f</i>	Dotey, Edward <i>m</i>	Long, Robert <i>a</i>	Southworth, Alice <i>a</i>
Bask, William <i>f</i>	Eaton, Francis <i>m</i>	Margeson, Edmund <i>m</i>	Sprague, Francis <i>a</i>
Billington, John <i>m</i>	English, Thomas <i>m</i>	Martin, Christopher <i>m</i>	Standish, Barbara <i>a</i>
Bompasse, Edward <i>f</i>	Faunce, John <i>a</i>	Mitchell, Experience <i>a</i>	Standish, Miles <i>m</i>
Bradford, William <i>m</i>	Flavell, Goodwife <i>a</i>	Morgan, Bennet <i>f</i>	Statie, Hugh <i>f</i>
Brewster, Fear <i>a</i>	Flavell, Thomas <i>f</i>	Morton, George <i>a</i>	Steward, James <i>f</i>
Brewster, Jonathan <i>f</i>	Flavell, son of the above <i>f</i>	Morton, Thomas <i>f</i>	Tench, William <i>f</i>
Brewster, Patience <i>a</i>	Fletcher, Moses <i>m</i>	Morton, Thomas, Jr. <i>a</i>	Tilden, Thomas <i>a</i>
Brewster, William <i>m</i>	Flood, Edmund <i>a</i>	Mullins, William <i>m</i>	Tilly, Edward <i>m</i>
Brizes, Clement <i>f</i>	Forri, Widow <i>f</i>	Newton, Ellen <i>a</i>	Tilly, John <i>m</i>
Britterige, Richard <i>m</i>	Fuller, Bridget <i>a</i>	Niedes, Austin <i>f</i>	Tinker, Thomas <i>m</i>
Brown, Peter <i>m</i>	Fuller, Edward <i>m</i>	Oldham, John <i>a</i>	Tracy, Stephen <i>a</i>
Buckett, Mary <i>a</i>	Fuller, Samuel <i>f</i>	Paltner, Frances <i>a</i>	Turner, John <i>m</i>
Burcher, Edward <i>a</i>	Gardiner, Richard <i>m</i>	Palmer, William <i>f</i>	Wallen, Ralph <i>a</i>
Caanon, John <i>f</i>	Goodman, John <i>m</i>	Perce, Mr., his two servants, <i>a</i>	Warren, Richard <i>m</i>
Carver, John <i>m</i>	Hatherly, Timothy <i>a</i>	Penn, Christian <i>a</i>	Williams, Thomas <i>m</i>
Chilton, James <i>m</i>	Heard, William <i>a</i>	Pitt, William <i>f</i>	White, William <i>m</i>
Clarke, Richard <i>m</i>	Hicks, Robert <i>f</i>	Pratt, Joshua <i>a</i>	Winslow, Edward <i>m</i>
Clarke, Thomas <i>a</i>	Hicks, Margaret <i>a</i>	Prenee, Thomas <i>f</i>	Winslow, Gilbert <i>m</i>
Conant, Christopher <i>a</i>	Hicks, — her children <i>a</i>	Priest, Degory <i>m</i>	Winslow, John <i>f</i>
Coner, William <i>f</i>	Hilton, William's wife and two children <i>a</i>		Wright William <i>f</i>
Cook, Francis <i>m</i>			

A few of these names have undergone changes; Bassite is now Bassett; Bompasse, Bumpas (originally Bon passe); Burcher, Burchard; De la Noye, Delano; Dotey, Doty,

Doten; Simonson, Simmons; Southworth, South-er; and perhaps a few others. — See *Guide to Plymouth*, 128-31.

he is about to begin a plantation near Plymouth, on his own account. The Plymouth settlers are somewhat disturbed at this news, because they had calculated upon his coöperation in their own undertaking. It was afterwards insinuated that he had dealt unfairly in the matter, but those insinuations are so vaguely made, that they do not authorize any unfavorable decision against his honest intentions. He had adventured large sums of money to aid the Pilgrims, and for furthering settlements in New England, and he may have had reason for believing that the community system adopted by the Plymouth settlers did not promise any immediate returns; and that therefore a plantation for profit was necessary in his affairs, and at the same time the two plantations might be of mutual help to one another.

Accordingly, there arrived, about one month later, two other ships of Mr. Weston's, the *Charity* and the *Swan*, with about sixty men. These were to begin a plantation, for which Mr. Weston had a patent. Many of them being sick on their arrival, the people of Plymouth took care of them until they could take care of themselves. In the mean time a place was selected by those who were able, and had the matter in charge, and a settlement was begun at a place called by the Indians *Wessaguscusset* or *Wessagusset*,* and afterwards by the white people, *Weymouth*. Of the affairs of this colony it is necessary to be somewhat particular, as *Weymouth* was afterwards within the to be somewhat particular, as from its proximity to *Boston* its affairs became much interwoven with it.

Very few of the names of the persons who made up Mr. Weston's company have been discovered, which, perhaps, is not much to be regretted, as the good and orderly men who speak of them are unanimous that they were no people "for them," and that "they were not fit for an honest man's company." Even Mr. Weston himself wrote to the gentlemen of Plymouth, to prevent their being imposed upon by his colonists, "many of whom," he said, "were rude and profane fellows."

At or about the same time came to Plymouth Mr. Thomas Morton, "of Clifford's Inn, gentleman," as he styled himself, who, after he had had "ten yeeres knowledge and experiment of the country," made a book about it, "setting forth the originall of the natives, the natural indowments of the countrie, and what people are planted there," which he published in 1632. In this book he gives no very favorable account of the Pilgrims and other settlers. Nor is this at all to be wondered at, for they had represented him in the most unfavorable light possible, for several years before his book appeared; and though they may not have done him justice in every particular, he certainly has not erred in over justice to them. There are few greater curiosities, among earlier or later books, than this by Morton, and it discovers a good deal of talent

* *Wessaguscus* and *Wessagusquasset* are also names of the same place. Morton, who had the best means of knowing what the name was, writes it *Wessaguscus*, *New Canaan*. In 1633, Wood, speaking of the "severall plantations in particular," says, "*Wichaguscusset* is but a small village, yet it is very pleasant and

healthful, very good ground, well timbered, and hath good store of hay-ground; hath a spacious harbour for shipping before the towne; the salt water being navigable for boates and pinnaces two leagues; here is likewise an alewife river." — *N. Eng. Prospect*, 31, ed. 1635.

as well as learning; shrewdness of observation, as well as much graphic description. He was as deeply in love with New England, as Captain John Smith. "The bewty of the place," he says, "with all her faire indowments," made him think that "it would not be parale'd in all the knowne world."

Morton arrived in the country in that season which, in New England, is the most delightful part of the year. This will account for his raptures in describing it. According to his own account, which is no doubt correct, "he chaunced to arrive in New England in the moneth of Iune, Anno Salutis: 1622, with 30. servants, and provisions of all sorts fit for a plantation: and whiles their howses were building, he did endeavour to take a survey of the country:" and "the more he looked the more he liked it." That he did not change his mind afterwards, is pretty clear. from the title he gave his book, the "New English Canaan."

The description of the Indians, as given by Morton, is superior to that of most authors before his time, and though he indulges his imagination sometimes, yet this part of his work is of exceeding great value to inquirers about the primitive inhabitants of New England. The following is the concluding paragraph of his first book:—"The Indians may be rather accompted to live richly, wanting nothing that is needful; and to be commended for leading a contented life; the younger being ruled by the elder, and the elder ruled by the Powahs, and the Powahs are ruled by the Devill, and then you may imagine what good rule is like to be amongst them." This is not offered as a specimen of his observations and conclusions. His belief in the general government of the devil, was not singular; his neighbors had the same belief, but while they reported that there were lions in the country, Morton says distinctly, that "there are none."*

Though Morton is, by some, supposed to have come over with Mr. Weston's men, it does not appear certain that he was interested with him in his settlement; nor does it appear that he remained at Wessagusset till the colony of Mr. Weston broke up. The probability is, he spent considerable time in viewing the country, but left it before the end of the colony. The larger of Mr. Weston's ships, the *Charity*, sailed for England about the end of September, and Morton may have returned in her.†

However this may be, there is something of truth, as well as fable, in Morton's own account of the advent of Mr. Weston's colony at Plymouth; nor is it at all difficult for the attentive reader of New England history to draw the line between them: it is in these words:—

"Master Thomas Weston, a merchant of London, that had been at some cost, to farther the brethren of new Plimmouth, in their designs for these parts, shipped a company of servants, fitted with provisions of

* "It is contrary to the nature of the beast, to frequent places accustomed to snow; being like the cat, that will hazard the burning of her taylor rather than abide from the fire."—*N Canaan*, 56.

† Further details of many events, necessarily briefly noticed in this history, will be fully gone into in the *History of New England*, which the author many years ago proposed to himself to write.

all sorts, for the undertaking of a plantation to be settled there, with an intent to follow after them in person. These servants at first arrived at New Plimmouth where they were entertained with court holy bread by the brethren. They were made very wellcome in shew at least. There these servants goods were landed, with promises to be assisted in the choice of a convenient place, and still the good cheare went forward, and the strong liquors walked. In the meane time the brethren were in consultation, what was best for their advantage, singing the songe, *Frustrâ sapit, qui sibi non sapit.*" After this significant quotation, Morton insinuates that the Pilgrims were afraid that the new colony would get away their trade for beaver, and become greater than they were; "besides Mr. Weston's people were no chosen separatists, but men made use of at all adventures,* fit for the furtherance of Master Weston's undertakings: and that was as much as he need care for. Now when the Plimmouth men began to finde, that Master Weston's men's store of provition grew short with feasting; then they hasted them to a place called Wessaguscus, in a weake case, and there left them fasting."†

1623. The plantation of Mr. Weston was under the care of the brother-in-law of that gentleman, whose name was Richard Green. He having died at Plymouth in the autumn of the preceeding year, the colony seems to have soon after gone to ruin. Neglecting their business, the men came to want, robbed the Indians, who would probably have exterminated them, but for the interference of the people of Plymouth. Indeed, the Indians seem to have laid their plans to cut them off, but the plot was revealed and prevented. One John Sanders succeeded Mr. Green as overseer of the colony, which, by the end of February, was reduced to a state of perfect wretchedness. One man, Phinehas Pratt, who lived long afterwards to tell the story, fled from the place, and not knowing "a foot of the way," reached Plymouth in safety, "with a pack at his back," not knowing till some time after, that he very narrowly escaped death in the journey. An Indian pursued him for the purpose of killing him, but Pratt, from his ignorance of the paths, missed the direct one, which occasioned his pursuer to miss him, as the Indians confessed afterward.‡

* Picked up at random.

† Morton's *New Canaan*, p. 71-2, ed. 1632. The fact that the author, p. 57, speaks of Mr. William Wood's *New England's Prospect*, shows that his own book has a title-page with a false date in it, or that Wood printed his *Prospect* before Morton did his *New Canaan*. The former appears the more probable, because Wood did not leave the country till August 15th, 1623, and it is improbable that he had his book published before he returned to England, and his first edition is dated 1634. — Morton is often so enigmatical, that it is impossible to guess out his meaning. His dark insinuation against "Ould Woodman," is to the ef-

fect that he attempted, unfairly, to obtain a grant of land, and that "he was choaked at Plimmouth," for shooting "a carelessse fellow that was new come into the land;" "but," says Morton, "I cannot spie any mention made of it in the wooden prospect." By the *wooden prospect*, Wood's *New England's Prospect* is unquestionably meant. In another place (Book I., ch. v.) he says there is no need of the *wooden prospect* to prove that the Indians of New England have no religion at all. See also p. 28 of Morton's *New Canaan*.

‡ See Morton's *Memorial*, ed. Davis, 9; Hubbard's *N. Eng.*, ed. Harris, 72-9; Belknap, *Amer. Biog.*, ii. 333-5.

The Plymouth people immediately sent Standish to the relief of Sanders and his men, who found them in great distress, not only from fear of the Indians, but from famine also. He therefore assists them off for Monhiggon in their small ship, and thus the colony comes to an end. At Monhiggon they expected to meet with Mr. Weston or some of his ships, from whom they hoped relief.

Standish did not proceed directly to Wessaguseus, but went to the rendezvous of those Indians who had insulted and threatened, not only Weston's people, but the people of Plymouth also, and against whom the plot or conspiracy was charged of an intention of murdering all the English. These he found insolent and abusive, which confirmed his suspicions against them. He therefore fell upon them at great advantage, killed three chiefs on the spot, hung another, and, Weston's men taking courage thereby, killed two others at another place. In all, seven were killed.* This bloody business has ever since been referred to, as of doubtful justification; and even then it made the good Robinson exclaim, "O that you had christianized some before you had killed any!"†

Phineas Pratt left an account of this colony, which he "called a Declaration of the Affairs of the English people that first inhabited New England." He probably had some interest in the patent with Mr. Weston, and did not leave the country with those that went to Monhiggon; for he says, "We bought the south part of the Bay [of Massachusetts] of Aberdecest,‡ the Sachem of the Indians." It is not certain how or

* They were killed at three different places. The chiefs by Standish, probably at or near Neponset river, those by Weston's men, near Wessaguseus, and another at a place called Agawam, perhaps in what is since Wareham. — Pratt in *Mather's Relation*, 19–20.

† From Pratt's *Relation* to Dr. I. Mather, it appears that when the Indians had determined to make an attack on Wessaguseus, "they built divers of their wigwams at the end of a great



INDIAN WIGWAM.

swamp, near to the English," that they might effect their object easily; that, at the same time, a squaw informed the people that Aberkiest would soon come and kill them all, and also all those at Plymouth. He soon after actually ap-

peared; but his object was to obtain satisfaction for the corn the English had stolen from them; that he had a great many times demanded justice, but they had given him none whatever. "Hereupon the English took the principal thief," bound him and delivered him to the sachem, and requested him to do with him as he pleased, but he would not receive him. "Nay," says he, "do justice upon him yourselves, and let your neighbors do justice upon theirs." He then left the place indignantly; and in their alarm the English took the thief and executed him in presence of the Indians. Hence, that an execution did take place among the English, as has been reported by the historians (though generally in doubting terms), there is no room for a question; though there may be a question as to whether the *real* offender was executed; for there is no proof that any of the Indians had the inspection of the preparations. They could only witness from the outside of the palisades, that some one was hanged. Very little, probably, would have been thought or said of this affair, had not Butler, by his Hudibras, given it an importance that it could otherwise never have acquired.

‡ This was very likely the sachem who led the Indians against Weston's plantation, though Dr. I. Mather spells the name of that chief Aberkiest. Of the three sachems killed by Standish, Aberkiest was unquestionably one, Peksuot and Wittuwamet were the others. — See *Book of the Indians*, 100–1.

with whom Pratt came to New England; for he says that he came with ten others, but at the same time (1668) he says, "he was the remainder of the forlorn hope of sixty men," who began the settlement of Wessagusset. By which he is supposed to mean that all his associates of 1622 were dead; that, before they abandoned their settlement, "ten of them had died of famine;" to which he adds, "then said the Indians 'Let us kill them whilst they are weak, or they will possess our country and drive us away.' Three times we fought with them, thirty miles I was pursued for my life, in times of frost and snow, as a deer chased with wolves."*

When Mr. Hubbard wrote that part of his history which records Weston's settlement, he speaks of Pratt as then (1677) living, but says nothing by which it may be inferred that he derived any of his facts from him. He was then eighty-seven years old, and died three years after, at the age of ninety, at Charlestown, where his tombstone is yet to be seen. He died on the since memorable 19th of April.†

1622. The same year that Weston's plantation was begun at Weymouth, one Thomas Gray settled at Nantasket, or Nantaskith. How many followers he had, how or where he came from, nothing appears to be known. He made a purchase of that place of Chikataubut, and there were with him John Gray and Walter Knight. Lyford and Oldham came here afterwards by permission of Thomas Gray.‡

Before this time, even, there were Englishmen all along the New England coast. One John Brown lived at New Harbor, not far from Penaquid, in 1621. He had a son, John, living in Framingham, in 1721, at the age of eighty-five, who, with his father, was driven from their lands in the time of the Indian wars. John, the elder, died in Boston, probably not long after Philip's war.§

Mr. Richard Vines came to New England in 1609, and again in 1616. He affirmed that he was in the country several years before any other inhabitant could be found. He was a royalist, and an Episcopalian, and after residing twenty-two years in Saco, he removed to Barbadoes.||

1623. A permanent settlement is this year begun at the mouth of the Pascataqua river, and, at the same time, another is established a lit-

* *Original MS. paper.* — If my supposition be correct with reference to Pratt's alluding to his companions being all dead, he must have been the "Old Planter" who gave Dr. Increase Mather the circumstantial account of the capture of the French ship and murder of the crew, as stated in the present chapter.

† See *Hist. and G. Reg'r*, iv. 250; v. 224. Phinehas Pratt is the ancestor of many of the Pratts of New England. He married at Plymouth, in 1630, a daughter of Cuthbert Cuthbertson. His son, Aaron, died at Cohasset, in 1735, æ. 81; Aaron Pratt, 2d, died in 1766, æ. 76; Thomas, son of Aaron Pratt, 2d, died in 1818, æ. 83. Benjamin Pratt, now living in Cohasset, æ. 84, has living six brothers and sisters, whose ages average 76 years. Aaron

Pratt, 3d, son of Aaron, 2d, has nine children whose ages average 76½ years. The average of the fathers' ages for five generations is nearly 83. Ephraim Pratt, of Plymouth, died in 1804, æ. 116. The autograph of the emigrant ancestor in 1668, copied from an original —

Phinehas Pratt.

‡ *Original Deposition of Walter Knight, MS.*
§ Report of Commissioners on Lincoln Co. Difficulties, 40.

|| *Williamson's Hist. Maine*, i. 696. — See, also, *Hazard's Hist. Colls.*, *Hutchinson's Col. Papers.*

tle above on the same river. These were the beginnings of the since important towns of Portsmouth and Dover.*

The previous year, Captain Robert Gorges, son of Sir Ferdinando, obtained of the Plymouth Company a patent of a tract of land about Cape Ann, and this year came over with a commission, from the company, of Governor of New England. He arrived at Plymouth in September, with a number of families and passengers, intending to settle them at Weymouth. This is said to be the first attempt to establish a general government in the country. But Captain Francis West had acted before this in a similar capacity, and had resigned because he probably came to the conclusion that to govern a few straggling fishermen upon the water was something like an attempt to govern the fish in it. Whether Captain Gorges came to the same conclusion, or not, certain it is he did not exercise his authority to any great extent, and returned to England within a year from the time he left it. It may be said of him, what in fact can be said of but few colonial governors, he left no enemies behind him.

It will have been seen that Captain Smith was by appointment the first Governor of New England, and how by misfortunes he was prevented from being its first permanent settler. The appointment of a governor afterwards was, however, from a different motive from that to pay a debt of gratitude to Smith. Many of those who had been fishing and trading on the coast from before Smith's first visit to it, had carried home complaints and charges against one another; — some for burning the forests, some for obstructing harbors by discharging "ballast and stones" from their vessels, some for wronging the Indians, and other crimes among the natives not fitting to be mentioned; — until, in 1621, the matter was brought up in Parliament by Sir Edwin Sandys, from whose observations and explanations it seems that body could not have been very well informed in respect to the relation between Old and New England. Among those who participated with Sir Edwin in his remarks, were Sir George Calvert, Sir Dudley Diggs, Sir John Brooke and Mr. John Guy.† Their remarks were so desultory, that one is almost at a loss to understand what was aimed at by the speakers, from the printed report of what has been termed the first debate in Parliament upon American affairs. However, no bill to promote or restrain trade and fishing on the coast passed this Parliament, although it is tolerably certain that the grantees intended and hoped to establish a monopoly of both. Monopoly has always been the aim of companies or corporations. That great and important ends have been accomplished by such means, will not probably be denied; nor will it be questioned, perhaps, that corporations belong to that class of things usually denominated necessary evils.

* The names of the early settlers at Pascataqua are given in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. ii. p. 39, from an ancient MS. in the hands of the editor.

† Proceedings and Debates in the House of Commons, i. 318-89.

CHAPTER VI.

Early Explorations in Boston Bay by Plymouth Men. — They first land in Dorchester — Then at Charlestown. — Intercourse with Indians about Medford. — Discover Mystic River. — Return to Plymouth. — Sir William Alexander. — His Grant of Territory in America. — John Mason. — His Grant of Territory called Mariana. — Lacouia. — Weymouth Colony. — Mr. John White. — Settlement at Cape Ann. — Conant, Oldham, Lyford. — Capt. Wallaston settles at Braintree. — He soon abandons it. — His Men continue. — Thomas Morton. — Difficulties with him. — He is captured and sent out of the Country.

1621. THE people settled at Plymouth, having heard from the
Sept. 18. Indians accounts of a place called "Massachusetts,"* and though the natives who inhabited thereabouts had "often threatened them," they resolved "to goe amongst them; partly to see the country, partly to make peace with them, and partly to procure their trucke." Accordingly ten men, including Miles Standish, captain in the expedition, and probably William Bradford, John Howland, Isaac Allerton, Richard Gardiner, &c. Squanto, or Tisquantum,† was their guide.‡

Sept. 18. Owing to the tide, they did not sail from Plymouth till "about midnight." They had not a correct idea of the distance; "and, supposing it neerer than it is, thought to be there the next morning betimes: but it proved

Miles Standish §

* A gentleman who has paid much attention to the language of the New England Indians, renders *Massachusetts* into English thus: — *Massa*, many; *Waschoo*, mountain; *auke*, place: hence, *Many-mountain-place*. Now in the *Massachusetts* language, *wachunt* was surely *mountain*. — See Eliot, *Ind. Bible*, Matt. xvii. 9, Mark iii. 13, &c. Hence the derivation is very obvious. The Indians inhabiting about Neponset river, and so around the bay to Mystic, were very naturally called the people at, about, or among the *many mountains*, by the Wampanoags and Narragansets, who had no mountains in their country. When it was not necessary to qualify the word *mountain*, it was simply *wachunt*; therefore *Wachusett*, the mountain.

† It is a conjecture of long standing, that that well known point in Dorchester received its name from this chief. The rustic legend, that it was so named because an Indian squaw threw herself from the rocks there, in "early times," is not deemed worthy consideration. For the want of a better derivation, probably, some one converted "*Squaw tumble*" into *Squantum*. If named for the Indian before mentioned, the time when, and the circumstances which occasioned it, are alike unknown. It is very possi-

ble that the name *Squantum*, however, had nothing to do with this Indian at all. In *Mass. Col. Records*, 7 Nov. 1632, "one hundred acres of land are granted to Mr. Roger Ludlow, betwixt Musquantum Chapel, and the mouth of Naponset." — See Mr. Lunt's *Cent. Ser. at Quincy*, p. 65. Here for many years was celebrated "Pilgrim Feast," to which people from all parts of the state resorted, and spent the day in social glee, in memory of the Pilgrim Fathers, and their first landing at Plymouth. It had been discontinued "many years," when Mr. Whitney published his "History of Quincy," which see, pp. 29, 30.

‡ "For these ends the Governours chose ten men, fit for the purpose, and sent *Tisquantum*, and two other Salvages to bring vs to speech with the people, and interpret for vs." — *A Relation of our Voyage to Massachusetts, and what happened there*; from the work usually cited as *Mourt's Relation*; the only original authority for this part of the early history of Massachusetts.

§ The annexed autograph of Standish is from an original document in my possession, dated 1631-2.

well neer twentie leagues from New Plymouth.”* They had, however, a fine run, for they arrived before daylight near the “Massachusetts.” Early in the morning they went on land. Looking about, they came upon a quantity of fresh lobsters. With these they retired under a cliff,† and breakfasted. Having placed “two sentinels behind the cliff landward, to secure the shallop,” and taking four men besides a guide, Capt. Standish proceeded into the country to find inhabitants. They had not gone far when they met a woman going for the lobsters with which they had just made free use; for which, however, they generously “contented her.” By her they learned where the Indians were, and Squanto soon found them. The rest of the company returned to the place of landing, with directions to bring the shallop to them.

They called the place where they now were, “the bottom of the Massachusetts Bay,” and it probably was the chief settlement of the Massachusetts Indians; hereabouts, doubtless, were the “Massachusetts fields,” of those days.‡ Here lived their Sachem, called Obbatinewat, who received and treated them kindly. He might well have had a double purpose in this, for he lived in daily fear of the Indians on the eastern side of the bay, or Tarratines; confessing that he dared not continue long in any place, lest they should surprise him; also that the squaw sachem of Massachusetts was his enemy.

The English proposed to Obbatinewat to come under the government of England, to which he readily consented, and then volunteered to conduct them to the squaw sachem, that they might see what success they could have with her. To get to that part of the country where

* This is an estimate not much out of the way, as they must have made a far more indirect course than was usual afterwards. As a general thing, distances are much overrated in the early accounts. This is always the case in new and wild countries.

† After this part of my work was drawn up, my friend, W. T. Harris, Esq., of Cambridge, put into my hands a manuscript upon many passages of the early history of Massachusetts, and particularly upon this voyage of the Pilgrims. His conclusions agreeing perfectly with my own, so far as I had gone, and having been evidently arrived at with just discrimination, I take great pleasure in giving my readers the benefit of them, as they are more definite than I had determined upon, before reading them. Mr. Harris says: — “Dr. Belknap (*Amer. Biog.*, ii. 224) supposed this cliff to be Copp’s Hill, in the north part of Boston, opposite Charlestown, adopted by most subsequent writers, has been finally sanctioned by no less an authority than the reverend editor of the *Chronicles of Plymouth*; who also conjectures that the party, after leaving Boston, recessed the harbor (or ‘Bay,’ as it is called), to Quincy, and went ashore at Squantum on the 21st; and that a hill in this vicinity, perhaps Milton Hill,

or some one of the Blue Hills, was the site of Nanepashemet’s royal residence, &c. Yet I must confess, that, after a most patient and careful examination of the subject, from every point of view, I am unable to find any sufficient reason for supposing that Standish and his companions landed on any part of Shawmut, at this time; but have come to the conclusion that ‘the bottom of the bay,’ where they came to anchor, was Quincy Bay, and the cliff beneath which they first landed, no other than the abrupt pile of rocks known by the name of ‘the Chapel,’ at the north-east extremity of the peninsula of Squantum.”

‡ Josselyn, in speaking of “Mount-Wolleston,” says it is called “Massachusetts-fields;” that here “*Chicabunt* the greatest *Sagamore* of the country lived before the plague: here the town of *Braintree* is seated.” — *Two Voyages*, 159–60. “Three miles to the north of Wicaguscusset is mount Wolleston, a very fertile soyle, and a place very convenient for farmers houses, there being great store of plaine ground, without trees. Neere this place is Massachusetts fields, where the greatest *sagamore* in the country liued before the plague, who caused it to be cleared for himselfe.” — Wood, *New England’s Prospect*, 31, ed. 1635.

she resided, they had to cross the bay,* “which,” they say, is “very large, and hath at least fifty islands in it,” but the Indians did not pretend to know the exact number. “Night it was,” says the writer of the voyage, “before wee came to that side of the bay where this people were. On shore the salvages went, but found nobody.” The English slept on board their shallop that night, which “rid at anchor.”

Sept. 21. The next day, all but two of the men “marched in arms vp in the country.” When they had gone three miles, they came to a place where corn had just been gathered, “a house pulled downe, and the people gone. A mile from hence, Nanepashemet,† their king, in his lifetime had lived. His house was not like others, but a scaffold was largely built, with pools and plancks, some six foote from the ground, and the house vpon that; being situated on the top of a hill.”‡

Not far from this place, “in a bottom,” they found a fort, built by the deceased chief, which they thus describe :

“There were pools, some thirtie or fortie foote long, stucke in the ground, as thick as they could be set one by another; and with these they inclosed a ring some forty or fifty foote ouer; a trench, breast high, was digged on each side; one way there was to goe into it with a bridge. In the midst of this pallizado stood the frame of an house, wherein, being dead, he lay buried.”

About a mile from this palisadoed fortification, they found another of similar structure. This is the place where the great sachem, Nanepashemet, was killed. None had lived in it since the time of his death, which, from some circumstances, is supposed to have been in 1619.

Here the Plymouth men rested a while, having sent two Indians to see if they could find any inhabitants; and, if they could, to invite them to a conference. At the distance of about a mile from the place where the English were, the two Indians found “the women of the place together, with their corne on heapes,” whither they had fled, as was supposed, from fear of the English; “and the more, because in diuers places they had newly pulled down their houses, and for hast in one



* Here is certainly evidence enough that they were not at Shawmut, but evidence enough that they were on the south side of the bay, somewhere. Would going from Copp's Hill to Charlestown be crossing the bay? and eliciting in connection observations about its extent and the great number of islands in it? They might well say, as they do, “again we crossed the Bay,” for they had already crossed one bay, or what to strangers could appear no oth-

er than a bay, from point Alderton to Squantum.

† In Roger Williams' *Key*, *Nanepashet* is translated *The moon God*.

‡ Situated in the vicinity of Mystic Pond, so called, in Medford. MS. of Mr. Harris, *ut supra*. The reasoning employed by the author in support of his location of Nanepashemet's fort, for which I have not room, is quite conclusive.

place had left some of their corne couered with a mat, and nobody with it."

These women discovered much alarm at first, but their fears were soon overcome by the kind behavior of the intruders; and they, as is the custom of the Indians, hastened to treat them with such victuals as their wigwams afforded, consisting of boiled codfish "and such other things." The apprehensions of the Indian men were so great, that none would approach the English until they had been "much sent for," and then only one man ventured to come, who "shook and trembled with feare." When he found what the English wanted, that they came in friendship and "to truck," he promised "them his skins also." They endeavored to ascertain by this Indian where the squaw sachem was, but, from what they could learn, they concluded "she was far from thence; at least they could not see her."

On this occasion Squanto showed his propensity for mischief. He proposed to the English to plunder those women of what they had, — those who were then treating them so kindly, — but they rejected the proposal, as all honorable men would, and told Squanto, that though they "were never so bad," and might belong to a bad people, and have threatened the people of Plymouth, as he said, yet they would not wrong them.

This excursion occupied the whole day. At evening, as they returned to their shallop, accompanied "by almost all the women," who, in their eagerness to truck for the commodities which the English had, "sold their coats from their backes, and tyed boughes about them, but with great shamefastness, (for indeed they are more modest then some of our English women are)." Parting from these people, the voyagers promised to come again, and the Indians to keep their skins for them.

They understood the Indians to say that there were two rivers in the bay. One they saw themselves, but had not time to examine it.* They decided that "better harbours for shipping there cannot be then here are. At the entrance of the bay are many rocks; and in all likelihood good fishing-ground." They found, as Captain Smith did seven years before, that most of the islands had been inhabited, and that some had been cleared "from end to end, but the people were all dead or removed."

Such were the explorations "in and about the bottom of Massachusetts Bay," around where Boston is, nine years before the arrival of the colony which settled it. The country pleased those so well who made this exploration, that the report they carried to their friends in Plymouth caused them to express their sorrow "that they had not been seated there." But having planted corn and built huts at Plymouth,

* This was unquestionably the Mystic; in full view as they landed upon the peninsula of Charles river. Hence, Charlestown was known before Boston, as well as settled before it. Mr. Harris, in his MS. before quoted, fully coincides in these views of the author.

and being there secure from the natives, they judged the motives for continuance to be stronger than for removal.*

1621. Sir William Alexander,† about the same time, through the Sept. 10. friendship of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, shares a portion of the Plymouth Company's patent. Seeing that the English had done but little, or nothing, in fact, directly to establish settlements in New England, he hoped the Scotchmen might be more successful. The patent to Sir William was ample, embracing the whole territory of Acadia, which was confirmed to him and his heirs by King James, and erected into a Palatinate, to be holden as a fief of the Crown of Scotland. But the Scotch made out no better than the English; one ship after another returned home with tales of misfortunes, till Sir William, like Sir Ferdinando, was forced to sit down, with what content he might, under heavy losses and disappointments.

The same year, Captain John Mason, Governor of Portsmouth, in Hampshire, who, like Gorges, had been an officer in the navy, and Governor of Newfoundland, and had by a vacancy become Secretary to the Council of Plymouth, procured a grant of territory in New England, "of all the land from the river of Naumkeag (Salem) round Cape Anne, to the river Merrimack, and up each of these rivers to the farthest head thereof; then to cross over from the head of the one to the head of the other; with all the islands lying within three miles of the coast." To this tract was given the name of "*Mariana*."‡

1622. The next year another grant was made to Gorges and Mason jointly, of all the lands between the Merrimack and Sagadahock, extending inland to the Great Lakes and to the River of Canada. This was called "*Laconia*," and thus was laid the foundation of the State of New Hampshire,§ which has been briefly noticed in a previous page.

1623. Although the colony at Wessagusset is generally supposed to have been abandoned last year, its abandonment appears to have been temporary; || for this year it is stated, on good authority, that the 1624. people there received an accession to their number by emigrants

* This was a momentous question in its day, and the decision of the pious fathers was no doubt weighed by them, as one involving their existence. But when the grave historian, Dr. Belknap, came to consider it, he could not help remarking, with feigned complacency, that though the Pilgrims thought it not worth while to remove, "many of their posterity have judged otherwise!"

† First Earl of Stirling. To this title he was raised in 1633. He was born in 1530, died in London, Feb. 1649. His father was Alexander Alexander of Menstrie, who died 1594. His father's name was Andrew Alexander. John Alexander, uncle of Sir William, was the ancestor of our Lord Stirling, conspicuous in the revolutionary war. He labored long and ardently to substantiate his claim to the Earldom, to which he was entitled in the judgment of

some of the most learned barristers of Scotland and England; but owing, perhaps, to the manner in which he presented his claim, he lost it. The House of Lords decided against its validity in 1762. This, our Lord Stirling married a daughter of Philip Livingston, and died at Albany, N. Y., 12 Jan. 1782, without male issue. The late Earl of Stirling probably found about as much perplexity in establishing his title to the lands of his ancestors in America, as his kinsman did in his fruitless and expensive pursuit of the Earldom. — See *Statement of the Case of Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, 8 vo, London, 1832.

‡ Belknap's *Hist. of New Hampshire*, Farmer's edition, p. 4.

§ Ibid.

|| It is very probable that when the troubles had assumed a serious aspect, and actual war

from Weymouth in Dorsetshire; on which account it is supposed to have received the name of Weymouth. There were about fifty English ships fishing on the coast of New England this year, with better success than ever.*

Seeing that the colony of Plymouth was likely to continue and flourish, some of those in England who had anxiously watched its progress, — the most conspicuous of whom was the Rev. Mr. John White, a puritan minister of Dorchester, in Dorsetshire, — excited several gentlemen to prepare for another settlement in New England. Accordingly “sundry persons” are sent over, who begin a plantation at Cape Ann. Among this number were Mr. John Tilley and Mr. Thomas Gardiner; the former was “overseer of the planting,” and the latter was “overseer of the fishing.” Meantime, Mr. White having learned that the Plymouth people had driven Mr. Roger Conant, Mr. John Lyford and Mr. John Oldham from that place in consequence of a disagreement in their religious opinions; “wherefore that reverend person (one of the chief founders of the Massachusetts Colony) being grieved in his spirit that so good a work should be suffered to fall to the ground,” and learning the excellent character of Mr. Conant from Mr. Conant’s brother in England, procured from the company of adventurers his appointment “to be Governor, and to have the managing and government of all their affairs at Cape Anne.” Lyford and Oldham went to Cape Ann also, but did not remain there long. The former removed to Virginia and died there, and the latter traded between New England and Virginia, and in the year 1636 was killed by the Indians.†

1625. The next year, “one Captain Wallaston” came into the Massachusetts Bay, and began a settlement within what was afterwards called Braintree.‡ With him came several persons of “some eminence;” but the actual number of his followers does not appear to be known; nor is it stated from what place this colony came, nor has the Christian name of Mr. Wallaston been discovered. Thomas Morton, of whom notice has been taken, returned to New England with this company. But Captain Wallaston, not finding things to his liking, removed, with a great part of his servants, to Virginia, in the fall of 1626. A Mr. Rasdale was left in command of the place on Mr. Wallaston’s departure, but he soon proceeded to Virginia also, leaving a Mr. Filcher to manage affairs. But nothing further is heard of Filcher, while Morton made himself very conspicuous, and soon became obnoxious

had been begun, the people all fled from Weymouth; but a few weeks’ time proved to them that they had nothing to fear from the Indians; the suspicious leaders of whom had all been killed by Standish and his war-party; that, therefore, they soon left their hiding-places and returned to their settlement. That they have not been particularly noticed by cotemporary writers is not at all strange, as they were few and politically unimportant.

* Prince, Hubbard, Holmes. Mr. Hancock says the emigrants who came in 1624, “were

of the better sort of people.” — *Century Sermon*, at Braintree, 1739, p. 18.

† Hubbard’s *Hist. of New England*, ed. Harris, 106-7.

‡ When a section of Braintree was set off for a separate township, it was called Quincy, — in honor of the highly respectable family which resided there, and of which a branch remains to this day; Mr. Wallaston was included in this section, and was within the farm of one of the Messrs. Quincy.

to his neighbors at Plymouth. They seem to have recognized him as the leader of the plantation, and the author of all the mischief that happened to it after Mr. Wollaston left it. He was, judging independently of what his neighbors say of him, evidently a "merry companion;" and his company, consisting of young men, were ready to enjoy themselves to-day, come what might to-morrow. Great offence was taken by the Pilgrims at their impiety, as they viewed their conduct to be impious, and Morton and his friends derided them for their overmuch piety and austere manners.* Mutual dislikes at length grew to such a height, that nothing short of the breaking up of the settlement of Mount Wollaston could be likely to satisfy the people of Plymouth. Morton and his party considered themselves an independent community, as in fact they were, and that it was nobody's business to call them to account for erecting a May-pole and dancing about it; whether they said their prayers as they had been taught to say them, or whether they read them out of a book, or whether they said or read prayers at all. But their neighbors thought otherwise, and, soon after the arrival of Governor Endicott, their opponents feeling themselves strong enough to force a compliance with their wishes, a company was raised among the scattered settlements, which proceeded, under Standish, to Ma-re-Mount, — as Morton had named Mount Wollaston, — captured the unruly party, and thus put an end to a colony † which has given rise to much curious inquiry, and a good deal of speculation; but of which, hitherto, no satisfactory history has appeared.‡

1628. The expense of capturing Morton and some half dozen other men was assessed on a part of the scattered inhabitants of New England; but whether with their consent, or whether they actually paid in the amounts assessed upon them, there is nothing to show; yet it has been said, that even Morton's Episcopal friends contributed towards the

* The Rev. Mr. Hancock, with the *New England's Memorial* open before him, says, "But one Mr. Morton, whom Capt. Wollaston left there with part of the company, fell to great licentiousness and profaneness, till the good people in their scattered plantations in the Massachusetts Bay unite with Plymouth government, and go and suppress them, and disperse the worst of the company, leaving the more modest here, and sending Morton to England, with a messenger and letters to inform against him, for his wicked and insufferable behavior." — *Century Sermon*, p. 18.

† An end, so far only, as appears from several accounts, as respects the riotous part of the colony. See Hancock's *Cent. Sermon*, at supra, Davis in *Morton*, and Belknap, *Amer. Biography*, ii. 334.

‡ In my *History of New England*, I propose to go at large into the affairs of this colony. It is indeed a poor question where there is nothing to be said, except on one side. As yet the subject has been sketched from one point of view only. Morton was originally tried, condemned and transported, because, as

he says, the colonists of Ma-re-Mount had better success in trading with the Indians than the people of Plymouth had; and because they read prayers after the manner of the Episcopal church. The charges brought against him are met with everywhere, and require no repetition here. They were brought with great gravity, by his namesake, the author of *New England's Memorial*, in his work, from which they have been copied, with such embellishments as suited the fancies of their copyists; while Morton probably considered the subject, in the time of it, as one not worthy of sober consideration; and hence we find it, in his *New Canaan*, treated only with ridicule. Had he ever imagined that it would become matter of serious history, he would doubtless have left us a very different and more circumstantial account. In speaking of the "tenants" of the people of New England, Morton says that they held the use "of a ring in marriage to be a relique of popery; a diabolical circle for the Devell to daunce in." — *New Canaan*, 118.

expense of the expedition against him; which circumstance, if true, would go to prove that they, at least, disapproved of his conduct. In justice to them, however, as well as to Morton, the case should be stated as it actually existed, that posterity may be able to come to a just judgment between all parties implicated.*

By the assessment referred to, some opinion may be formed of the state of the settlements; of their numbers and importance, and where they were situated. Thus, the whole amount assessed was twelve pounds and seven shillings. Of this amount Plymouth has set against it, two pounds and ten shillings; Naumkeak [Salem], one pound ten shillings; Pascataquaek [Portsmouth], two pounds ten shillings; Mr. Jeffrey and Mr. Burslem [Isle of Shoals],† two pounds; Nataseot, one pound ten shillings; Mrs. Thomson [Squantum], fifteen shillings; Mr. Blackstone [Shawmut], twelve shillings; and Edward Hilton [Dover], one pound.‡

* It is true that Governor Bradford (Prince, 251) speaks of a "meeting of the chief of the straggling plantations," to take counsel about the disorders at the Mount. Those plantations he names as follows: — "Pascataway, Naumkeak, Winisimmet, Wessagusset, Nataseot, and other places." At their meeting, they "agree to solicit those of Plymouth, who are of greater strength than all, to join and stop this growing mischief, by suppressing Merion and Company."

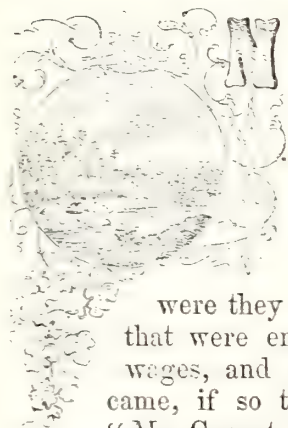
† Not much confidence is felt in locating these gentlemen at the Isle of Shoals. At, or before this period, I believe one Jeffrey had a fishing stage there; and it is certain, that, to this day, a noted fishing place in the neighborhood bears the name of *Jeffries*. That the Shoals were inhabited at this time seems probable, for the ship in which Morton was sent away, sailed from the Isle of Shoals, as appears from Bradford (Prince, 252), who says Morton was kept at Plymouth "till a ship going from the Isle of Shoals to England, he is sent in her to the New England Council [Council of Plymouth], with a messenger and letters to inform against him. Yet they do nothing to him, not so much as rebuke him, and he returns next year." — There was a "Mr. John Burslin," desiring to be made freeman at Boston, in 1630; and in 1631, a "Mr. Jo. Burslyn." See N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg., ii. 90-1. It is not presumed that the memorandum of Governor Bradford is to be taken as presenting a complete catalogue of all the places occupied about the coast of New England. These enumerated might have been considered the only ones of whom any assistance was to be expected. It has been conjectured that several of the scattered settlers in and about the harbor of Boston came over with Captain Robert Gorges. The conjecture is a reasonable one. They were chiefly within Gorges' patent, which was "10 miles in breadth, and 30 miles into the land, on the north-east side of the bay called *Messachusetts*." His intended colony was Episcopalian

— Blackstone, Maverick, Walford, Thompson, and perhaps others, were of that faith. See Mr. Haven's learned and ingenious introduction to the *Records of the Comp. of the Mass. Bay, &c.*, vol. iii. *Archæ. Americana*. It is to be noted that the location of Gorges' patent has been misunderstood, and will continue to be, unless the reader considers that "the north-east side" of the Bay has reference to the land of Massachusetts. The land, as described in the patent, is "all that part of the main land called or known by the name of *Messachusetts*." Hence Gorges, perhaps by way of distinction, gives a little different name to his tract of country, from "*Messachuset*," by which name the whole was known; and hence I conclude that this patent covered that part of the country where the Massachusetts Indians had their chief residence, and which has already been described. It was an important object with patentees to have their grants cover Indian settlements, because trade with them for beaver could be carried on advantageously, and without infringing on the rights of others. Mr. Walford was located in a place "full of Indians;" and it will be seen with what anxiety the Massachusetts Company operated to exclude Mr. Oldham and others from the country about the bottom of the bay. Mr. Wheelwright's purchase of 1629 included great Indian resorts and settlements. Others might be mentioned.

‡ See Belknap, *Amer. Biography*, ii. 334. — The assessment, as given above, Dr. Belknap copied from the original Letter-Book of Governor Bradford; which assessment, though copied from that MS., is probably a mere memorandum by the Governor, as a sort of explanation to a copy of a letter sent to England, containing accusations against Morton. As such, it appears in the original edition of vol. iii. *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, p. 63. Why, in the reprint of this work, the matter under consideration stands with interpolation marks, there is nothing to explain. I have not seen the original MS., nor have I inquired whether it

CHAPTER VII.

Colony of Cape Ann. — Settlement of Naumkeag. — Roger Conant. — Origin of the Massachusetts Company. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges. — His early Prophecy of American Independence. — Rev. John White. — Governor John Endicott. — Sails for New England. — Settlement of Charlestown. — Description of the country. — John Oldham. — His Grant. — Thwarted by the Massachusetts Company. — Returns to New England. — Mr. John Wheelwright and others proceed from Massachusetts and purchase New Hampshire of the Indians. — Captain Mason's grant of the same territory from the Council of Plymouth.



NOTICE has been taken in the last chapter of a settlement at Cape Ann. The persons engaged there ("their design not likely to answer their expectations"), sent word to the Adventurers in England — at whose charge the settlement had been begun — how their affairs stood; briefly, that they were not prosperous. A relinquishment of the undertaking was therefore resolved upon by those Adventurers. "Yet were they so civil," says the historian Hubbard, "to those that were employed under them, as to pay them all their wages, and proffered to transport them back whence they came, if so they desired." The same historian adds, that "Mr. Conant, disliking the place as much as the Adventurers disliked the business," had, "meanwhile, made some inquiry into a more commodious place, called Naumkeag, a little to the westward, secretly conceiving in his mind, that it might prove a receptacle for such as, upon the account of religion, would be willing to begin a plantation in this part of the world;" and therefore he made known his discoveries and opinions to some of his friends in England. Accordingly, Mr. White, before mentioned, who had been grieved at the sudden abandonment of the undertaking by the Adventurers, wrote to Mr. Conant, and urged him not "to desert the business," promising that if he would stay in the country with three others, and occupy Naumkeag, and give him notice of the fact, he would provide a patent for them; and would send them whatever they should write for; either men, provisions, or goods.

Conant determined to continue. John Woodberry, John Balch, and Peter Jaffrey, who had been employed by the Adventurers, agreed to abide with him. The three last, however, after long waiting for assistance, thinking probably that supplies might fail to arrive in season, and their necessities being great; fearing, too, that the Indians were hostile towards them, came to the conclusion to go to Virginia, especially as their minister, Mr. Lyford, "upon a loving invitation, was thither

were preserved after it was used to print from. any longer of service, and that they remained I have understood, incidentally, that many in the printers' hands, and went with their valuable MSS., so used, were not considered *worthless paper rubbish!*

bound."* They urged Mr. Conant to go with them; but had he had the heart of an old Roman he could not have shown superior in future ages. "No," he said, "though you all forsake me, I will remain." Seeing his firmness, and knowing, from experience, the goodness of his heart, they could not bring their minds to desert him, and thus the breath of life was continued on that sterile side of the Bay of Massachusetts.†

To the sterling integrity of Roger Conant, therefore, was Salem indebted for its first English inhabitants. Through the agency of Mr. White, great confidence had been reposed in him by the Adventurers, and, as before observed, he proved himself worthy of it. Nor was he mistaken in the promises of Mr. White on his part; who, exerting himself among his friends, soon enlisted Sir Henry Rosewell,‡ Sir John Young,§ knights; Thomas Southcoat,|| John Humphrey,¶ John En-

* In Morton's *New Canaan*, Book iii., chap. viii., may be seen that facetious author's ideas of the reasons of "Master Layford's and John Oldham's" treatment from the Pilgrims.

† "Meanwhile, White had projected an asylum for the silenced nonconformist clergy, who then thought themselves persecuted, because they were not allowed to persecute." — *Chalmers' Polit. Annals*, 135. This author omits no opportunity to slur the nonconformists and Puritans. In speaking of the settlement of Plymouth, he says, "The Brownists," who "nestled at Cape Cod." He probably well knew that the followers of Mr. Robinson always repudiated the name of Brownists, and that they were *not* of the sect of Robert Brown.

‡ Chalmers, 147, has the following round-about note on Rosewell, or, as he is often written, Rowswell. "In opposition to the pretensions of the truly celebrated Sir Samuel Luke, it has been zealously contended by the partisans of this knight, so famous in the story of Massachusetts, that Sir Henry was assuredly the great prototype of the incomparable Sir Hudibras. See the subject discussed in the Introduction to Grey's [edition of] *Hudibras*, and the Sup. to Granger's Biography." Dr. Grey, it should be stated, is not of the opinion that Sir Henry Rosewell is intended by Hudibras; and Granger says Sir *Samuel* Rosewell, which is no doubt a mistake. When Westcote wrote his *Views of Devonshire* (about 1620), he says, p. 245, Thornecombe "is now the inheritance of Sir Henry Rowswell, late sheriff of this county." Thornecombe is in Ford Parish. His wife was Mary, daughter of John Drake, Esq., of Ashe. She was interred in the parish church at Musbury, in 1643. Soon after her death, as I judge, Sir Henry sold his estates and went to reside in Somersetshire. See Lysons' *Magna Britan.*, ccciii. 300.

§ Said to be of Devonshire. There was a Sir John Young (I think the same), of Culliton, in that shire, whose daughter Jane was

the wife of Sir John Drake, of Ashe. She died in 1682. This Sir John Drake was son of the John Drake, Esq., mentioned in the last note. Sir John Young was a member of the Long Parliament, 1640, and a signer of the "Solemn League and Covenant," in 1643; a member of Cromwell's second Parliament, in 1654, from Honiton; and of the third Parliament, 1656. See Mr. Haven, in *Archol. Americana*.

|| Supposed by Farmer to be the same person admitted freeman at Boston, 1631; but on what authority he comes to that conclusion he does not state; if no other than that of his bearing the same Christian name, it is quite small. He was, perhaps, of the Southcotes of Mohuns-Ottery, county Devonshire. George, son and heir of Thomas, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Henry Seymour, brother to the Duke of Somerset, and had a son Thomas. — See *Westcote*. This family was connected with the Pophams. There is a curious account of them in Prince's *Worthies of Devonshire*.

¶ It is to be hoped that the time is near at hand when we may find such names as Humphrey in Biographical Dictionaries. "John Humphreys, Esq.," was a man of great consequence in the first days of Massachusetts. He was chosen deputy governor at the second meeting of the Massachusetts Company, in England; came to New England in 1632; elected assistant same year, which office he held till 1641. He resided a while at Lynn, then at Salem. Meeting with some severe misfortunes, he left the country in 1641. Although his name usually appears in history and in historical documents, as above written, his own autograph, in my possession, is here

Jo: Humphrey

fac-similied. Its date is 1637. — See Farmer's *Gen. Register*, Art. *Humphrey*. Also, Hazard, Winthrop, Hutchinson; Lewis and Felt may be consulted with advantage.

dicott,* and Simon Whetcomb,† gentlemen, “about Dorchester,” to make a purchase of territory in New England of the Council of Plymouth, 1627-8. cuth. On application, that corporation conveyed to the above Mar. 10. named gentlemen, their heirs and associates, the country from three miles north of the Merrimack, to three miles south of the Charles River, and to extend from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This grant, of course, swallowed up several others previously made. Why the Council utterly disregarded them does not clearly appear, though it is conjectured by some historians ‡ that they, being entirely neglected by the grantees, were looked upon as forfeited or void. But it is certain, that if the Council, as a body, so considered those grants, individual members of it were of a different opinion.§ Referring to this grant or purchase from the Council of Plymouth, Sir Ferdinando Gorges says, “Some of the discreeter, sought to avoid what they found themselves subject unto, made use of their friends to procure from the Council for the affairs of New England to settle a colony within their limits; to which it pleased the thrice-honored Lord of Warwick to write to me, then at Plymouth, to condescend that a Patent might be granted to such as then sued for it. Whereupon I gave my approbation, || so far forth as it might not be prejudicial to my son, Robert Gorges’ interest, whereof he had a patent under the seal of the Council. Hereupon there was a grant passed as was thought reasonable; but the same was after enlarged by his majesty, ¶ and confirmed under the great seal of England, by the authority whereof the undertakers proceeded so effectually, that in a very short time numbers of people of all sorts flocked thither in heaps, that at last it was specially ordered, by the king’s command, that none should be suffered to go without license first had and obtained, and they to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. So that what I long before prophesied, when I could hardly get any for money to reside there, was now brought to pass in a high measure. The reason of that restraint was grounded upon the several complaints that came out of those parts, of the divers sects and schisms that were amongst them; all condemning the public government of the ecclesiastical state. And it was doubted that they would, in short time, wholly shake off the royal jurisdiction of the sovereign magistrate.” **

* Of Endicott, who came over with a commission as Governor in 1628, an excellent historical memoir has been printed, prepared by a descendant, Charles M. Endicott, Esq., of Salem. An abstract of this work will be found in the first volume of the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* Chalmers says, with accuracy, “He laid the foundation of Salem in 1628, the first permanent town in Massachusetts; who, in 1629, was confirmed Governor within the colony, and was honored with new instructions.” — *Political Annals*, 136, 142.

† Simon Whetcomb never came to this country, and nothing of his history or family has been found, further than his connection with the Company. These six persons are said, in all the early accounts, to be “gentlemen about

Dorchester.” It was doubtless true, while nearly all of them resided in Devonshire, though within a few miles of Dorchester.

‡ Hutehinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 8.

§ See Gorges’ *Nar.*, chap. xxvi., B. I.

|| From this passage, and what we elsewhere find concerning Gorges’ disposition towards New England, is it hardly just in an American historian of the present day to say of him that he “seemed to favor” this patent? — See Bancroft, *Hist. U. S.*, 138, ed. Lond., 1843.

¶ Many early, as well as some late, writers, carelessly state that the charter which Gorges here refers to was granted by Parliament. See Prince, *New Eng. Chron.*, 249.

** For the accompanying copy of the autograph of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, I am indebted

In this short passage, by one of the men who had sacrificed so much to settle New England, is contained matter for volumes of history. In the first place, as regards the nature and extent of the grants of the Council of Plymouth. In the second place, as to the persons licensed to transport themselves out of England to reside here. And, thirdly, how they came to give occasion to their rulers for fears, at so early a day, that there was a design on their part to become independent of the crown. True, there was nothing more natural, under a government like that of England, where the civil and ecclesiastical powers composing it were nearly equal, than that the people who should undertake to deny a part of the authority of that government, should, of necessity, deny the whole; for they were inseparable; and, hence, a rebellion or revolution must unavoidably ensue. Those fears, time has shown, were not without good foundation.* And Sir Ferdinando Gorges, so far as anything as yet appears to the contrary, was the first to publish to the world a "prophesie," the fulfilment of which did not probably more astonish those who opposed, than those who accomplished it.

As soon as the grant was obtained from the Council of Plymouth, the grantees took the name of "the Massachusetts Company;" which, though composed of a small number of individuals at first, soon became respectable numerically considered. And, although above one hundred individuals, from time to time, are known to have belonged to it, yet it has not been ascertained how many did in reality belong to it, at any particular period.†

to the eminent collector of such things, Mr. CHARLES H. MORSE, of Cambridge. The origi-

Ferd: Gorges

nal is attached to a document in the hands of MELLEŶ CHAMBERLAIN, Esq., of Chelsea. Although sufficient has been said to vindicate Sir Ferdinando Gorges from any ill intentions towards the settlers of Massachusetts, I cannot forbear citing a passage from the Journal of Mr. Richard Mather, going to show, that, in 1635, Sir Ferdinando professed much interest in the welfare of the colony. When Mr. Mather, in the ship James, lay in King Road, "four or five miles below Bristol," ready to sail for New England, "there came three or four more boates with more passengers, and one wherein came Sir Ferdinando George, who came to see the ship and the people. When hee was come, hee enquired whether there were any people there that went to Massachusetts Bay; whereupon Mr. Maud and Mr. Barnabas Fower were sent for to come before him; who,

being come, hee asked Mr. Maud of his country, occupation, or calling of life, &c., and professed his good will to the people there in the Bay, and promised that, if ever hee came there hee would be a true friend unto them."—*Printed in the Colls. Dorchester Antiq. and Hist. Soc., from the original MS.*

* And thus some recent writers have made the discovery that the American Revolution of 1776 actually commenced with the emigration. Might it not, with at least equal propriety, be carried back to the germ of the first thought of liberty of conscience!

† The following is a list of all such as appear in the Company's Records, as published in vol. iii., Part I., *Trans. Amer. Antiq. Soc.*, amounting to one hundred and fifty. Some of them may not have been members of the Company, but, as Mr. Haven, the editor, observes, they were in some way connected with it, as servants or otherwise. After the names of these, I have caused a *u* to be set, to denote the uncertainty of their membership.

Abrie, —
A. C., —
Adams, Thomas
Aldersey, Samuel
Andrews, Thomas,
Archer, John
Arnold, Andrew
Backhouse, —

Ballard, Daniel
Barkley, William *u*
Bateman, —
Beecher, Thomas (captain
of the *Talbot*) *u*
Bellingham, Richard
Betts, John *u*
Bilson, —

1628. Soon after a grant was obtained, probably within a few days, March, the members had a meeting, at which they chose Matthew Cra- dock governor, and Thomas Goff deputy governor. Mr. White had, in the mean time, engaged "several other religious persons in and about London," to be of the company, who, from their desire to provide an asylum "where noneonformists might transport themselves and enjoy the liberty of their own persuasion in matters of worship and church discipline," had, it appears, entered into the views and wishes of Mr. White. The Governor and Deputy Governor had probably joined the company about the time of its first meeting. They were opulent mer- chants of London; and their influence with other men of wealth made their acquisition to the company of great importance.

The sending succor to Mr. Conant seems not for a moment to have been lost sight of, or unnecessarily delayed; for, within three months from the organization of the Company, a ship had been provided, and all things made necessary for a voyage "into those remote parts of the earth," as New England was then accounted.

There seems to have been some difficulty at first about a proper officer to conduct this enterprise. Captain John Endicott, however, a member of the company, required only to be asked if he would go and reside in New England, and act as governor of the colony, when he promptly answered in the affirmative; which answer was in conformity with his previous and after history: A man of decision of character, "whose deep enthusiasm," says Chalmers, "engaged him zealously to promote

Borenman, Felix u	Dudley, Thomas	Lewis, Humphrey u	Sharpe, Thomas
Bowry, Richard u	Durbridge, Mr. — u	Ludlowe, Roger	Sherman, William u
Bradshawe, Job	Eaton, Theophilus	Malbon, John (<i>worker in iron</i>) u	Skelton, Samuel
Bradshawe, Joseph	Edmonds, James (<i>sailor and fisherman</i>) u	Manstreye, Nathaniel	Smith, John
Bradstreet, Simon	Endicott, John	Mayo, Mr. — u	Southcot, Thomas
Breaston, Sir William	Fines, Charles	Milburne, Capt. Peter	Spurston, [William]
Brickhead, Thomas u	Flyer, Francis	Miller, Sydrach (<i>cooper</i>) u	Stevens, Thomas
Bright, Francis	Forde, Edward	Mitchell, Barnard u	Tallmale, Richard
Brown, John	Foxcroft, George	Morley, Robert (<i>barber and surgeon</i>) u	Vassall, Samuel
Browne, Samuel	Gace, John (<i>turner</i>) u	Moulton, Robert (<i>shipwright</i>) u	Vassall, William
Browne, Neham	Gardener, Mr. — u	Nowell, Increase	Venn, John
Burgess, William	Gauden, Henry (<i>master of the ship Abigail</i>) u	Nye, Philip	Wade, —
Burnell, [Tobias ?]	Gladwing, John u	Offield, Joseph	Walgrave, —
Bushard, Richard	Glover, John	Palmer, Abraham	Waller, Capt. Henry
Carron, Joseph	Goffe, Thomas	Pelham, — u	Ward, Nathaniel
Casson, Edward (<i>merchant</i> u)	Graves, Thomas u	Perry, Richard	Washborne, John
Carleton, Robert u	Hanscomber, Thomas u	Peters, Hugh	Waye, George
Churchill, Joseph u	Harwood, George	Phillips, George	Webb, Francis
Clarke, —	Harrett, Robert u	Pocock, John	Webb, Thomas
Claydon, Barnaby u	Helme, Gaven u	Pratt, John (<i>surgeon</i>) u	West, Nicholas
Claydon, Richard (<i>carpen- ter</i>) u	Hewson, George	Puliston, Thomas	Whitt, John u
Coddingon, William	Hewson, John	Pyncheon, William	White, Ralph u
Colburn, William	Higginson, Francis	Revell, John	Winthrop, John
Cony, Thomas u	Hodson, Daniel	Roe, Lawrence u	Whetcomb, Simon
Cooke, Edward	Hubbard, William	Rossiter, Edward	Whicote, Charles
Coulson, Christopher	Humphrey, John	Roswell, Sir Henry	White, Edmund
Cradock, Matthew	Hutchins, Thomas	Rovell, William (<i>shipmas- ter</i>) u	White, John (<i>minister</i>)
Crauc, Robert	Ironsides, —	Rowe, Owen	White, John (<i>jurist</i>)
Crowther, William	Janson, Sir Brian	Saltostall, Sir Richard	White, Richard
Darbie, William	Johnson, Francis u	Seale, Humphrey	Wise, John (<i>shoemaker</i>) u
Darley, Henry	Johnson, Isaac	Seale, Robert (<i>apprentice</i>) u	Woodgate, —
Davenport, John	Joyce, Mr. — u	Sharpe, Samuel	Wright, Nathaniel
Davis, Richard	Kerke, Jarvis u		Wyche, —
Downing, Emanuel			Young, James
			Young, Sir John
			Young, Richard

the success of an enterprise which was to gratify the favorite passions of every one." But this historian should have added, "when those passions have for their object purity of life, and the universal good of his fellow-man." John Endicott, like other great men who have immortalized their names, requires the addition of no sounding titles to ennoble his memory. His simple name is a better indication of greatness than any title that his native country's peerage could confer.*

1628. There was now June 20. riding at anchor in the harbor of Weymouth, a little ship called the Abigail, of about two hundred tons burden, Henry Gauden,† master. On the morning of one of the last days of the month of June, 1628, Captain Endicott, with his wife, children, and others of his company, being on board, to the number probably of about one hundred souls, with the last greetings of many

friends assembled on the occasion, sails out of Weymouth bay; and, doubling the noted promontory called Portland Bill, is soon lost sight of in the channel beyond. Whatever were the incidents of the voyage across the Atlantic, there is nothing from which to form an account,‡ however important they may have been. But they arrived at Naum-

Sept. 6. keag, their place of destination, after a voyage of two months and "some few odd days." The joy with which they were received by Mr. Conant and his little company, can be conceived by those only capable of imagining what the real condition of the country then must have been, — an immeasurable expanse of lofty forests shrouded in the sable gloom of ages; separated from the wide Atlantic ocean only by a rugged curtain of fearful rocks and barren sands. The actual number composing the colony of which Mr. Endicott found him-

* The early historian of New England, Captain Edward Johnson, the cotemporary of Endicott, calls him in his history, "The much honoured," — "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness-work; of courage bold, undanted,

and austere, applying himself to either, as occasion served." *Wond.-work. Prov. of Sion's Sav. in New England*, p. 19. The preceding copy of Gov. Endicott's autograph is from a legal paper of 1647.

† Godden, Gooden, Goodin, Godwin, Goodwin, Gooding, &c., all probably traceable to the same original.

‡ Endicott wrote a letter to the governor of the Company, dated one week after his arrival, in which he probably detailed the incidents of the voyage, but that letter has not been preserved, or, if preserved, it has not come to the knowledge of historians.

J. Endicott

yet sociable, and of a chearfull spirit, loving



FIRST GOVERNOR



OF MASSACHUSETTS

John Endecott
Jo. Endecott

THE MASSACHUSETTS ARCHIVES
HAS THE HONOR TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE RECEIPT OF THE ORIGINAL OF THE ABOVE SIGNATURE

self governor,* at his arrival at Naumkeag, has never been ascertained; but, judging from the data that are to be found, there could not have been many above one hundred persons in and about that part of the country.†

Some time after the arrival of Governor Endicott, several gentlemen, under his direction, crossed the country to Mishawum. The principal persons who went on this discovery were three brothers, Ralph, Richard and William Sprague. The place they "lighted of" was "on the north side of Charles river, full of Indians, called Aberginians. Their old Sachem being dead, his eldest son, by the English called John Sagamore, was their chief, and a man naturally of a gentle and good dispo-

* Half a century ago, or to be more exact, sixty-two years ago (1790), an edition of Gov. Winthrop's Journal was published at Hartford, in the title-page of which the editor or transcriber wrote, after the name of the author, "First Governor of Massachusetts." This is an error which no one will seriously deny. Matthew Cradock, as we have seen, was the first governor of the Massachusetts Company. The Company established a colony at Naumkeag, in 1628, over which Endicott had a commission, executed with all the formalities of those days, constituting him governor. He was exercising the office of governor in the colony at Naumkeag before Winthrop was even Governor of the Company in England. Governors in those days, and even a hundred years later, were not, as it respects the office, what they have been since. Roger Conant was a governor before Endicott arrived, but he was not so by the appointment of the Massachusetts Company, for that company was not formed when Conant was appointed Governor of the Cape Ann Colony. Hutchinson remarks, with regard to Conant's office, that "the superior condition of the persons who came over with the charter, cast a shade upon him, and he lived in obscurity." It depends altogether upon the number and wealth of a community, whether or not, in after times, those who held offices in it are to be dignified by the titles of such offices; and that it therefore follows, if offices are of more importance, because exercised over more or better people, the predecessors in the same offices are not entitled to be known by such titles of office! Such must inevitably be the reasoning warranted by the only inference to be drawn from the passage of Hutchinson. It is of no consequence whatever whether Conant, Endicott, or Winthrop was the first governor of Massachusetts, further than to have the facts stated exactly as they existed, and as the original records warrant.

† The following is a list of the names of such as are known to have been in Salem and about the north side of the Massachusetts Bay, before and in the year 1629; consequently, before the settlement of Boston. They have been collected from Original Papers, the *Ans. of Salem*, *Lewis' Hist. of Lynn*, &c.

Allan, William
Balch, John
Beard, Thomas
Brackenbury, Richard
Brand, Thomas
Bright, Francis
Brown, Hugh
Brown, John
Brown, Samuel
Button, Matthias
Claydon, Barnabas
Claydon, Richard
Conant, Roger
Davenport, Richard
Dixy, William
Dodge, William
Dorrell, John (?)
Edes, William
Edmonds, James
Endicott, Gov. John
Ewstead, Richard
Gardner, Thomas
Gott, Charles
Graves, Thomas
Gray, Thomas
Hanscombe, Thomas
Houghton, Henry
Howard, Richard
Herrick, Henry
Hewes, Mr. —
Higginson, Francis
Higginson, John
Hoyte, Simon
Ingalls, Edmund
Ingersoll, Richard
Jeffrey, William
Knight, Walter

Leach, Lawrence
Lyford, John
Malbon, John
Maverick, Samuel
Meech, John
Miller, Sydrach
Moulton, Robert
Norman, Richard
Norman, Richard, Jr.
Palfrey, Peter
Palmer, Abra
Palmer, Walter
Patch, —
Rickman, Isaac
Ryall, William
Scruggs, Thomas
Sharpe, Samuel
Sibly, John
Skelton, Samuel
Sprague, Ralph
Sprague, Richard
Sprague, William
Strickline, John
Stileman, Elias
Stowers, Nicholas
Tillie, Hugh
Tillie, John
Traske, William
Walford, Thomas
Waterman, Richard
Webb, Francis
Wheelwright, John
Wilson, Lambert
Woodbury, Humphrey
Woodbury, John
Wood, William

An attempt has not been made to determine separately, the names of those whom Endicott found on his arrival at Naumkeag; the names of those who came with him, or of those who followed him in 1629. From a passage in Hubbard's *New England*, p. 109, it is pretty plain that Captain William Trask was there before the arrival of Endicott. He was an important man in the colony, and one on whom Gov. Endicott placed much reliance. He was a captain in the Pequot war, and held other offices of distinction. He died in 1666. His descendant, Mr. William B. Trask, of Dorchester, has furnished the fac simile subjoined.

W B Trask

sition, by whose free consent they settled about the hill of the same place, by the said natives called Mishawum, where they found but one English palisadoed and thatched house, wherein lived Thomas Walford, a smith, situated on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles river side, and, upon survey, they found it was a neck of land generally full of stately timber, as was the main, and the land lying on the east side of the river, called Mystick river, from the farm Mr. Craddock's servants had planted, called Mystick, which this river led up unto; and indeed generally, all the country round about was an uncouth wilderness full of timber.*

The discovery and possession of Mishawum was undertaken thus early to prevent the validity of the claims of those who held that part of the Bay under the grant of Captain Robert Gorges. Especially against the claim of Mr. John Oldham, who, with one John Dorrill, held a lease or grant of the lands between Charles and Abousett (Saugus) rivers, extending "by a right line" five miles up Charles and three miles up Abousett rivers. This claim the Company resisted, because, as they say, "it was voyde in lawe."† At what time this grant to Oldham and Dorrill was made does not appear, but it was doubtless before 1628. Seeing that Mr. Oldham was firm in his views, as it respected his grant, the Company "left him to his owne way;" because, probably, that appeared the *only way*. That he was a man of much energy, and no little importance in the commercial community of that

* This interesting record of the earliest account of Charlestown, is not quite contemporary with the settlement: but, as Mr. Prince tells us, "was wrote by Mr. Increase Nowell, afterwards town clerk of Charlestown, and secretary of the Massachusetts Colony." But Mr. Frothingham, in his *History of Charlestown*, says it was written by John Greene, in the first book of the records of the town, in 1664. Mr. Nowell having died in 1655, it is clear that Prince fell into an error respecting the authority of the record in question, and is by Mr. Frothingham set right in his history. Most New England historians, following Mr. Prince, have fallen into the same error respecting the date of the emigration to Charlestown from Salem. The facts and dates are correctly given in *Chalmers' Polit. Annals*, 142-3.

† Among the many unexplained matters of these times, are the titles of certain grants of lands in New England. If the validity of Mr. Oldham's title rested on that of another grant, as I presume it did, what invalidated it? If his title was from Robert Gorges, the title of the latter must have been defective, and if defective, wherein? Gorges certainly had a grant from the Council of Plymouth. Was it a condition of validity that he should reside personally upon his grant? No such condition appears in it. Was it that he should improve it by actual settlers? If this were a condition, Blackston, Walford, Maverick, and others could not have held under him; for if

they did, there *was* actual possession. In the Company's letter to Endicott, dated 17th April, 1629 (Hazard, i. 258-9), great complaint is made *about* Oldham, though nothing like a tangible charge of any sort is brought *against* him. They say, indeed, in a kind of general way, that "they had bin cast behind two months tyme in their voyage, through the varietie of his vast conceipts:" which "vast conceipts" appear to have been plans for realizing great profits which he had endeavored to get the Company to join in. But there were two insuperable difficulties; first, Oldham probably demanded, as a condition, that his grant from Gorges should be recognized; and, second, that he might trade for beaver with the Indians as he saw fit. But, says the Company's letter, "after long tyme spent in sundry treaties, fynding him a man altogether unfit for vs to deale with, wee haue at last left him to his owne way." How long before the date of this letter, he had been "left to his owne way," does not appear, but, as will be seen, he was in New England on the 17th of May following. As to the trade in beaver, "that," they say, "wee deny to the best of our owne planters." This sharp eye to the trade in beaver was doubtless commendable, notwithstanding they say, "the propagation of the gospell is the thing wee doe profess above all to bee, or ayme in settling this plantacion."

day, is abundantly shown by the documents under consideration. The Company were in great alarm lest he should "interest others, who," they say, "for ought wee knowe, are never likely to bee benefitall to the planting of the country; their owne prticular prfitte (though to the overthrowe of the gen'all plantacon), being their chiefe ayme and intent." Therefore they direct Mr. Endicott to "use the best meanes he can to settle an agreem^t with the old Planters, so as they may not harken to Mr. Oldham's dangerous though vaine propositions." They complain also that "he is a man so affected to his owne opinion, as not to bee removed from it, neither by reason nor any perswasion;" that therefore, they expect, as he had lately gone, or was going for New England again, he would, by drawing others to his opinions, make trouble there, it was their will that "when faire meanes will not prevaile," such other means might be "used to suppress a mischiefe before it take too great a head, as in yo^r discrecons you shall thinke fittest for the gen'all good and safety of the plantacon, and preservacon of o^r priviledges. And because wee would not omitt to doe anything weh might strengthen o^r right, we would have you (as soone as these shippes, or any of them, arrive with you, whereby you may have men to do it), send forty or fifty persons to Massachusetts Bay,* to inhabit there; which we pray you not to protract, but to doe it with all speede; and if any of o^r company in perticular shall desire to settle themselves there, or to send servants thither, wee desire all accommodacon and encouragement bee given them theronto, wherby the better to strengthen o^r possession there against all or any that shall intrude vpon vs, weh wee would not haue you by any meanes give way vnto."†

From the tenor of these instructions to Endicott, it is manifest that the defeat of those claiming under Gorges the younger was intended; and these were "Oldham and his adherents."

Being defeated in all his endeavors to effect an arrangement with the Massachusetts Patentees, Mr. Oldham appears to have embarked for New England early in the spring of this year. In what vessel he sailed, or in what company he came, is not discovered; but soon after his arrival, he is found at a noted Indian place, — probably then long

* It was a long time before places received their appropriate names; owing in a great measure to the want of correct geographical knowledge. It could not be otherwise, under the circumstances. Strictly speaking, the Bay of Massachusetts included, anciently, only the south-western portion of what is now Boston harbor. It was so named from the proximity of the tribe of Massachusetts Indians. There does not appear to have been any particular name to that great body of water from the harbor and Cape Ann to Cape Cod, until a much later period than that now under consideration. The precise date when the Great Bay received the name it now bears, I have not attempted to fix. It has stood so inscribed upon some maps for about one hundred years. On one now before me (an English map of

Massachusetts, of 1780), *Bunker Hill* appears; but, instead of being in Charlestown, it is south of Charles river, in Brookline! Massachusetts Bay does not form a separate article in the early geographical works, down to and including those of Dr. Morse. All of those who wrote of the country in the times of its settlement, speak of what is now Boston harbor as Massachusetts Bay. The people of Salem spoke of going from that place to Massachusetts Bay. In the *Planter's Plea* (Force), p. 15, the "Mattachusetts Bay" is described as near Salem. In the MS. of Mr. Harris (referred to, ante, p. 44) are curious facts relating to the early geographical knowledge of these parts, which it is to be hoped he will, ere long, in some form, give to the public.

† Hazard, i. 200.

known to the early traders for furs, — called Swamscott, or Squamscot (since Exeter), in company with Mr. John Wheelwright. How or when this gentleman came, is likewise unknown. However, for anything that is found to the contrary, he may have been in the country one, two, or more years; long enough, at all events, to find out a good tract of country, then thought not to be included in any patent, exceedingly valuable for its timber and for the fur trade.

May 17. Mr. Wheelwright, probably by his agents, having assembled the principal Indian Sagamores at Squamscot, they gave him a deed of a tract of country which, for near fifty years after, embraced the whole of New Hampshire.*

Nov. 7. Notwithstanding Captain John Mason procured a patent of the Council of Plymouth, of nearly the same tract which Mr. Wheelwright had purchased of the Indians, and which, for a time, may have prevented him from asserting his claim, yet, eventually, his posterity enjoyed it, or a portion of it at least; for, when the colony from about Londonderry, in Ireland, came to New England, in 1718, and had liberty to make choice of a place for settlement, the tract, since Londonderry, in New Hampshire, was selected by them. To obtain a title to the land they had selected, they were referred to Colonel John Wheelwright, of Wells, grandson of the original grantee, because "he had the best Indian title, derived from his ancestors." And, although there were one or two claimants of the same territory, — which was ten miles square, — yet the government protected the settlers under that of Colonel Wheelwright.†

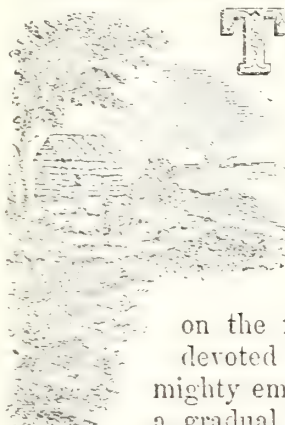
* In the deed Mr. Wheelwright is styled "of the Massachusetts Bay, late of England;" and Augustine Story [Storre], Thomas Wite [Wright], William Wentworth, and Thomas Levet [Leavitt], are also named "of Massachusetts Bay." From which fact it is evident they had been residing somewhere about Boston harbor, because then, as has been shown, the Massachusetts Bay was confined to this harbor; perhaps Mr. Wheelwright had been residing with the hospitable Mavericke, whose son Samuel afterwards married his daughter Rebecca. However, Wheelwright, Storre, Wright, Wentworth and Leavitt, all probably belonged to the same company. Oldham may have been their agent in England, upon whose return here, finding their patent swallowed up (if they had any interest in that of Robert Gorges), and so lost beyond hope of recovery,

they at once proceeded beyond the limits of that company, and made the purchase as stated in the text. To prevent any question as to their purchase, they took a large number of witnesses from the eastern settlements, namely, "George Vaughan, factor, and Ambrose Gibbons, trader, for the Company of Laconia, Richard Vines, governor, and Richard Bonighton, assistant, of the plantation at Saco; Thomas Wiggin, agent, and Edward Hilton, steward of the plantation of Hilton's Point." All these witnessed the acknowledgment of the deed, and John Oldham, Samuel Sharp and two Indians witnessed the deed.

† His deed to those settlers is dated 20 Oct., 1719, in which he says he conveys "by virtue of a Deed or Grant made to his grandfather, a minister of the Gospel," &c.—*Parker's Hist. Londonderry*, p. 321.

CHAPTER VIII.

Settlements first made on outskirts of a country. — Particularly so in New England. — Why the Massachusetts Company sought a Royal Charter. — How obtained. — Its Boundaries. — Its Government. — Its Conditions and Restrictions. — Examination of its Conditions. — Privileges assumed under it which it never authorized. — Religious Liberty denied in it. — Case of the Plymouth Settlers. — Origin of Religious Liberty. — Charter Privileges contended for not contained in the Charter. — The times favor the assumption.



THE planters of new countries usually locate themselves at first in such places as accident provides, or some peculiar circumstances make unavoidable; hence it has happened that the poorest parts have been first improved, and the best localities neglected till the last. It was truly so in the settlement of Plymouth and Massachusetts, as it was also in Canada and Virginia. Cape Cod on the south, and Cape Ann on the north, were among the first resting-places of the devoted men who led the way in the early path, to a mighty empire. From these inhospitable and sterile points a gradual progress was made along the south and north shores of the bay, until the wanderers met in its bosom, among the undulating eminences of Shawmut, the beautiful groves of the Mystic, and the delightful cornfields of the Massachusetts. This will have been seen in the perusal of the previous chapters.

Thus, at this time, Englishmen had located themselves in all the prominent places around the Massachusetts Bay, and a tolerably accurate knowledge of the country had been learned by several gentlemen in England who had become immediately interested in its settlement. It remained now to push forward a further occupation of the country embraced in their patent, for many and obvious reasons. Before entering upon a detail of the next great emigration, however, it is deemed necessary to take notice of the charter and its provisions, or conditions under which it was made, as they had a most important bearing upon the affairs of Boston, and consequently upon the whole country; and hence somewhat of recapitulation may be necessary.

The Massachusetts Company, judging from the experience of former colonial companies, doubted partly the validity of the conveyance lately made to them by the Plymouth Company, but more the authority given by it to rule the intended plantation.* They therefore insisted, not

* This is Chalmers' explanation; but there was a motive back of all this. The Council of Plymouth had been disposing of their territory in a manner which can be accounted for in two ways only;—first, that, owing to their extreme ignorance of the geography of the country, they had conveyed parts of the same tracts twice over, to different individuals;—or, secondly, that they, or those whom they

empowered to act for them, dishonorably sold territory whenever purchasers offered, regardless of what had been previously sold; and the most favorable construction that this will admit of is, that they had been deceived by the representations of purchasers, who had been in the country, and knew the value of certain localities which they desired to possess, and were not scrupulous to inquire into

only that a charter should be obtained from the Crown confirmatory of the grant from the Council of Plymouth, and authorizing them to govern the colonists, but that their names should be inserted in it, and their affairs transacted at London. Under these considerations, a patent was applied for, and, by the personal solicitation of Lord Dorchester, it was obtained of King Charles I.* This patent re-
 Mar. 4. cited the grant to the Council of Plymouth, of 1620, and the subsequent sale of a small portion of its territory before mentioned, and regranted to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southeot, John Humfrey, John Endicot, Simon Whetcomb,† and their associates, namely, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knight, Isaac Johnson, Samuel Aldersey, John Ven, Matthew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuel Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goff, Thomas Adams, John Brown, Samuel Brown, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pyncheon, and George Foxcroft,‡ their heirs and assigns forever, that part of New England which lies between the rivers Merrimack and Charles, being the bottom of a certain bay, there commonly called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts alias Massatusetts Bay, and also all lands lying within the space of three miles on the south part of the said Charles river, or of any or every part thereof; and also of all lands lying within the space of three miles to the northward of the said river called Monomack, alias Merrimack, or to the northward of every part thereof, and through the main lands from the Atlantic and western sea and ocean on the east, to the South sea on the west. To be holden by them, their heirs, and assigns, in free and common soccage, as of the manor of East Greenwich; paying, in lieu of all services, one fifth of the gold and silver that should be found.§

the rights of others, especially where they could flatter themselves that claims had been abandoned or neglected. Therefore, in view of these facts, and to possess at least a right or claim paramount to all others, nothing short of a patent under the royal seal would enable the Massachusetts Company to contend successfully against a swarm of minor patentees. Though historians have not viewed the motives which influenced the Company in this light, they are to me the most satisfactory of all others together. I am aware that, in a moral point of view, the Company, as a body, are somewhat exposed to censure. If a straightforward detail of facts lead to exposures, it is no fault of the historian. His convictions should always be honestly stated. If he errs in judgment, it only proves that he has misjudged in the particular case under consideration. Whether the Company possessed all the *moral* rights which they exercised is the question. Certain it is they put no particular stress on *that* kind of right, while upon their *legal* rights they were sufficiently emphatical.

* I here follow Chalmers in this matter of the charter, who thus remarks at this point: "Whether we reflect that this is the only charter which Massachusetts possessed prior to the Revolution [of 1688], which contained its most ancient privileges; that on this was most dexterously established not only the original government of that colony, but independence itself, a minute discussion of it must appear equally necessary and interesting."—*Political Annals*, 136. But his "discussion of it" is not to my purpose.

† Mr. Hubbard called these six persons "*Gentlemen about Dorchester*;" not of Dorchester, as a popular historian of the present day cites him as saying. See *ante*.

‡ These names of the grantees are taken from Prince's *Annals*. The spelling of some of them differs from those in Hutchinson's *Collection of Papers*.

§ Patent in Hutchinson's *Col. Papers*, entire, also in Mauduit's *View of the History of New England*, and Hazard. Mauduit says it had not been printed in England before his time.

The executive power of the corporation was invested in a governor, deputy governor, and eighteen assistants, whose duty was, "for the best disposing and ordering of the lands granted, of the affairs of the plantation, of the government of the people there." The governor and seven or more assistants were authorized to meet in monthly courts "for despatching such business as concerned the Company or settlement." The legislative power of the Corporation, however, was invested in "a more solemn assembly." This body was to be composed of the governor, deputy governor, the assistants, and of the whole freemen of the company in person, and was directed to be held "every last Wednesday in the four terms," which meetings or sessions were named "the four Great and General Courts." It was empowered to make laws or ordinances for the government of the plantation, which "should not be repugnant to the laws of England." This "Great and General Court" was authorized to elect freemen, a governor, deputy governor, assistants and other officers. The governor and company were enabled to transport to New England "all such of the subjects of King Charles I., as shall be willing to accompany them, and such strangers as will become subjects and live under his allegiance;" but with this proviso: "that none of the said persons be such as shall be especially restrained;" that the emigrants and their posterity were declared "to be natural born subjects, and entitled to the immunities of Englishmen within every other dominion of the Crown as if born within the realm." They were empowered to carry thither warlike stores and merchandises, without paying any customs for the space of seven years; and, as a further encouragement, they were exempted from the payment of taxes in New England, during the same term of years, and from any duty on commodities imported to England or any dominion of the Crown, or exported from them, for twenty-one years after the expiration of the former term of exemption, except five in the hundred of the value for custom.

That the colony which was to be planted "might be so religiously and civilly governed, as the good life and orderly conversation of the inhabitants might invite the natives to the knowledge of the Christian faith; which, in the royal intention, and in the adventurers' free profession, was the principal end of the plantation," power was therefore conferred on the General Court, and its successors, to establish ordinances and instructions, which should not be contrary to the laws of the realm, for settling forms of government for the colonists; for determining fines, imprisonments, or other legal correction, according to the usages of other corporations in the realm of England; and for naming necessary officers; that these ordinances being published under the seal of the Company, were to be duly observed and executed within the plantation. The chief commander and other magistrates who should from time to time be employed by the governor and company in the government of the colony, were invested with absolute power to punish

or pardon, to rule the emigrants or colonists, according to the above-mentioned ordinances and instructions. They were authorized to defend themselves against invaders; but, should they do any injury to foreign states, or to other subjects, without making proper reparation, a right was given to the injured to prosecute them with every act of hostility. Agreeably to the repeated resolutions of the Commons, there was reserved to the other subjects of the Crown a right of free fishing, with the necessary incidents of drying fish on the shores, and of taking timber upon the coasts of New England.

In these days of large liberties it is difficult to discern what had been secured by that charter, to cause those who obtained it to feel any special gratitude to those who had the power to bestow it. But civil and religious liberty had not then dawned on the world. It was scarcely an object of speculation in the abstract theories of philosophers, or dreamed of by men of ordinary minds. Nevertheless, those who emigrated to New England under that charter professed to look upon it as something which God in his benevolence had moved the heart of their king to grant, and they cherished it as a sort of palladium of their liberties. In analyzing it, it is not easy to discover what great advantages they had with it, that they would not have had without it. It gave them the privilege of emigrating to New England. This was no *new* privilege. It did not compel them to stay here. They were as much the subjects of the crown of England as though they had remained in England. Their condition in New England was the same as it would have been in any incorporated borough in England, — with this difference, however: they could not be so easily watched over. And in this existed the grand secret in which all their advantages lay hid. They improved those advantages in due time, as light and strength from the nature of their situation clustered around them. As to any important liberties secured to them, it was merely ideal. They grew naturally and spontaneously out of the nature of their circumstances. True it is, the officers of the colony had the power of making laws, and of executing them; but around all this hung the laws of England, which admitted nothing without or beyond them; all laws and ordinances must be in accordance with them. There was no opportunity for improvement in their laws, unless the improvement originated in the mother country; or unless, by some revolution at home, the course of its laws became deranged. This, indeed, soon happened.

Much was said, even by the emigrants themselves, of their coming into this wilderness to enjoy the privilege of worshipping God according to their convictions of what he required of them. In fact, to worship God as they were not allowed to do at home; in other words, contrary to law. Surely their charter granted no such liberty,* nor did it recognize the least departure in religious worship from that of the Church of England. It was the same before, when the people came

* It could not grant any such liberty, because it would be in violation of the common law. *Coke, 5 Rep.*

to Plymouth. Their agents attempted to procure, under the hand of James, a clause in their charter, allowing them to worship God as they saw fit; but he would allow of no such liberty; yet, in a conversational way, he gave the agents to understand, that they were too insignificant to be looked after, unless they made a disturbance by their fanatical practices. It was thus the pious Pilgrims were allowed to break the laws, because they did it at a safe distance from their fountain-head. And thus was the "higher law" successfully put in practice on the barren sands of Cape Cod.

The case was different on the other side of the bay. There the colonists did not agree upon forms of worship among themselves, and the stronger party forced the weaker to return to England. Those expelled belonged to the Episcopal Church.* This expulsion, says Chalmers,† inflicted a wound on that church from which it never recovered.‡ "And the liberal-minded exclaimed that the same conduct has been invariably pursued at all times, and in every country; the persecuted, when they acquire power, will always persecute."§ If different sects quarrelled at home, was it not to be expected that they would quarrel elsewhere? Those churchmen, forcibly sent to England, complained to the Company there, and demanded redress for the wrongs and violence done them. If they ever received reparation of any kind, nothing of record appears to show the fact; and the country then being on the verge of a civil war, the wheels of jurisprudence were clogged, which may account for the silence with regard to the matter which ensues.

There are reckless people in all periods and in all communities, and, whether it be acknowledged or not, much of the liberty enjoyed in this

* In the Company's records the following entry is found, under date 19 Sept., 1629:—"At this court letters were read from Capt. Endicott and others from New England; and whereas a difference hath fallen out betwixt the Governor there and Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Browne, it was agreed by the court, that for the determinacon of those differences Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Browne might choose any three or four of the Company on their behalf, to heare the said differences, the Company choosing as many. Whereupon the said Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Browne made choice of Mr. Samuel Vassell, Mr. William Vassell, Mr. Symon Whetcombe, and Mr. William Pynekon; and for the Companie there were chosen Mr. John Whyte, Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Isack Johnson, and Mr. John Wyndthrop: who, with the Governor or Deputy, are to determine and end the business the first Tuesday in the next tearme."

The letters sent by the Brownes to their friends in England had been intercepted, and at the next meeting of the Company it was "considered whether these letters should be delivered or detained, and whether they should be opened and read, or not." Some of them,

however, were opened and read, but we hear nothing of any aspersions contained in them against New England, as had been alleged. A sufficient explanation of the whole grounds of difficulty, I apprehend, is found in the statement in the text. In the "Company's General Letter of Instructions" to Gov. Endicott, the gentlemen accused are spoken of in the highest terms. "They are men (says the letter) wee doe much respect, being fully persuaded of their sincere affections to the good of our Plantacon. Mr. John Browne is sworne an Assistant heere, and by vs chosen one of the Councell there; a man experienced in the lawes of our Kingdome, and such an one as wee are persuaded will worthylie deserve your fauor; and that in the first deuision of lands, there may bee allotted to eether of them 200 acres."

† Political Annals, 145.

‡ Churchmen of our times will hardly allow this. If at any period a death-blow had been inflicted, it was a good deal anterior to this. Chalmers here did not exercise his usual acumen. His observations and deductions are generally those of the profound jurist and able expounder of state affairs.

§ Political Annals, 145.

age is owing to that very recklessness. The number of the early emigrants to New England who renounced allegiance to the mother church was exceedingly small; for the obvious reason, that it was at the same time a renunciation of their allegiance to the crown. The course of things in New England clearly proves the truth of these positions; for, when it was safe, or even promised a faint prospect of success in the attempt, to throw off their allegiance, it was done in earnest. The *reckless* followers of freedom showed themselves everywhere then, and their success was equal to the prize contended for.

As though there were real grounds for certain assumptions of the colonists contained in the charter, their agents submitted it to some of the best politicians and ablest lawyers in England for their opinions. They observed, "that, it being originally granted to a great company resident in England, it was wholly inapplicable to the circumstances of a distant colony, because it gave the body politic no more jurisdiction than had every other corporation within the kingdom!" Such being the opinion of a Somers, a Holt, a Treby and a Ward, what did this boasted charter amount to? It must, however, be confessed that, in the adroit use made of it by the colonists, it amounted to almost the same thing that they contended it was; for by a constant appeal to it, and admitting of no construction of its provisions which did not suit them, they gained—what?—what was everything to them,—time and strength, with which to back up their claims. Nothing more was needed, nothing more was required, and nothing more was probably expected.

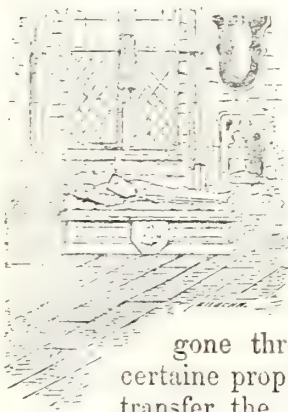
Did the great American Revolution begin here? The English Revolution? The World's Revolution? Liberty was a tender plant then, of uncertain age, and no man could say, "I planted it;" though many hands had now begun to water it, yet none conjectured to what height and extent it would grow and spread. Although there was a period when it was nursed by unskilful hands, and its growth was smothered by its enemies, and it was even cut off to the ground in the land of its origin, yet its roots remained, which soon sent up their branches in all directions. Its growth was still slow; but in the years of Cromwell it was rapid,—too rapid to sustain itself against the storms which burst upon it. Its great defender was not yet born, though his progenitors were upon the soil of England. They found their way to America, but it required a century more to produce a Washington. His hand it was that cultivated the plant Liberty with success, and his arm it was that shielded it from its enemies, till its strength had become too powerful to fear all its adversaries combined.

It made no difference, in fact, whether the corporation remained on the island of Great Britain, or on any other island, or in any country belonging to the Crown of England. Its final remove, Charter and all, whether clandestinely or openly, does not at all affect the main question; while practically, there was a great difference. A company

consisting of many restless spirits, had been got rid of; and whether they conformed to all the laws of Church and State, or not, they were three thousand miles off, and could not be easily brought to punishment, even if they deserved it, or made to mend the laws if they broke them. The time of the principal emigration was auspicious. The rise of the civil war in England gave its rulers more work than they could do at home, and their King's power soon fell down to the pitiful restrictions of subjecting those of his subjects who wished to emigrate to New England to vexatious oaths of "allegiance and supremacy." This state of things did not last long. Those who chose "disorderly to leave the kingdom," did so; and thus, what they gained in that kind of liberty is lost by their descendants who happen to be antiquaries and genealogists.

CHAPTER IX.

Records of the Massachusetts Company. — Gov. Cradock proposes a removal of the Government to New England. — The Question is discussed. — Decided in the affirmative. — Ways and Means considered to carry it into effect. — Trade and Joint Stock of the Company. — What of the Government to remain in England, and what in New England. — Endicott to be continued Governor. — Ship Eagle. — Arbella. — Agreement for settling the Joint Stock affair. — New Governor and other Officers elected. — Case of the Brownes. — Winthrop reports on the Joint Stock. — Proposals for pecuniary relief. — Disposal of the Joint Stock. — Ships ordered for emigration. — Rates of Passage and Freight established. — Wisdom displayed. — Common Stock proposal. — For what service. — Sir Wm. Brereton. — The Company at Southampton.



P to this time there appears no intimation that any
 1629. of the members of the Corporation (as
 July 23. the Massachusetts Company was usually
 called), had even a remote idea of transferring
 the Government to New England. On this day,
 namely, July the twenty-eighth, 1629, the Gov-
 ernor of the Company, Matthew Cradock,
 Esquire, when the business of the meeting of
 the Company on that day was presumed to be
 finished, and the usual routine of matters was
 gone through with, surprised its members by "reading
 certaine proposicons conceived by himself," recommending "to
 transfer the gournment of the plantacon to those that shall
 inhabite there." Thus taken by surprise, the members had secrecy
 more than once enjoined upon them, and considerable debate ensued;
 and every one was "desired privately and seriously to consider hereof,
 and to sett downe their prticular reasons in wryting pro and contra,"
 and to produce the same at the next meeting, that "the Company may
 then pceede to fynall resolucon therein; and in the meane tyme to
 carry this busines secretly, that the same bee not devulged." This
 meeting was held, as they had generally been of late, at the house of
 Deputy Governor Goffe, in London.

Aug. 28. The time for a meeting to discuss the great question about a removal having arrived, "Mr. Deputie acquainted this Court, that the espetiall cause of their meeting was to give answe're to divers gentlemen intending to go into New England, whether or noe the chiefe Gou'nm't of the Plantacon, together with the pattent, should bee settled in New England or heere."

Accordingly it was ordered, that, in the afternoon of the same day, "Mr. Wright, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Adams, Mr. Spurstowe, and such others as they should thinke fitt to call unto them, whether they were of the Company or not," to consider the arguments against the proposed removal; and on the other side, "Sir Richard Saltonstall,* Mr. Johnson,

* From Thoresby's History of Leeds, and an abstract of the will of Gilbert Saltonstall, I am principally able to present the following pedigree. It is enough to add, concerning this family, that they opposed the persecutions in New England, in its early settlement; denounced with becoming language the proceedings against Quakers, and set a worthy example in the witchcraft delusion.

GILBERT SALTONSTALL, of Halifax, Co. =
of York, purchased, besides other lands,
Rocks in Hipperholme.

1. Anne, da. of Mr. Jo. Rams- den, of Lengley gr. fa. to Sir John Ramsden	= Samuel of Rocks and Huntick.	= 2. Elizabeth, da. of Mr. Thos. Ogden.	= 3. Elizabeth, widow of Armine, those of London and Hertfordshire. of Hull, s. p.	Sir Richard, Lord Mayor of London = Susan 1597, (one year only), from whom He was sheriff in 1688, will 1600.
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1. Grace, da. of Robert Kaye, Esq.	= Sir Richard Knt. J. Peace 1 Charles I. Came to N. E. 1630.	= 2. —, Gilbert, d. of Ld. d. yng. of Roger- thorp.	= Barbara, Seven Samuel da. Wal- others. (named m. Richard John Harbye in the Sunderland, of London, will of 17 Jac. I. skinner, mer. his father.) Muscovy, &c.	Susanna, Ann, mar.
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Richard, b. at Woodsome, = Muriel, da. 1610, came to New E. 1630, of Brampton d. at Hulme, England, 29th Garden, of April, 1694. Assington, Co. Suff. Esq.	Henry, H. C. 1642, return'd to England.	Robert sells land in Watertown, 2 Sep. 1642. High Holborn, Lond. 1643.	Samuel sold land at Watertown, 20 : 5 : 1642.
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Nathaniel, = Elizabeth, b. ab. 1639, da. of Mr. d. 1707; John Ward lived at Haver- of Haver- hill, Ms. hill. of which he is called the father.	Richard, d. un- married.	Muriel, m. Sir Edward Mosey, of Hulme, Lanc., England.	Abigail, m. to Thos. Harley, Esq. Elizabeth, m. to Hercules Horsy, Esq.
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Elizabeth, (only da.) m. 1. Mr. John Denison, 2th min. of Ips- wich. 2. Mr. Rowland Cot- ton.	Gurdon, = Jerusha, b. Haver- da. William hill, 27 Whittingham March, of Boston. 1666, Gov. Ct. 1708, d. 1721, October 1.	Richard, = Haver- hill.	Nathaniel, H. C. 1695, tutor there; d. young.
		Richard, b. = Mary, da. 14th June, of Elisha 1703, d. 1756, Cook, 2d. a Judge.	Nathaniel, = merch., grad. H. C. 1727, d. young. Physician of Haverhill.

Roswell, eldest =
son, b. 1701, d. in
New London, 1st
Oct., 1758, a. 37.

Richard, b. 5
April, 1732,
col., royalist,
d. in England
1785, unmar.

Nathaniel, = Anna, da. Leverett, a
b. 10 Feb., of Samuel royalist, d.
1746, d. 10 White, Esq. 1782.
Feb., 1796. of the Haver-
Fa. of Hon. erhill family.
Leverett S.

HON. LEVERETT, Nathaniel. Richard.
d. 8 May, 1845,
aged 62.

Capt Venn, and such others as they should call vnto them," to prepare arguments for a removal; which arguments were assigned to be heard in a full Court on the next day, at nine o'clock. When the hour arrived, there "were prsent many of the Assistants and generalitie, and after a long debate, Mr. Deputie put it to the question, as followeth: As many of you as desire to haue the pattent and the Gournment of the Plantacon to bee transferred to New England, soe as it may bee done legally, hold vp yo^r hands. So many as will not, hold vpp yo^r hands. Where by ereecon of hands, it appeared by the gen^{all} consent of the Company, that the Gou^rnm^t Pattent should bee settled in New England, and accordingly an order to bee drawne vpp."

Sept. 10. At the next sitting of the Court, the records are silent upon the subject of removal; but, at its session ten days later, "that business being of great and weighty consequence, is thought fitt to bee deferred for determinacon vntil Sir R. Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson and other gentlemen bee come vpp to London, and may be here present."

Sept. 20. Meantime a committee was proposed, which should "take advice of learned counsel, whether the same may bee legally done or noe; by what way or meanes the same may bee done to corrispond with, and not preiudice the Gou^rm^t here; to consider of the tyme when it wilbe fitt to doe it; to resolve on whom to conferr the Gou^rnm^t, and diuers other circumstances materiall to bee resolued on, &c."

Oct. 15. At the next session of the Court the subject of a removal of the government to New England is but incidentally mentioned; the "espetiall and only occasion of this meeting beinge to consider and resolu of settling the trade in New England (now vpon transferring the Gou^rmnt thither), for the incouragm^t as well of the Adventurers in the Joynt Stock heere, as of those who already are, and of others who intend to goe ouer in prson to bee planters there."

After a long debate upon the respective claims of the parties, "the Court, in conclusion, fell vpon a moderacon;" that the Company's Joint Stock should haue the trade of beaver and all other furs, solely, for seven years from this day, in consideration of the charge it had undergone, and is yet annually to bear, for the advancement of the Plantation. That for fortifications, the Company's Joint Stock to bear half the expense, and the planters the other half, and the charge for ordnance, munition, &c. That for the charge of ministers now there, and that shall hereafter go to reside there, as also for building churches and other public works, one half to be borne by the Joint Stock, and the other half by the planters, for seven years.

The business of this day's session was closed by the appointment of a committee,* who were desired to draw "fitt and conuenient clauses to bee incerted in articles of agreement, which may bee comodious for

* Which committee was to consist of "prt intend to goe ouer." Judging by modern com- of the Adventurers here, and prt of those that mittees, this was a very unwieldy one; con-

either prt, and to prepare the same for a Court of Assistants, appointed that afternoone to determine thereof." In the preamble to this, the record reads, "forasmuch as by former order the Pattent and Gou'nmt to bee transferred to New England." "All which being seu'all tynes read, was by Mr. Gou'no' put to the question, and by gen'll consent, by erreceon of hands, was agreed and concluded on, and ordered accordingly."

Oct. 16. In Court the next day, the question was considered, "what gou'nmt shalbe next at London, wherby the future charge of the Ioynt Stock may bee cherished and preserved, and the body politique of the Company remaine and increase. What persons shall have the charge of the managing of the Ioynt Stock, both at London and in New England; wherein it is conceived fitt that Captain Endicott continue the Gou'nmt there, viless iust cause to the contrarie" appear. It was finally thought as more "fitt and naturall that the Gournmt of persons bee held there," in New England, and that of "trade and merchandizes to bee heere" in London. At the same time the Governor and Treasurer of the Company were appointed to examine the affairs of the Ioint Stock company, reputed to bee much in debt; and an order was passed for freighting the ship *Eagle*,* at Bristol, for New England.

sisting of eighteen members; eight of whom were of those "that intend to goo ouer;" namely,

Sir Ri. Saltonstall	Mr. Dudley
Mr. Johnson,	Mr. Vassall
Mr. Winthrop ⁽¹⁾	Mr. Pinchon
Mr. Hamfry	Mr. Downing
The residents were:	
Mr. Davenport	Mr. Adams
Mr. Wright	Mr. Whetcombe
Mr. Perry	Mr. Young
Capt. Waller	Mr. Spurstowe
Capt. Venn ⁽²⁾	Mr. Revell.

* This was a ship of 350 tons, which was purchased for the service of the Company, pursuant to a motion of the Governor, made at a session of the Court held 23 July, 1629. "But in regard the Company are not now in cash," say the records, several members agreed to advance "cash" sufficient, because they were not willing so good a ship, and such favorable

terms should be missed of. Accordingly, Gov. Cradock, Mr. Adams, Mr. Wright, Mr. Milburne, and the Company, each took *one eighth* of the ship, and Mr. Goffe, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Whetcombe, Mr. Revell, Mr. Aldersey and Mr. Huson, took each a *sixteenth*.

As will be seen, the name of the *Eagle* was afterwards changed to that of *Arbella*, an abbreviated way of writing *Arabella*, a name appropriated to females. Whether this name were originally written with two *a*'s or three, it is not worth extending a note much to settle the question, especially as writers of the times of the first settlers of Boston often wrote their own names differently. Yet it may be well just to state that there can be no question as to how the name *ought* to be written, in view of its etymology; *ara*, altar; *bella*, beautiful, fair; hence, a fair altar. That even a scholar, just out of his classics, should confound the

(1) This, I believe, is the first time the name of Mr. Winthrop occurs in the records of the Company. Five days after, he is elected Governor, as will be seen. He thus wrote his name in 1647:

Geo. winthrop

(2) Capt. John Venn became noted in Cromwell's revolution or rebellion, — as the great story, *Charleston*, will have it, — though he was not of London, he probably originated at Dorchester, where, in remote ages, the name was De Venn or De Vann. Geoffrey De Venn built the church there, and his effigy is supposed to be that "lying at length" in one of the windows of the chancel; and about whom this tradition is preserved:

Geoffrey Van
His wife Ann

With his maid Nan
Built this church.

It was the daughter of Capt. John Venn, probably, about whom there is a book of 1653, with a preface by Tho. Weld. Like most books of that day and character, it contains very few facts, but details very particularly her "experience," incidentally giving the date of her birth, about 1627: her father, she says, commanded a regiment in 1642, at Windsor, of which "Master Love was chaplain." The family resided in London several years, but in 1647 they settled in Fulham, near London, on the Thames, where Capt. Venn died on the 28th of June, 1650. This daughter was Anne. In her book she makes frequent mention of many of the prominent Puritan divines of the day; as Mr. Isaac Knight, Mr. Rogers, author of the "Evidences," Mr. Stevens, Mr. Archer, Mr. Barker, Mr. Milburn, Mr. Sidrach Simpson, who lectured in Friday Street, Mr. Smallwood, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Blake, Mr. Price, Mr. Cradock, Mr. Nye, and many others, all of whom she knew and heard preach during "the eighteen years she was sorely tempted of the Devil."

Letters which had been prepared to be sent to Governor Endicott were also read.*

Oct. 19. Three days later the Company held another meeting; the occasion, say the records, "being to resolve of the alteracon of gouernment, and therein to consider" how the debts of the Joint Stock shall be discharged, and other management of that affair. As time could not be spared to debate the subject then, it was proposed that certain committees should be appointed "to meete and make prposicons each to other, and sett the same downe in wryting; and, if they can, to agree and conclude of a fitt end to bee made for the good of the plantacon; and if any difference happen wch they cannot agree on, that then the same be referred to the vmprage and determinacon of some of the preachers to bee chosen to that purpose; who are desired to sett downe in wryting what they shall thinke in conscience is fitt to bee done. To this end Articles betweene the Planters and Adventurers were nowe drawne by Mr. Whyte, the councellor, read and approved." A Court was to be convened on the next day, when the Articles were to be presented for ratification; and at the same Court it was appointed that a Governor and Assistants should be chosen for New England.

Oct. 20. There was a very large attendance at the Court held on this day. The Governor acquainted those present that the "espeticall occasion of summoninge them was for the election of a new Governor, Deputie, and Assistants; the gournment being to bee transferred into New England, according to the former order and resolucon of the Company." But before proceeding to the proposed election, the Articles of agreement between the Adventurers and Planters were read, "and recommended to the Court for their approbacon and for the nominacon

name of the place where the immense armies contended under Alexander and Darius, with that of *Arabella*, is not a matter of the least surprise. It is plain enough that the name became thus corrupted. Numerous instances might be cited of similar corruptions. Even the learned Sir Walter *Raleigh* gave way, sometimes, it is said, to the popular corruption of his own name, so far as to write *Raleigh*. If the lady *Arabella Stuart* sometimes conformed to an error of the sort, it only proves that she did so conform, and nothing more. The old saying, that "the errors of the learned are learned errors," is a paradox that had better be dispensed with. The name of the lady *Arabella Churchill* (sister to John, Duke of Marlborough), is everywhere *printed*, so far as my reading has extended, as it is here. The accurate Prince wrote *Arbella*, because he found it so written by Winthrop (who, in official papers, wrote his *own* name a letter short), and perhaps one or two of his associates. Hubbard wrote it so from the same cause. If any better authorities were desired that the real name of the lady, for whom the ship was named, should be written *Arabella*,

than EDMUND LODGE and JAMES GRANGER, — two of the most learned biographers England has ever produced, — I will own I have no better. I have myself an engraved portrait of the lady, under which *Arbella*, &c., are written. Everybody knows that painters and engravers are not authority for the orthography of names so found. With one of these before him, Mr. Granger constantly wrote *Arabella*; and Mr. Lodge, at the head of the College of Arms, with old MSS. in his hands, to which *Arbella* was signed, constantly wrote *Arabella*. Names may, indeed, be somewhat arbitrary, — not so their origin; yet it is of small importance if a ship bear a nickname, if no one be misled thereby. To this end I have made this note, and I will only add that good English writers have always written *Arabella*. Does any one presume to write *Dolbella*? — another name for females, — abridged like the one in question. So of *Isabella*. Does anybody write *Isbella*?

* The originals of these letters are preserved in the first book of Deeds in the Suffolk Registry, Boston. They are printed in the *Archæologia Americana*, iii. 53-4.

and appointment of a competent number of Committees to meete and treat and resolve of these businesses." The articles being approved of, "five comitees on either part were thereupon chosen, namely, Sr. Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Windthrop,* Mr. Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Humfrey, for the Planters; and for the Adventurers, Mr. Gouvernor, Mr. Aldersey, Mr. Wright, Mr. Hutchins, and Capt. Venn." Should these not come to an agreement, "there was chosen for vmpires, Mr. White, the counsellor, Mr. Whyte, of Dorchester, and Mr. Dauenport, to whom the desition and determinacon" were left. Any members of the Company were allowed to have access to the committee, "to propound such things as they conceived benefittiall for the business, or to present their opinions in wryting, but not to debate with them for interrupting their proceedings." "And now the court proceeding to the

* ADAM WINTHROP, of Groton, Co. of Suffolk, Eng., appears to be the first of the name, from whom this distinguished family can be traced. He is known to have seated himself at Groton on the dissolution of monasteries by Henry VIII., and is said to have been a lawyer of distinction. His burial is recorded upon the parish Register of Groton, 12 Nov., 1572. Annis, who m. 21, probably, Wm. Mildmay, 1563.

Adam, like his father, was bred to the law. Little Browne, (probably,) 20 Feb. 1580. appears upon the Register at Groton, 23th March, 1625.

Alice = Thomas, son of Wm. Mildmay (the husband of her mother.)

1. Mary, da. of John Forth, b. 1588, m. 12 Apr. 1605, buried 23 June, 1613. came to N. E. 1630, d. in Boston, 26 March, 1649, aged 61.

2. Thomasine, da. Wm. Clifton, m. 6 Dec., 1615, d. Dec. 1616.

3. Margaret, d. Sir John Tindale, Kt., 29 April, 1618, d. 14 June, 1647. (Anne, da. Sir Thos. Egerton, m. 1. Sir Wm. Deane; 2. Sir John Tindale, fa. of Margaret.)

Jane, bp. 1592, m. Thos. Goslin, 1613.

Lucey, b. 1601, m. Emanuel Downing, 10 Apr., 1622.

Anna, m. Thos. Jones, 1603.

Martha = John, (Gov. Ct.) b. 12 Feb., 1606, d. Boston, 5 Apr. 1676, a. 70. An early member of the Royal Soc. of London.

2. Elizabeth, Henry, Forth, Mary, m. 12 Feb., 1606, d. bef. Rev. Sam. Salem, 1643, a. 37, d. of Exeter, 22. 1630. N. H.

Anna, d. 1614.

Anna, d. 1615.

A child Adam, b. 7 April, 1620, d. Boston, 1652.

Elizabeth Stephen, = Judith Glover, bap. 1619; ab. 1642. recorder of Boston, M. P. for Scot'sd, Coll. in Cromwell's army.

Stephen, John, b. 1601. 1646. Margaret, Judith.

Elizabeth, Fitz John, (Gov. Ct.) b. 24 July, 1606, d. 14 March, 1690, F. R. S., and d. in Boston, 27 Nov. 1707.

Wait Still, b. 27 Feb. 1642, Ch. Jus. Sup. Ct. Ms. &c. d. in Boston, ab. 1688.

Mary, da. of Wm. Browne of Salem, d. 14 June, 1690.

Adara, H. C. = . . . 1663, d. 1700.

Adam, H. C., 1694, = Anne, d. 1743, commander of Castle William; lived in Atkinson St.

John, F. R. S. = Anna, da. b. 26 Aug. 1631, N. London, d. 1 Aug. 1747.

Anna, m. to Thomas Lechmere, surveyor of customs, Boston, brot. of Lechmere. She d. 22 Nov., 1746.

Adam, H. C., 1724, John, H. C. 1732, LL.D. merch., lived in Prof. H. C., F. R. S., d. Brattle St. 3 May, 1779, aged 65.

1. Jane, = John Still, b. 15 Jan. 1729, d. 6 June, 1776. only da. Francis Portland, Boston.

2. . . . da. Wm. Sheriff unmar.

Basil, d. A da. m. to Gov. Wanton, of R. I. 1704.

Deane, b. = . . . 1623, d. at Pul. It. 1704.

Samuel, William, 1627. Nathaniel. Joshua, 1630. (by 4th wife)

John, H. C., 1770. William, N. Y. Joseph, Charleston, S. C., d. 1823. Jane.

1. Eliza = Francis B. Marston, of New York. One of his wives d. at N. London, 1789.

Augusta T. 2d. James B., a true antiquary, d. 1833, a. 38.

John T. Francis William. Francis Wm. 2d. Jane.

THOMAS LINDALL, b. 1709, H. C. 1780. Lt. gov. Ms. 1825-1832. LL. D. d. 22 Feb. 1842, aged 81.

Elizabeth, Benjamin, Robert, Elizabeth da. Sr. Juo. N. York, admiral S., Mid-Temple, by m. Story-Eng. d. town, Elizab. da. vesant. navy. Ct. of Gov. Bowdoin, d. 1825.

Ann, mar. David Sears, Esq., of B., fa. of the present Hon. David Sears. Mary.

Elizabeth B. T. Sarah B. Thomas L. Augusta T.

Robert Charles, Grenville T. now Hon. R. C., Speaker H. Repr. U. S. 1847-9, Senator U. S. 1850-1.

Ann. George Edwd.

Ann. George Edwd.

Ann. George Edwd.



JOHN WINTHROP,
SECOND GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

eleccon of a new Gouvernor, Deputie and Assistants; and having received extraordinary great commendacions of Mr. John Wynthrop, both for his integritie and sufficiency, as being one every way well fitted and accomplished for the place of Gouvernor, did put in nomination for that place the said Mr. John Wynthrop,* Sr. R. Saltonstall, Mr. Is. Johnson, and Mr. John Humfry; and the said Mr. Wynthrop was, with a gen'all vote and full consent of this Court by ereccon of hands, chosen to bee Gouvernor for the ensuing yeare, to begin on this present day; who was pleased to accept thereof, and thereupon tooke the oath to that place appertaining. In like manner, and with like free and full consent, Mr. John Humfry was chosen Deputy Gouvernor."

Nov. 20. At the meeting of the Court of Assistants, Mr. Wynthrop presided as Governor. The chief business before them was to devise ways and means "for bringing in of monyes," with which to pay mariners' wages, freight of ships, "and other debts." Mr. Cradock informed the Court "what somes he had disbursed for accompt of the Company, and what more was owing for marryner's wages vpon the shippes Talbot, Mayflower, and Four Sisters, and for the freight of those shippes, amounting to £1200 and upwards." Power to grant warrants for the payment of money was conferred on the Governor and Deputy, as formerly, and they thereupon drew one on treasurer Harwood in favor of Mr. Cradock for £800, to be paid "soe soone as mony shall come to his hands."

At the same court a complaint, brought by Mr. John and Mr. Samuel Browne, was taken up, and "some debate was had" concerning it. These gentlemen had been forcibly sent out of New England, as has already been mentioned, and had sued for redress to the Company. This is another complaint. The authorities in New England had sold or appropriated their effects there, and they now complained that their goods had been undervalued, and that "divers things had been omitted to bee valued," and they desired relief and justice. The Court decided that if they could bring proof of what they complained, they should have relief; otherwise the case to be suspended for settlement when the new Governor should arrive in New England.†

* The Assistants at the same time chosen were:

Sir R. Saltonstall	Mr. Thomas Sharpe
Mr. Is. Johnson	Mr. John Revell
Mr. Tho. Dudley	Mr. Matt. Cradock
Mr. J. Endecott	Mr. Thomas Goff
Mr. [Increase] Noell	Mr. [Saml.] Aldersey
Mr. Wm. Vassall	Mr. John Venn
Mr. Wm. Pinchon	Mr. Nath. Wright
Mr. Sam. Sharpe	Mr. Theoph. Eaton
Mr. Edw. Rossiter	Mr. Tho. Addams.

† At one of the last courts held by the Company in England, 10 February, 1630, "a wryting of greivances of Mr. Samuell and John Browne was presented," asking remuneration for their damage and losses in New England, by which it appears that if they ever had any claim, as specified, that claim

had never been attended to; and now, judging from the journal entry of the Company, they had little to expect. They were told that if they would come under written obligation to abide the decision of the Company, Mr. Wright and Mr. Eaton would, on the part of the Company, inform them what they thought requisite for their "pretended damage." Whether the Browns gave up the matter here, or whether they ever received any remuneration, nothing of record appears. It must have been a pretty serious business for those gentlemen, in those times, to have been expelled the country almost immediately after reaching it. An entire suspension of their business, their outlays for a plantation residence, and two long voyages across the Atlantic.

Nov. 25. The General Court met on this day, it being one of the quarter days appointed for holding courts by the charter. The general business of the Plantation, being the chief object; "but by reason of the small appearance (few attending) and the shortness of tyme, nothing was done therein." "The Governor, however, made a relacon of the proceedings of the ioynt comitteee concerning the settling of the Ioynt Stock;" from which it appeared that there was a balance on the books against that stock of upwards of £3000. Against that amount there was due in subscriptions £1900; and on freight of ships about £900 more. After some propositions about the management of the Joint Stock affairs, the Court was adjourned to the thirtieth of the same month. "Lastly, vpon the mocon of Mr. Whyte, to the end that this business might bee proceeded in with the first intencion, which was chiefly the glory of God; and to that purpose that their meetings might be sanctified by the prayers of some faithfull ministers resident heere in London, whose advice would bee likewise requisite vpon many occasions, the Court thought fitt to admit into the freedome of this Company, Mr. Jo. Archer, and Phillip Nye,* ministers heere in London, who, being heere present, kindly accepted therof; also Mr. Whyte did recomend vnto them Mr. Nathaniell Ward, of Standon."

Nov. 30. Agreeable to adjournment, the General Court met at Mr. Goff's. For the relief of the Company from its present liabilities it was proposed that the Adventurers should double their former subscriptions; but this was not agreed to. It was then proposed that ten persons should take the Joint Stock at its real value, and assume its responsibilities, for which they were to have these privileges, for seven years, namely, half the beaver trade, and all other furs; the sole making of salt; the furnishing of a magazine at set rates; and the sole transportation of passengers and goods at certain rates. Five of the ten persons above-named were to be of the Adventurers, the other five planters. A committee was appointed to value the Stock, who were requested to report on the next day. This committee consisted of Mr. Whyte of Dorchester, Mr. Thomas Goff, Mr. Webb, and Mr. Increase Nowell.

Dec. 1. The decision of the committee was, that, owing to the nature of the undertaking, there was a depreciation in the value of the Stock to the amount of two thirds of all adventured; "which value, vpon due examination and long debate, was allowed by all the court." And

* There is a more full account of Mr. Nye in *Palmer's Calamy* than in any of our books, yet some who have used the larger part of his facts, give others credit for them. Though Dr. Calamy says he died in 1672, I had been led to think he was alive in 1677, as in that year, according to Dr. Increase Mather, "Mr. P. Ny" published "A CASE OF GREAT AND PRESENT USE. Whether we may lawfully hear the now Conforming Ministers, who are re-ordained, and have renounced the Covenant, and some of them supposed to be scandalous in their

lives? Considered and Affirmatively resolved." Whether the Philip Nye of our text were the author of this tract (which is now before me), I cannot say. However this may be, for the sorrow of all good men, — antiquaries, — Dr. Calamy informs us that Mr. Nye "left behind him a character of a man of uncommon depth, who was seldom or never outreached;" and that "a compleat history of the old Puritan Dissenters by him, in MS., was burnt at Alderman Clarkson's, in the fire of London;" 1666, of course.

hereupon the following ten gentlemen were desired to take the Stock agreeably to the above proposal; namely, Mr. John Winthrop, the governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Kt., Isack Johnson, Esq., Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. John Revell, Mr. Matt. Cradock, Mr. Nathaniel Wright, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. Thomas Goff, and Mr. James Young; which gentlemen, upon much entreaty of the Court, accepted accordingly. These were usually denominated the *Undertakers*.

At the same court it was ordered that the Undertakers should provide a sufficient number of ships of good force, for transporting of passengers, at the rate of five pounds each, and four pounds a ton for goods. These ships were to be ready to sail from London by the first day of March, 1630. That the ships should touch at the Isle of Wight, and take in any passengers which might desire to embark there, having first registered their names at London, "with forty shillings towards their freight, to one of the said Vndertakers abyding in London, in the Michaelmas tearme before; and shall deliuer their goods on shipp-board before the twentieth of Februarie following; and shall giue security for the rest of their freight as they can agree with the said Vndertakers, either for mony to bee paid here, or for comoditie to bee deliured in the Plantacon." In the charge for passage, children at the breast were not to be reckoned; those under four years of age, three were to be counted as one; under eight, two for one; under twelve, three for two. And that a ship of two hundred tons should be allowed to carry not more than one hundred and twenty passengers; and in this proportion ships of other tonnage were restricted. Freight on goods sent "home" to be, for beaver, three pounds per ton, and for other commodities, forty shillings per ton. Goods "assured" to pay five pounds per hundred pounds' value.

Concerning the "Magazine," it was agreed "that the Vndertakers should furnish the Plantacon with all such comodities as they shall send for;" the planters to take and sell them as they pleased, allowing the Undertakers £25 in the hundred, above all charges; the planters to have the liberty to dispose of their part of the beavers as they chose to do.

Such were the proceedings preparatory to the settlement of Boston; which, considering all the circumstances, it must be confessed were dictated by sound judgment, wisdom, and that care for the ultimate good of all concerned, which will ever command the gratitude and admiration of an enlightened posterity. And though there may be few, even in this day of light and knowledge, who care to look back to these times, that number must increase, through future ages, in proportion to the improvement of the human mind, and as true benevolence takes the place of a sordid selfishness. These transactions of an ancestry of a posterity spread over the fairest part of the world, lie hid in no mist of uncertainty; their acts, plain and simple, written with their own hands, are everywhere to be read, and, it is to be hoped, will be for ages to come.

Dec. 15. Some members of the Company not present at the last meeting of the court, now appeared and complained that so great a reduction had been made in the property of the Joint Stock, and the matter received "a large discussion;" but the present court would not reconsider the matter; only, according to a former provision, and a mutual consent, the consideration of the case was committed to Mr.



JOHN DAVENPORT.

Davenport,* Mr. Nye, and Mr. Archer, three ministers there present.

1630. It was proposed, at this Feb. 10. meeting of the General Court, to create a common stock in the Company, because of "a great and continuall charge in the furtherance of the plantacon, which cannot with convenience bee defrayed out of the Ioynt Stock of the Company." This stock "should bee rayseed from such as beare good affeccion to the plantacon and the propagacon thereof," to be employed "only in defrayment of publike charges; as maintenance of ministers, transportacon of poore famy-

lies, building of churches and fortyfyeacons," and other occasions in the plantation. To those advancing fifty pounds in this new stock, two hundred acres of land were to be allotted, and so on, in that proportion. Of this new Company Mr. George Harwood was chosen treasurer.

At the same court a motion was made on behalf of Sir William Brereton, who, it appears, had a claim to lands under some Patent, which lands were now covered by the Patent of the Massachusetts Company. His claim is spoken of in the records of the Company, as held "by vertue of a late pretended Pattent." He proposed to waive his claim, provided "a proportionable quantitie of land might be allotted vnto him for the accommodacon of his people and servants now to be sent over." But the Court, after due "consideracon," did not think proper to enter into any "prticular capitulacon with him therein," and informed his messengers that the Company did not acknowledge that "anything was due vnto him as of right by vertue of his said Pattent," nor would they "give any consideracon in case hee" should relinquish it. Six hundred acres being due to him as one of the Adventurers, "they are well content hee should ioyne with them in the prosecucon of this business, according to their Charter;" and any servants he might send over to settle in the Plantacon should receive all

* Of all the early emigrants to New England. Mr. John Davenport, probably, could trace his lineage to the highest antiquity, — seventeen generations, his own included, — to Orme de Davenport, born 29th William the

Conqueror. It is only necessary to refer to "A History and Genealogy" of the family, by A. Benedict Davenport, Esq. (of the twenty-fourth generation), published in New York in 1851.

courteous respect, and be accommodated with land, as other the servants of the Company. Captain Waller and Mr. Eaton were desired "to signifie the Companye's affection and due respect vnto him; he hauing written to them about this business."*

Mar. 18. The Assistants held a court at Southampton, at which was present the Governor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Pynchon, and Mr. Goffe. "It was ordered and concluded by errecon of hands, that Sir Brian Janson, Kt., Mr. William Coddington and Mr. Simon Bradstreete, gent., shall be chosen in the roomes and places of Assistants of Mr. Wright, merchant, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, and Mr. Thomas Goffe, of London, merchants."

Mar. 23. This was the last court held by the Company in England, and was "aboard the Arbella;" at which Mr. Coddington, Mr. Tho. Sharpe, Mr. William Vassall, and Mr. Simon Bradstreete appeared, instead of Humfrey, Nowell, Pynchon and Goffe. Nothing appears to have been recorded of any transactions at this session, only it is noted that "Mr. John Humfrey (in regard hee was to stay behinde in England), was discharged of his Deputyshipp, and Mr. Thomas Dudley chosen Deputy in his place."

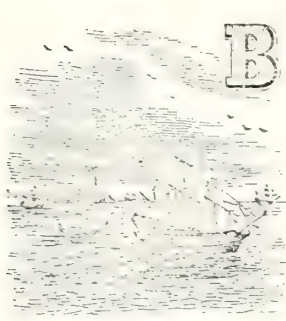
* It is not unlikely that Sir Wm. Brereton intended to settle in New England; indeed, it is highly probable that such was the fact; but his rights, or what he considered his rights, being disregarded, or not acknowledged by the Massachusetts Company, no doubt caused him to remain in England, the affairs of which soon gave him an opportunity to act a distinguished part therein. There is a portrait of him to be seen in the celebrated work of Mr. JOHN VICKERS, published in 1647; and who, according to that trustworthy author, gained *seventeen* victories over the armies of Charles I., one of which was commanded by Prince Rupert himself. There is another portrait of him in the curious work of JOSIAH RIGRAFT, published also in 1647, "*A Survey of England's Champions*," being "*Truth's faithful Recitements; with the lively Effigies and Eulogies of those who fought against the Romish Sicera, or the Great Scarlet Whore, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed Fornication*." Under his portrait in this book is inscribed, "SR. WILLIAM BRERETON,

MAJOR GENERAL OF CHESHIRE, STAFFORDSHIRE, AND LANKASHIRE."

The relation of Sir William Brereton to the Massachusetts Company was no doubt the same as Mr. Oldham's. There is in the *Mass. Archives, Lands*, i., p. 1, a document explaining the nature and extent of his claim. The reason why it was so unfavorably regarded may be found in the note, p. 58, *ante*. See *Hutchinson*, i. 6, 18. *Frothingham's Hist. Charlestown*, 13 and 14. He is said to have been one of the judges at the trial of the King. It is true that he was appointed to be of the number of the triers of Charles, but his name does not appear upon the warrant for the execution. My slight researches in regard to him, furnish nothing beyond the ordinary histories above referred to, and others more common. The Biographical Dictionaries consulted do not even contain the name of the "Champion" who risked his life in *seventeen* battles in the cause of human freedom, and the rights of man!

CHAPTER X.

Sailing of the *Mary & John*. — Her Company. — Sailing of Winthrop's Fleet. — Some Account of it. — Capt. Barley. — Sir Thomas Roe. — The Governor and Company's "Humble Request." — Charles Fines. — The Fleet proceeds on its Voyage. — Incidents and Accidents attending it. — Arrival of the *Mary & John*. — Nantasket. — Charlestown. — Settlement of Dorchester. — Tedious Voyage of Winthrop's Company. — Sir Robert Mansel. — The ships on the Coast. — Arrival at Salem. — Gov. Endicott. — Winthrop explores about Boston. — Thomas Walford. — Arrival of other ships. — Deputy Governor Dudley. — His Account of the Colony the first year. — Deaths of eminent persons.



BUT before the last meeting of the Government of the Massachusetts Company on board a ship in the harbor of Southampton, another ship, named the *Mary & John*, of four hundred tons, had been receiving passengers and goods, as she lay in the port of Plymouth; and, being now ready for sea, sails out of Plymouth Sound, Mar. 20. bound for the Massachusetts Bay, in New England. Of this ship "one Captain Squeb was master," and among his passengers were "the reverend Mr. Warham and Mr. Maverick, with many godly families and people under their care, from Devonshire, Dorsetshire and Somersetshire." In the same ship were also Mr. Rossiter and Mr. Ludlow, two assistants of the Massachusetts Company, and a young man in humble circumstances then, named Roger Clap, but who became in New England a gentleman of high consideration.

Mar. 29. "Riding at Cowes, near the Isle of Wight," it being Monday, there were now the "*Arbella*," of three hundred and fifty tons, Captain Peter Milbourne, master and part owner, with twenty-eight guns and fifty-two seamen; the *Ambrose*, Captain John Lowe, master; the *Jewell*, Mr. Nicholas Hurlston, master; the *Talbot*, Mr. Thomas Beecher, master. The two last-named ships belonged to Mr. Cradock, the captains of which, with their owner, came on board the *Arbella*, early in the morning. The wind serving, Mr. Cradock advised them to improve it. Accordingly they weigh their anchors, and at ten o'clock set sail, saluting their venerable late Governor with several pieces of ordnance, as he took his leave of them. Running up Solant Sea, they come to anchor again near Yarmouth, which lies over against Lymington, in Hampshire.

Meanwhile there were lying at Hampton, not quite ready to sail, the *Mayflower*, the *Whale*, the *William & Francis*, the *Trial*, the *Charles*, the *Success*, and the *Hopewell*.

In these eleven ships there were about seven hundred souls, besides the "people" of the ships, and this has been appropriately styled "the great emigration." They were long in getting clear of the English coast, the weather being unfavorable, as though it had compassion on the hundreds of unwilling minds, and kept them lingering near their

beloved friends and kindred ; as if sensible it was the only and last adieu they would ever pay to their native land.

April 6. As the ships lay windbound at Yarmouth, Captain Burleigh,* of the Castle there, "a grave and comely gentleman, and of great age," paid those on board a friendly visit, breakfasted with them, and was honored with a salute, at his departure, from four pieces of cannon. He had commanded in the navy of Queen Elizabeth, against the Spaniards, and had been a prisoner three years in Spain. After that, himself and three of his sons were captains in Sir Thomas Roe's famous voyage† to the empire of the Great Mogul.

April 7. While lying in Yarmouth harbor, an important letter was addressed by some of the principal emigrants to their brethren of the Church of England ; a letter which has given occasion for some reflections upon their conduct, by those who desired to find such an occasion ; as though therein they professed to be of the Church of England, while, in fact, their real intentions were to separate from it entirely. There is no ground for controversy, as to the meaning of the letter, among historians. It is a simple, intelligent epistle, in many works extant, and every one can read it and form his own judgment upon the points at issue. There is a vein of holy melancholy running through it, plainly showing that they felt that they were about to enter upon a new theatre, that they desired to be remembered as members of the same great Christian family, acknowledging those to whom they were writing "as those whom God had placed nearest his throne of mercy." "Consider us," they say, "we beseech you, by the mercies of the Lord Jesus, as your brethren, and the principals and body of our Company, as those who esteem it our honor to call the Church of Eng-

* So Winthrop has the name, or rather his transcribers ; but it should probably be Burley. In Higginson's Journal it is Burley. There was a family of this name, both ancient and respectable, which had long been established in that island. But I can hardly suppose that the aged Capt. Burleigh, whom Winthrop saw, was the same who, eighteen years afterwards, endeavored to raise an insurrection there in favor of Charles I. when confined in Carisbrook Castle, and for which, by order of Parliament, he was executed. This Capt. Burley had been thrown out of office when the navy changed masters, and his attempt to rescue the king was the result of chagrin which broke out in rashness. He may have been one of those three sons who had been captains under Sir Thomas Roe. — See *Buller's Isle of Wight*, — *Clarendon's Rebellion*, — and *Heath's Chronicle*.

† Winthrop, in his *Journal*, says merely, "Roe's voyage ;" and, from the events in the life of Sir Thomas Roe, I have no doubt that his "famous voyage to the dominions of the Great Mogul" is that to which Winthrop refers. His name appears before in my pages. See ante, p. 34. He was a gentleman of

great note in his time ; a son of Robert Roe, Esq., of Low Layton, Wanstead, Essex. He died in November, 1644. His widow, who survived him, was the lady Eleanor, daughter of Sir Thomas Cave, Bart., of Stanford, County of Northampton. The facetious and learned Fuller dedicated a portion of his "*Church History*" to her. The embassy of Sir Thomas continued from 1614 to 1618. From 1621 to 1628 he was an ambassador to the Ottoman Porte, during which time he kept a journal of all transactions there. This laid in MS. till 1740, when it was published in part, with a beautiful engraving of the ambassador, in folio. He possessed great learning, and made extensive collections of oriental MSS. during his residence in the East, which, in 1628, he presented to the Bodleian library. To show his respect for Sir Thomas, Captain Lucas Fox, who made a voyage of discovery to the north, in 1631, named the main land in 64° 10', N. in Hudson's Bay "Sir Thomas Roe's Welcome." — See *Granger's Biographical Hist. Eng.* — *Fuller's Church Hist. Brit.* — *Brit. Cyclop.* — *Forster's Discov. in the North*, p. 363, ed. 4to. — *Churchill's Collection of Voyages*, vol. i. 696, &c.

and, from whence we rise, our dear mother;* be pleased therefore, reverend fathers and brethren, to help forward this work now in hand."

The names found to the printed letter are "John Winthrop, Charles Fines,† George Phillippis, Richard Saltonstall, Isaac Johnson, Thomas Dudley, William Coddington, &c. &c."‡

April 8. About six of the clock in the morning, the wind having "hauled to the northward and eastward," the ships began to get under way, spreading their sails for the broad Atlantic Ocean. With the Admiral ship ahead, they passed Hurst castle, and running over Cowel and Totland bays, before ten the same morning they had cleared the "Needles;" but the wind shortening, they had to come to anchor in the English Channel. However, before ten at night, the wind, which had been light and variable, settled in to the north, so they weighed again and stood on through the night, and by daylight next morning April 9. they were abreast Portland. It was found that the rest of the ships could not hold way with the Admiral, which caused her to lie to for them to come up. Meantime, to lessen her speed, she clewed up her mainsail, and then they all "went on with a merry gale." Early in the morning of the same day, a man from the mast-

* Was this *separating* from the Church of England in the light some have considered it? Certainly not. A later date must be assigned to the *real* separation which *gradually* and actually *did* take place.



SAILING FROM THE ISLE OF WIGHT.

† That this gentleman belonged to a branch of the ancient Norman family of the name of De Fynes, De Finnes, &c., whose ancestors, from the time of the Conquest to the reign of John, were hereditary constables of Dover Castle, there may be no doubt; but that he was a *brother* of a cotemporary Sir William "Fiennes," I find no proof whatever. The family of *Finnes*, besides its own titles to nobility, became connected with that of Dudley, Lord North; Lord Daere; Earl Bourchier, Lord Berners; &c. It is presumed that though Charles Fines signed the famous "Humble Request," he may not have come to New England. There are, in the history of nearly every

family, facts of great interest; we meet with one in this of Finnes, for digressing to notice which, the author will probably be pardoned. Sir James Fiennes perished in "Jack Cade's rebellion." William Crowmer, son of Sir William Crowmer, Lord Mayor of London, married the only daughter of Sir James Fiennes (Viscount Say and Sele). The rebels beheaded both Sir James and his son-in-law; "whose heads, pitched upon high poles, were carried through the streets of London, whose bearers caused their trunkless faces (in spite and mockery) to kiss one the other at every street corner, as they marched along in this their damnable triumph and hellish ovations; which horrid act was committed the 3d of July, 1450." — *Weevers Fun. Monuments*. Henry Fiennes, the grandson of this first Lord Say and Sele, married Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Harecourt, of Stanton-Harecourt, Knt. Richard Fiennes, the nephew of Lord Say and Sele, married the daughter and heiress of Thomas, Lord Daere. — *Gullim's Banner Displayed*, 437.

‡ The original edition of the famous letter was printed at London soon after the sailing of "the fleet," in a small 4to, of 12 pages. Those who had not seen the original edition, but had sighed to do so, believing that the two "&c.s" at the end, in our old transcripts of it, would reveal other names, sighed in vain. They are &c.s and nothing else, in the *editio princeps*. It is entitled "THE HUMBLE REQUEST of his Majesties loyall Subjects," &c. It might well have been entitled their "FAREWELL ADDRESS," as its tone throughout is truly the language of men bidding a final farewell to the world.

head descried eight sail of ships astern. This discovery threw all on board into consternation, believing the strangers to be enemies; for they had been told at Yarmouth that ten sail of Dunkirkers were lying in wait for their sailing, and Captain Lowe, of the *Ambrose*, said he saw suspicious-looking vessels lying at Dunnose the evening before.* However, orders were given to clear the ships for action, and, though they were "four to eight," they determined to fight. "The ordnance were loaded, powder-chests and fireworks were made ready, the landmen were quartered among the seamen, and every man written down for his quarter." "And, for an experiment, Captain Milborne shot a ball of wild-fire, fastened to an arrow, out of a cross-bow, which burnt in the water for a good time. The *Lady Arbella* and the other women and children were removed into the lower deck, that they might be out of danger." Prayer was then had on deck, after which "it was much to see how cheerful and comfortable all the company appeared; not a woman or child that showed fear, though all did apprehend the danger to have been very great." The supposed enemy, having more wind than the pursued, "came up apace." It was near one o'clock, however, before they had approached within a league, when Captain Milbourne, "because he would show he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake them, tacked about and stood to meet them; and when they came near they perceived them to be" some of their own countrymen and friends.

Though this great peril proved to be imaginary, its relation serves to set in a strong light the immense hazards to which those were exposed, as they were upon their embarkation for a naked wilderness. It would have been nothing out of the ordinary course of the events of that day, had their worst fears been realized. These poor Pilgrims might have overcome their adversaries after a bloody battle; but their voyage would have been ruined; or they might, like Captain Smith, but few years before, have been captured, carried into an enemy's port, plundered and cast into prison, and thus their intended settlement brought to an end.

Being thus happily delivered from their fears, the colonists April 10. proceeded on their voyage, having the wind at east-by-north, a "handsome gale with fair weather." By seven of the clock in the morning, they were "over against Plymouth," and about noon, the *Lizard*, that noted promontory of Cornwall, was in view. About eight the next morning, they passed the Isles of Scilly, which lie about nine leagues to the westward of the Land's End, it blowing "a very stiff gale" from the north-by-west, and, having laid their course west-south-west, they stood off into the main ocean, and were soon out sight of land.

* There may be no error as to Dunnose; but how Captain Lowe could have seen ships at that place, is quite surprising, because the only Dunnose that I can find is near the extreme east end of the Isle of Wight; while the Needles through which our fleet had sailed are at the extreme west end, certainly above twenty miles from Dunnose.

All thoughts were now turned on their present condition, whither they were going, the strange things they were to meet with in the New World, and what they would do when they should arrive there; with occasional misgivings of many, as to the propriety of the hazardous step they had taken; the probable long time that must pass before they could so much as hear from dear fathers, mothers, brothers, and sisters. From these reflections, though often awakened by the sudden plunging, heaving, and rolling of the ship, the roaring of the winds, and breaking of the billows around them, it was only to return to them again with a willing sadness, as their little bark righted and seemed to leap with more steadiness from sea to sea.

The voyage thus proceeded without anything uncommon or extraordinary, and soon became monotonous, till even an accident might have been welcome, if of sufficient importance to break in upon the irksome hours. Very few of these happened, or, if they happened, they were not recorded. There are, indeed, notes of "two men falling at odds, and fighting, contrary to orders," and how they were punished withal; and how one, "for using contemptuous speeches" before the high officers and gentlemen, "was laid in bolts till he submitted himself, and promised open confession;" though whether he did anything more than promise, is not recorded.*

Notwithstanding such events, — the "seamen sometimes playing wags with children," a great storm which split some of their sails to pieces, and the separation of the ships, — "the wind put them on to the west amain," where, in their approach to the summit of the Atlantic Ocean, it may be well to leave them, for the present, to take a view of the Company which sailed before them.

Mar. 20. The ship *Mary and John*, as has been before recorded, sailed from Plymouth for New England, on the twentieth of March. She seems to have had a very prosperous voyage, passing "through the deeps comfortably." The "captain of that great ship of four hundred tons" was named — Squeb, who arrived at Nantasket on the May 20. thirtieth of the following May, and "here he turned his passengers and their goods ashore the next day, leaving them to shift for themselves in a forlorn place in this wilderness."† But there were

* "A servant of one of our company had bargained with a child to sell him a box, worth 3d., for three biscuits a day, all the voyage, and had received about forty, and had sold them and many more to some other servants. We caused his hands to be tied up to a bar, and hanged a basket of stones about his neck, and so he stood two hours." — *Winthrop, Journal*, i. 18. This extract is made as a specimen of punishments practised in those days.

† Captain Roger Clap wrote this, many years after these events, but he recorded what he knew and what he saw, for he was one of the efficient men of the Company. But his censures of Captain Squeb's conduct are to be

taken with allowance, for reasons already stated. [See ante, p. 22.] At the time of their arrival, I have no doubt the Captain supposed himself at the entrance of Charles River, and that by bringing them there he had performed his voyage. It appears that he was urged to carry them up further into the river, and that he declined to do so, and a difficulty arose thereupon, which was not settled till the 17th of June, after the arrival of Winthrop, who, in his *Journal*, says, "as he and others of his Company were returning from Mr. Maverick's [on Noddle's Island], they came by [way] of Nataskott, and sent for Captain Squib ashore, and ended a difference between him and the passengers." Am-

"some old planters" there and in the neighborhood, who, kindly assisting them with a boat, they loaded it with goods, and some able men, well armed, went in her to Charlestown, where they found some wigwams and one house.* They did not make much stay here, but proceeded up Charles River until it grew narrow and shallow, and there they landed their goods with much labor and toil, the bank being steep, and they not above ten in number.

At the approach of night, they were informed that there were not far off, three hundred Indians, which caused the English to apprehend trouble; but an old planter, who had kindly accompanied them, went out and met the Indians, and, being acquainted with their language, made them understand that the English did not wish them to come to them in the night, and they readily consented to keep away. Sentinels were set for the night, of which Roger Clap was one, and here Englishmen slept for the first time on the banks of Charles River. Of this little company was Mr. Richard Southcot, "a brave Low Country soldier," who did not continue long in the country, but in about a year returned to England.†

The next

June 1. morning a few of the Indians came and looked at the strangers "at a distance off," but after a while they came and held out a great bass towards them. One of the English took a biscuit, and approaching the Indians, offered it for the bass, which they



accepted. With this a friendly intercourse commenced, and the Company got a supply of bass at the same easy rate for some time after.

The place where the landing was effected, and where the interview with the Indians took place, is believed to be at or very near the point,

icably, we may suppose; because, when the Governor and his company left him, the Captain gave them a salute of five guns. This seems hardly to countenance what Trumbull, in his *Connecticut*, i. 23, says, namely, that the said Captain "was afterwards obliged to pay damages for his conduct;" but Trumbull may have had good authority for his statement. The impossibility of a ship of 400 tons, deeply laden, going up Charles River, must have been well known to Captain Clap when he wrote his *Memoirs*.

* That of Mr. Walford, before mentioned, no doubt, "situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles River side." — *Charlestown Records*. See Frothingham, 14.

"And in the house there was a man, which had a boiled bass, but no bread that we see; but we did eat of his bass, and then went up Charles River," &c. — *Clap's Memoirs*.

† He had liberty from the Court, in July, 1631, "to go for England, promising to return with all convenient speed." — *Prince*, 358.

in what was soon after Watertown, on which the United States Arsenal now stands. Here, while some were preparing shelters for their goods, others proceeded to select the most suitable place for their future abode. It was soon discovered that a noted Indian resort, called Matapan, offered good grazing for their cattle, and other advantages for settlement, which they considered superior to those where they now were, and they accordingly removed to Matapan, since called Dorchester Neck, and afterwards South Boston. The name Dorchester was given to their residence, in memory of the "famous town" of the same name in Dorsetshire, whence many of the first settlers came.* They gave the same name to the place where they first encamped upon Charles River, and a place thereabouts is known as "Dorchester Fields" to this day.†

Meanwhile, the "Arbella" and her two consorts — the Ambrose and the Jewel — are ploughing the wide Atlantic Ocean, sometimes in company, and sometimes apart; separated by the violence of storms, the darkness of high northern nights, and the dense fogs swept by the broom of heaven from innumerable fields of ice over the polar seas. For several days together they could make no headway within many points of their true course; and sometimes they could only "lie at hull," with just sail enough to steady the ships, and keep them from foundering in the "trough of the seas."

May 1. After having been above three weeks at sea, they found themselves but about one third of their voyage onward, and, by contrary winds and currents, were driven to the forty-sixth degree of northern latitude; but, notwithstanding cold, stormy weather continued, and often accompanied by sleet and snow, the three ships were all in company on the sixth of May; and, on the previous night, it having come fair, and the wind "large," they were able to lay their course west by south, "with a merry gale in all their sails;" so that they soon ran down to the parallel of forty-four degrees north; but, so unfavorable was the weather for many days following, that they changed their latitude scarcely half a degree, though their course was nearly south.

June 6. At length, at two o'clock in the afternoon of June the sixth, and in forty-three degrees and a quarter north, soundings were had, "and, the mist then breaking up," land was descried on the star-board bow, about five or six leagues off, which was supposed to be Cape Sable. The wind soon after hauled south-easterly, and the ships bore

* I have given, in the *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Regr.*, vol. iii., p. 389, &c., a somewhat extended account of the early beginnings of "Old Dorchester," the origin of its name, its early inhabitants, &c., to which the reader is referred. I would also refer to *Blake's Annals of Dorchester*, and the *Hist. of Dorchester* now in course of publication, by Mr. DAVID CLAPP.

† "In walking over the grounds at the place of landing," says Dr. Holmes [in

Watertown], "several years ago, with Maj. Winship, a respectable inhabitant then living near by it, he pointed to a pasture, and told me it was called "*Dorchester Fields*." — See *American Annals*, i. 203. — Both the excellent annalist and his informant sleep with those of whom they spoke and wrote. Dr. Holmes died at Cambridge, 4 June, 1837; Mr. Winship a few years later.

June 7. away west by north, intending to make the well-known point in York called Agamenticus. The next day, being becalmed, they had splendid fishing, on thirty fathom ground, "taking, in less than two hours, sixty-seven codfish, most of them very great, some a yard and a half long, and a yard in compass." This supply was very seasonable, their salt-fish being spent, and their other provisions were running short.

Thus, with the usual attendants on the coast of New England, — head winds, storms and calms, — the ships were one day able to keep near their course, and the next only to lie off and on, without making

June 8. any headway at all. Stretching cautiously towards the coast, on the eighth of June they saw Mount Desert, then generally called Mount Mansel, after Sir Robert Mansel;* and they were able to run all the next day with the welcome coast in sight of the sea-worn passengers.† On the tenth they made other land, which appeared to

June 10. them at a great distance off. This was, not unlikely, the since well-known White Hills. Boone Island, the Isles of Shoals (where a ship was riding at anchor), and the Three Turks' Heads, were all recognized before the close of this day. All the next day they were

June 11. obliged to beat against a head wind, in sight of Cape Ann and the Isles of Shoals, and "five or six shallops under sail, up and down."

June 12. About four in the morning, it being Saturday, being near their port, they shot off two pieces of ordnance, and, soon after, sent a boat on board a ship‡ which lay at anchor in the harbor, which they knew belonged to Captain William Peirce.§ That ship had arrived some time before. "About an hour after," says Winthrop, "Mr.

* A distinguished gentleman, one of the patentees of 1620, whose name will be found in a previous page (34) of this work. The name is often written Maunsell, and is traced to remote ages in England. John Maunsell was named one of the chaplains in the will of Henry III., 1253; but to whose dishonor nothing need be said beyond the fact of his being in the interest of that rapacious monarch. The worthy Knight, the subject of this note. I take to be a younger son of Sir Edward Mansel, knighted in 1572, Chamberlain of Chester, "and a man of great honor, integrity and courage." He was knighted by the Earl of Essex, for his valor in the taking of Calais, 1596; and, having signalized himself in several other encounters, was made Vice-Admiral of the fleet by James I., in which station he was continued by Charles I., and lived to a very old age, much esteemed for his "great integrity, personal courage, and experience in maritime affairs." — Kimber & Johnson's *Baronetage*, i. 236. — The island was named Mount Desert by Champlain in 1608. It is about twelve miles broad, and fifteen in length, and is about three hundred and thirty-five miles from Boston. In 1613, Sir Samuel Argall went from Virginia, and dispossessed the

French of it, and its name was changed to Mount Mansell. This proceeding of Argall was an outrage upon the French, for which no attempt at justification will avail anything in unprejudiced minds.

† "We had now fair sunshine weather, and so pleasant a sweet air as did much refresh us, and there came a smell off the shore, like the smell of a garden." — Winthrop, *Jour.*, i. 23. — The same day, June 8th, "there came a wild pigeon into our ship, and another small bird." — *Ibid.* — "Noah could hardly have been more gratified to behold his dove, with the olive-leaf in its mouth." — *Snow*.

‡ The Lyon. She belonged to Bristol. — *Dudley to the Countess of Lincoln*. — She sailed from that port in February, and arrived at Salem in May; but the day of the month has not been ascertained. Mr. Hubbard says she "was some days arrived there before" Winthrop. — *Hist. N. England*, 130.

§ Captain Peirce had been often on this coast, and had many times crossed the Atlantic. He belonged to London, and Captain Michael Peirce, of Scituate, was his brother. I shall have occasion to say more of him. — See *News from N. England*, a rare tract of 1676, re-published by me. 4to, 1850.

Allerton came aboard us in a shallop, as he was sailing to Pemaquid. As we stood towards the harbor, we saw another shallop coming to us; so we stood in to meet her, and passed through the narrow strait between Baker's Isle and Little Isle, and came to an anchor a little within the islands. After, Mr. Peirce came aboard us, and returned to fetch Mr. Endecott,* who came to us about two of the clock, and with him Mr. Skelton and Captain Levett. We that were of the Assistants, and some other gentlemen, and some of the women, and our captain, returned with them to Nahumkeak, where we supped with a good venison pasty and good beer, and at night we returned to our ship, but some of the women stayed behind.† In the mean time, most of our people went on shore upon the land of Cape Ann, which lay very near us, and gathered store of fine strawberries;‡ “with which, in those times, the woods were everywhere well furnished, and it is like, as merry as the gentlefolks at their venison pasty and strong beer.”§

June 13. The “*Arbella*” was immediately visited by Indians. Masconomo, “the sagamore of that side of the country towards Cape Anne,” with one of his men, came on board in the morning, and bid the English welcome, and stayed all day, and another Indian had slept on board the previous night. In the afternoon of the same day, the *Jewel*, Captain Low, came in sight, and was soon after moored in the harbor. The *Ambrose*, Captain Hurlstone, arrived five days later, and the *Talbot*, Captain Beecher, did not get in until the second of July.

June 14. Two ships only had arrived at Salem, but on this day the passengers made a kind of formal landing, upon which occasion a salute of five pieces was given.

June 17. The Governor and others of the principal men of the Company set out, on the since memorable seventeenth of June, to explore

* I take pleasure in transferring to this page Mr. Savage's note upon Endicott, as it is one of the best written notes in his edition of Governor Winthrop's *Journal*. The italicized words have been so italicized in this use of the note, for reasons which will be apparent to the reader of my previous pages. The Editor of Winthrop says: “This distinguished father of Massachusetts had, two years before, been sent to found the plantation, which was effected by the settlement of Salem, the oldest town in the colony. He had a commission from the company to act as governor, which was, of course, superseded by the arrival of Winthrop with the charter. With the history of his adopted country that of Endecott is interwoven till the time of his death, 15 March, 1665. He served four years as deputy governor, and sixteen as governor; being at the head of administration a longer time than any other under the old patent; exceeded under the new charter by Shirley alone, and that only by one year. The farm which he cultivated remains in possession of an honorable

descendant; and one pear-tree planted by the governor on it is said still to repay his care.” This was in 1824. In 1848 I received a number of fine pears from the same tree. — See *N. E. H. Gen. Regr.*, ii. 402. Since 1757, the pear-tree has been included in Danvers. — See Felt's *Annals of Salem*, i. 180; Hanson's *Hist. Danvers*, 26.

† “Who, like Noah's dove, finding sure footing on the firm land, returned no more to their ark, floating on the unstable waves.” — Hubbard, *Hist. New England*, 130.

‡ I am sorry not to be able to give these extracts from Winthrop's *Journal* as Winthrop wrote them; having only a modernized copy of them must be my excuse. The quaint old orthography of that day, so refreshing to the genuine antiquary, would have rendered that work incalculably more valuable; but, as most of Winthrop's original work has been destroyed by fire, any hopes of a restoration are beyond the effects of lamentations, even with the prospect of a new edition in view.

§ Hubbard, *Hist. New Eng.*, 130.

the bottom of the bay, which might very properly then have been denominated the *Disputed Territory*. They were in pursuit of a suitable place for settlement; and, before returning, they went several miles up Mistick River, stayed one night at the hospitable dwelling of Mr. Samuel Maverick, probably paid a visit to Mr. Walford,* and perhaps to Mr. Blackstone, on Shawmut, and returned to Salem by way

June 19. of Nantasket, after an absence of about three days. A difficulty had arisen between Captain Squeb and the passengers who came over with him, as has before been noticed. Squeb was still at Nantasket; and Mr. Winthrop's business there at this time was no doubt owing to that unpleasant affair. He sent for the Captain to come to him on shore, which request being at once complied with, the difficulty seems to have been adjusted without delay. Captain Squeb had been charged with not performing his voyage; and some called him "a merciless man," for "turning his passengers on shore at Nantasket, in a forlorn place," when he was to land them in Charles River. Mr. Winthrop and his council, having made themselves personally acquainted with the bay, and seeing the difficulty of getting into Charles River with a ship of four hundred tons, very probably saw no cause to censure Captain Squeb, and thus the difficulty was amicably ended; and when they left him, he saluted them with five guns.

July 1. "The Mayflower and Whale arrived safe in the harbor of Charlestown; the passengers being all in health, but most of their cattle dead. If Jacob himself had been there, he could not have, with all his skill and care, prevented the over-driving of cattle, shut up in the narrow room of those wooden walls, where the fierceness of the wind and waves would often fling or throw them on heaps, to the mischieving and destroying one another."†

July 2. In the Talbot, which arrived this day, there had been great distress, owing to the passengers having been "sore visited with the small pox in her passage, whereof fourteen died in the way." In

*The reader will have met with this name several times before in this history. THOMAS WALFORD was the first known English inhabitant of Charlestown, then called by its Indian name, Mishawum: concerning whom, in the Charlestown records, it is said that those who settled in the same place in 1629 "found him living in an English house, palisaded and thatched, situate on the south end of the westernmost hill of the East Field, a little way up from Charles River side." Mr. Frothingham says he has not been able to locate the residence of Mr. Walford beyond a doubt, but that it was probably on Breed's Hill, a short distance from the water. — *Hist. Charlestown*, 14, 23, 24. — Two years after, he was driven away by the authorities of Massachusetts, probably for his heretical opinions, or, perhaps, more properly to speak, for his minority opinions. The act by which he was banished will be noticed in its chronological order. Some writers have

regretted the severity exercised towards him, while for others, very similarly dealt with, they withhold their sympathy altogether; thus showing that historians have their favorites among the dead as well as among the living.

Mr. Walford removed to New Hampshire, and became an inhabitant of Portsmouth. From certain court papers at Exeter, it is ascertained that he had the following children: *Mary*, wife of William Brookin, and that she was born 1635; *Martha*, wife of ——— Westbrook; *Elizabeth*, wife of ——— Savage; *Jeremiah*, wife Mary, perhaps daughter of Alexander and Ann Bachelder, of Portsmouth; *Hannah* (probably the oldest), as she married ——— Pease, before 1648. Will proved 25 June, 1667; wife Jane, who survived him, and was æt. 69 in 1667. — MS. of Mr. A. W. Brown.

† Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 131.

one of the late ships "came Mr. Henry Winthrop, the Governor's second son, accidentally left behind at the Isle of Wight, or Hampton, whither he went to provide further supply of provisions for the gentlemen in the Admiral. A sprightly and hopeful young gentleman he was, who, though he escaped the danger of the main sea, yet was unhappily drowned in a small creek, not long after he came ashore, even the very next day, July second, after his landing, to the no small grief of his friends and the rest of the company."*

July 6. By the sixth of July there had arrived eleven ships of those employed to bring over the colonists to Massachusetts Bay, exclusive of the Mary and John, which brought the Dorchester people, already mentioned. "So as now," says Mr. Hubbard, "all the whole fleet being safely come to their port, they kept a public day of thanksgiving, through all the plantations,† to give thanks to Almighty God for all his goodness and wonderful works, which they had seen in their voyage."

Thomas Dudley, now deputy governor, afterwards governor, came over with Winthrop, and like him wrote an account of their settling in the country. His account is of great interest; but as he did not write at the precise time in which events occurred, he has committed several mistakes; yet these are not of much account. He says "seventeen shippes arrived‡ all safe in New England, for the increase of the plan-

* Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 131.

† Here is evidence of many settlements existing in the country when Winthrop arrived. This is on the authority of Mr. Hubbard, who wrote fifty years after the settlement of Boston. If other evidence be necessary, that of Governor Dudley will not be questioned by anybody, for he recorded the same year (1630) the events which I am now detailing. Dudley, speaking of the settlements on the south

‡ Chiefly from Mr. Prince I give the following list of the seventeen ships; whence they sailed, time of sailing, masters' names, where and when they arrived.

Ship's names.	From	1630.
1 Lyon	Bristol	February
2 Mary and John	Plymouth	20 March
3 Arbella	Isle of Wight	8 April
4 Jewell	Isle of Wight	8 April
5 Ambrose	Isle of Wight	8 April
6 Talbot	Isle of Wight	8 April
7 Mayflower	Southampton	May
8 Whale	Southampton	May
9 Hopewell	Southampton	May
10 Wm. and Francis	Southampton	May
11 Tryal	Southampton	May
12 Charles	Southampton	May
13 Success	Southampton	May
14 Gift	A French ship	End of May
15 Not named	Not known	June
16 Handmaid	London	6 August
17 Not named	Sent out by a private merchant.	

side of the bay, as Plymouth, Weymouth, and Mount Wallaston, says, "Also diverse merchants of Bristow, and some other places, have yearly, for this eight years or thereabouts, sent shippes hether at the fishing times, to trade for beaver, where their factors dishonestly for their gaines, have furnished the Indians with guns, swords, powder and shott." — *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, in Force's *Tracts*, ii.

Masters.	1630.	Arrived at
Wm. Pierce	May	Salem
— Squeb	30 May	Nantasket
Peter Milborne	12 June	Salem
John Lowe	13 June	Salem
Nicholas Hurlstone	18 June	Salem
Thomas Beecher	2 July	Salem
Not known	1 July	Charlestown
"	1 July	Charlestown
"	3 July	Salem
"	3 July	Salem
"	5 July	Charlestown
"	5 July	Salem
"	6 July	Salem
— Brook	2 August	Charlestown
Not known	Unknown	Unknown
John Grant	29 October	Plymouth

The only authority for several of the above facts is contained in Dudley's *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*. — See Prince's *N. Eng. Chron.*, 329.

Among the ships which sailed the preceding year for New England were the George Bona-

venture, Thomas Cox, master; the Talbot, Thomas Beecher, master; the Lyon's Whelp, John Gibbs, master. — See *Company's Second Lett. of Instructs. to Endicott*. — *Archæol. Amer.*, 96.

tacon here theis yeare, 1630, but made a long, a troublesome, and costly voy'ge, being all wind-bound long in England, and hindred with contrary winds after they set saile, and so scattered with mists and tempests, that few of them arriued together. Our four shippes which sett out in Aprill arriued here in June and July, where wee found the colony in a sadd and unexpected condition, aboue eighty of them being dead the winter before, and many of those aliae weake and sicke; all the corne and bread amongst them all hardly sufficient to feed them a fortnight; insoemuch that the remainder of one hundred and eighty servants wee had the two years before sent ouer, comeing to vs for victualls to sustaine them, wee found ourselves wholly unable to feed them by reason that the p'visions shipped for them were taken out of the shipp they were put in, and they who were trusted to shipp them in another failed us, and left them behind; whereupon necessity enforced us, to our extreme loss, to give them all libertie, who had cost about sixteen or twentie pounds a person, furnishing and sending ouer.

“But bearing theis things as wee might, wee beganne to consult of the place of our sitting downe; for Salem, where wee landed, pleased vs not. And to that purpose some were sent to the Bay, to search vpp the rivers for a convenient place, who, vppon their returne, reported to haue found a good place vppon Mistick. But some other of us seconding theis to approoue or dislike of their iudgement, wee found a place liked [of] vs better, three leagues vp Charles River. And therevppon vnshipped our goods into other vessels, and, with much cost and labour, brought them in July to Charles Towne. But there receiving advertisements by some of the late arriued shippes from London and Amsterdam of some French preparations against us (many of our people brought with vs beeing sick of feavers and the scurvy, and wee thereby vnable to carry vp our ordinance and baggage soe farr), wee were forced to change counsaile and for our present shelter to plant dispersedly; some at Charles Towne, which standeth on the north side of the mouth of Charles Riuer, some on the south side thereof, which place we named Boston (as wee intended to haue done the place wee first resolved on); some of vs vppon Mistick, which we named Meadford; some of vs westward on Charles River, four miles from Charles Towne, which place wee named Watertowne; others of vs two miles from Boston, in a place wee named Rocksbury; others vppon the riuer of Sawgus, betweene Salem and Charles Towne; and the western men four miles south from Boston, at a place wee named Dorchester.

“This dispersion troubled some of vs, but help it wee could not, wanting ability to remoue to any place fit to build a Towne vppon, and the time too short to deliberate any longer least the winter should surprise vs before wee had buikled our houses. The best counsel wee could find out was to build a fort to retire to, in some conuenient place, if any enemy pressed therevnto, after wee should haue fortified ourselves against the iniuries of wett and cold. So, ceasing to consult further for that time, they who had health to labour fell to building, wherein

many were interrupted with sicknes, and many dyed weekley, yea, almost dayley. Amongst whom were Mrs. Pinchon, [lady of the Honorable William Pinchon],* Mrs. Coddington [lady of the Honorable William Coddington], Mrs. Phillips [wife of Mr. George Phillips, first minister of Watertown], Mrs. Alcock, sister of Mr. Hookers [wife of Deacon John Alcock]. Insomuch that the shippes beeing now vpon their returne, some for England, some for Ireland, there was, I take it, not much less than an hundred (some think many more), partly out of dislike of our government, which restrained and punished their excesses, and partly through feare of famine, (not seeing other means than by their labour to feed themselves), which returned back [to England] again. And glad were wee so to bee ridd of them. Others, also, afterwards hearing of men of their owne disposition, which were planted at Piscataway, went from vs to them, whereby, though our numbers were lessened, yet wee accounted ourselves nothing weakened by their remouall.

"Before the departure of the shippes, we contracted with Mr. Peirce, master of the Lyon, of Bristow, to returne to vs with all speed, with fresh supplies of victualls, and gaue him directions accordingly. With this shipp returned Mr. Revil, one of the fine vndertakers here for the joint stock of the Company; and Mr. Vassall, one of the Assistants, and his family; and also Mr. Bright, a minister sent hether the yeare before.†

* Though the name of this important and worthy gentleman is very often found written *Pinchon*, his own signature in my possession is *Pynchon*, as the fac-simile here inserted shows.

William Pynchon

This is copied from an original paper of the date 1650. Farmer has given a pedigree of his family in his *N. E. Genealog. Rec.* He was one of the fathers of Roxbury, and afterwards of Springfield. — See Ellis' *Hist. Roxbury*, and Bliss' *Hist. Disc. at Springfield*. He was very highly respected in the colony, and is uniformly mentioned in the Springfield records, as the "Worshipful Mr. William Pynchon," &c. In these pages his name often occurs, and always in honorable connection. His family was one of distinction in England. The father of Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, married Agnes, daughter of William Pynchon, Gent. The father, Thomas Chichele, of Higham Ferrers, in Northamptonshire, died 25 February, 1400. — See Wood's *Hist. and Antiquities of the Colleges, &c., of Oxford*, i. 259. Ed. Gutch. 1786. I know not, however, that this *William Pynchon* was even remotely connected with our *WILLIAM PYNCHON*. The original deed of Springfield from the Indians to Mr. Pynchon is preserved in the Court House in that town. It was

dated 15 July, 1636. His son, the Hon. John Pynchon, became an eminent man in New England. In 1675 he owned the ship *John's Adventure*, which sailed out of Boston, and of which Captain John Walley was master. — See *Old Indian Chronicle*, 34.

† Hubbard, in his characteristic manner, thus remarks upon the return of Mr. Bright, whom he denominates a "godly minister": — "He began to hew stones in the mountains wherewith to build; but when he saw all sorts of stones would not suit in the building, as he supposed, he, not unlike Jonah, fled from the presence of the Lord, and went down to Tarslish." — *Hist. New England*, 113. This, however, is only an improvement upon a passage of Johnson. — See *Wonder-working Prov.*, p. 20. Edward Johnson may be regarded as a contemporary historian, being one of those who came over in 1630, and was at Charlestown with Winthrop the same year, and was one of the first settlers of Woburn, which town he represented in the General Court about twenty-eight years, from 1643. He used to be called one of the "men of Kent," and a "Kentish Captain;" having come from a place called Herne-Hill in that county. His *History of New England*, usually cited as the *Wonder-working Providence*, was printed in London in 1655. Captain Johnson died 23 April, 1672, aged 72, as by MS. deposition in my possession.

"The shippes beeing gone, victualls wastinge, and mortallity increasinge, wee held diuerse fasts in our severall congregations, but the Lord would not yet be deprecated; for, about the beginning of September, dyed Mr. Gager, a right godly man, a skillfull chirurgeon, and one of the deacons of our congregation; and Mr. Higginson, one of the ministers of Salem, a zealous and profitable preacher, this of a consumption, that of a fever. And on the thirtieth of September dyed Mr. Johnson, another of the five Vndertakers (the Lady Arbella, his wife, being dead a month before).^{*} This gentleman was a prime man amongst vs, haueing the best estate of any; zealous for religion, and the greatest furtherer of this plantation. He made a most godly end, dying willingly, professing his life better spent in promoting this plantation, than it would have beene in any other way. Within a month after, dyed Mr. Rositer, another of our Assistants, a godly man, and of a good estate, which still weakened vs more, so that there now were left of the five Vndertakers, but the Gouvernour, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and myself, and seuen other of the Assistants. And of the people who came ouer with vs, from the time of their setting saile from England, in April, 1630, vntill December followinge, there dyed by estimacon, about two hundred, at the least. So lowe hath the Lord brought vs."[†]

^{*} She died about the thirtieth of August, according to Winthrop, who agrees with Dudley that she died "about a month" before her husband. Mr. Hubbard notices the sad event in his usual happy manner. "Amongst others," he says, "that were at that time visited with mortal sickness, the Lady Arbella, the wife of Mr. Isaac Johnson, was one, who, possibly, had not taken the counsel of our Saviour, to sit down and consider what the cost would be before she began to build; for, coming from a paradise of plenty and pleasure, which she enjoyed in the family of a noble Earldom, into a wilderness of wants, it proved too strong a temptation for her; so as the virtues of her mind were not able to stem the tide of those many adversities of her outward condition, which she, soon after her arrival, saw herself surrounded withal; for, within a short time after, she ended her days at Salem, where she first landed, and was soon after solemnly interred, as the condition of those times would bear." — *Hist. N. England*, 132-3. Why has there not been a monument to designate the place where she lies? The spot is, or was recently, well known. The late Dr. Holyoke, of Salem, when he was ninety-nine years of age, namely, in 1823, the year before he died, told Dr. Abiel Holmes that she was buried about half a mile from "the body of the town," near Bridge street, which leads to Beverley, about ten feet from the street. — See *Amer. Annals*, i. 296.

[†] Though in this long extract many facts are brought in a little out of place, yet I should not be pardoned by any intelligent reader, I

think, were I not to allow a man of Governor Dudley's importance to tell things as *he* saw and knew them; being one of those who wrote "with his hands to the plow," and tells us things nowhere else to be found. He wrote within the year of settlement, and his letter, which accompanied his Narrative, is dated "Boston in New England, March 12th, 1630," which was 1631, N. S. It was directed "To the righte honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Bryget, Countesse of Lincoln." It was sent over to her in the care of Mr. Wilson, pastor of the First Church, who sailed from Salem, April 1st, 1631. That all which can be known of its origin may be before the reader, said letter follows entire:

"MADAM, — Your Pres (which are not common or cheape), following mee hether into New England, and bringeing with them renewed testimonies of the accustomed favours you honoured mee with in the Old, haue drawne from mee this Narrative retribution, (which in respect of your proper interest in some persons of great note among t vs), was the thankfulllest present I had to send ouer the seas. Therefore I humbly intreat your Honour, this bee accepted as payment from him, who neither hath nor is any more than your honour's old thankful servant,

THOMAS DUDLEY."

What I have above denominated as a Narrative, is always cited as "Dudley's Letter to the Countess," &c. The short epistle here extracted may be considered a Dedication to the Narrative or Letter, the best edition of which is that printed by Mr. Force, of Washington, from a MS. The commencement of the Narrative, or the first paragraph of it, sets forth, in a most striking manner, the wants of

CHAPTER XI.

Removal of Winthrop and his Company to Charlestown. — Sickness and Distress of the People. — Fast in Consequence. — First Church formed. — Rev. John Wilson. — First Election. — Winthrop chosen Governor. — First Court of Assistants. — William Blackstone. — Account of him. — His Point, House and Spring. — He removes to Rehoboth. — Blackstone River named for him. — Shawmut settled, and named Boston. — First Ordination. — Trimountain, why so named. — Death of Isaac Johnson. — Account of him.

HAVING determined on a removal from Salem, and having fixed upon the point of land since called Charlestown* (in honor of Charles I.), for July 12.† Johnson, Mr. Thomas Dudley, Mr. Roger Ludlow, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. William Pynchon, Mr. Simon Bradstreet, Mr. John Wilson, Mr. George Phillips, with their followers, took up their present abode there accordingly;‡ not all at the same time, but as fast as accommodations for them could be made; which removal very probably occupied a considerable part of the present month, and a large part of the following August.

The governor and several of the patentees dwelt in the "Great House," which was built the year before by Mr. Thomas Graves, while the multitude set up cottages, booths and tents, about the Town Hill. From the length of their passage over the Atlantic, many arrived sick of the scurvy, which much increased after their arrival, for want of houses, and by reason of wet lodgings; other distempers also prevailed. And, although the people were generally very loving and pitiful to one another, yet the sickness did so prevail, that the well were not able to

a new country, and his own ability to encounter its privations. It here ensues:

"For the satisfaction of your honour and some friends, and for use of such as shall hereafter intend to increase our plantacon in New England, I have in the throng of domestic, and not altogether free from publique businesse, thought fit to commit to memory our present condition, and what hath befallen us since our arrivall here; which I will doe shortly, after my usual manner, and must doe rudely, haveing yet no table, nor other room to write in than by the fireside, upon my knee, in this sharp winter; to which my family must have leave to resort, though they break good manners, and make mee many times forget what I would say, and say what I would not."

There was published, in 1848, a volume containing a Genealogy of the Dudley Family, by Mr. Dean Dudley.

* "This towne of Charles," says Johnson, about 1650, "is situated one the north side of Charles River, from whence it tooke its name; the river being about five or six fathom deepe. Over against the town, many small islands lying to the seaward of it, and hills one either side. By which meanes it proves a very good harbor for ships, which hath caused many seamen and merchants to sit down there. The forme of this towne in the

frontice piece thereof, is like the head, neck and shoulders of a man, onely the pleasant and navigable river of Misticke runs through the right shoulder thereof. It hath a large Market Place near the water side, built round with houses, comely and faire, forth of which there issues two streetes orderly built with some very faire houses, beautified with pleasant gardens and orchards. The whole towne consists in its extent of about 150 dwelling houses." — *Wonder-working Prov.*, 40, 41.

† "But to goe on with the story, the 12 of July or thereabout, 1630, these souldiers of Christ first set foote one this western end of the world; where arrivring in safety, both men, women and children. On the north side of Charles River they landed," &c. — Johnson, *Wond.-work. Prov.*, 37. Prince, *Chronology*, 240, *old edition*, seems a little in doubt whether Johnson meant this date for the time of the removal to Charlestown, or the arrival at Salem just a month before. I am clearly of the opinion that he means just what he says, and for several reasons, not necessary to be stated.

‡ Frothingham, from *Charlestown Town Records*.

take care of the sick as their cases required ; and thus many “perished and died,” and were buried about the Town Hill. *

Fewer dismal and darker days did the first settlers of Boston witness than those which they passed at Charlestown, and which soon determined them to remove to this since famous peninsula. “In almost every family, lamentation, mourning and woe were heard, and no fresh food to be had, to cherish them. It would assuredly have moved the most lockt up affections to tears, had they past from one hut to another, and beheld the piteous case these people were in ; and that which added to their present distresse was the want of fresh water. For, although the place did afford plenty, yet for present they could finde but one spring, and that not to be come at, but when the tide was down.” † This want of water, as will presently be seen, was a principal cause of a removal to Shawmut.

July 30. In consequence of the great sickness and mortality at their new place of abode, a fast had been recommended by Mr. Winthrop to be kept there on the thirtieth of July ; and Mr. Isaac Johnson came up from Salem to join in the solemnity. The same day a church was formed, a covenant ‡ entered into ; and this was the foundation of the First Church of Boston. The first members were, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Johnson, and Mr. Wilson, afterwards their minister. §

August 1. Two days after, five others joined the same church, namely : Mr. Nowell, Mr. Thomas Sharp, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. William Gager, and Mr. William Colborn, “who, with others, quickly added, chose Mr. Wilson for their pastor.” The settlement of Charlestown was now progressing, and Mr. Winthrop was diligently preparing timber for a house for himself and family.

August 23. Meanwhile, it was resolved to have an election of officers at the new settlement of Charlestown, notwithstanding Mr. Win-

* Frothingham, from *Charlestown Town Records*.

† Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 38, 39.

‡ The first Church Covenant of Charlestown and Boston may very properly be looked for in this history. It therefore follows. I have taken it as it stands in Mr. Foxcroft's *Century Sermon*, preached to the First Church “Aug. 23, 1730.” Being the last Sabbath of the FIRST CENTURY since its settlement.”

“We whose names are here under written, being by his most wise and good Providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite ourselves into one Congregation or Church under the Lord Jesus Christ our Head, in such sort as becometh all those whom he hath redeemed and sanctified to himself, DO hereby solemnly and religiously (as in his most holy Presence) promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the Rule of the Gospel, and in all sincere Conformity to his holy Ordinances, and in mutual Love and Respect, each to other, so near as God shall give us grace.”

§ The biographical dictionaries of Eliot and Allen are sufficiently full on this eminent man, and Farmer has some account of his pedigree. His father, William Wilson, D. D., was prebend of Rochester, and his mother was niece to Edmund Grindal, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury. He was born at Windsor, County of Berks, in the year of the Spanish Armada, 1588. He married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Mansfield. John Mansfield, who settled in Charlestown, was her brother, and Ann, wife of Capt. Robert Keayne, of Boston, was her sister. Mr. Wilson died in Boston, 7 August, 1667. The Rev. John Wilson, of Medfield, was his son ; he died 23 August, 1691, æt. 70.—See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vi. 156.

The following fac-simile of the autograph of Mr. Wilson is from that published by Mr. Frothingham.

John Wilson.

throp and his associates had before been elected to office by the Company in England.* But now everything wore a new aspect; many of the people here, as well as the immediate emigrants, probably, desired the formality of an election, as a matter which they could much readier realize than they could the action of a Corporation in England, about which they may not have had any very satisfactory understanding, or whose authority they may have thought would be questionably exercised in this distant land. However this may be, an election was held "aboard the *Arrabella*, the twenty-third of August, when the much honoured John Winthrop, Esq., was chosen Governour for the remainder of the year, 1630; also the worthy Thomas Dudley, Esq., was chosen Deputy Governour, and Mr. Simon Brodestreet, Secretary."†

This being over, a court was organized, which proceeded to consider how the ministers were to be maintained; when it was ordered that houses should be built for them at the public charge. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips only were provided for at this time. The former was to have twenty pounds a year until his wife should come over, and the latter to receive thirty pounds a year. It was further ordered by the same court that Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, be sent for presently; and that carpenters, joiners, bricklayers, sawyers and thatchers, take no

* I can see no possible grounds for explaining away this election, so circumstantially recorded by Johnson, in his *Wonder-working Providence*. Mr. Winthrop undoubtedly considered it of no legal importance, and hence only wrote in his journal, "Monday we kept a court." He may have been somewhat displeased on finding it necessary to submit to such an election. This may account for his neglect to make entries in his journal; for neglect it he did, an entire week, with the exception of the single entry above extracted. It is not altogether improbable, perhaps, that a removal to Boston may have had some special influence in bringing about the election. In a letter which Winthrop wrote at Charlestown, and which Mr. Johnson received at Salem on July 25th, he speaks of the people being in "three distinct bodies," (by which Prince thinks he means Charlestown, Dorchester and Salem.) "not then intending rashly to proceed to the choice of officers," &c. I apprehend that this refers to the election stated by Johnson; but it is not very clear what is meant, nor is the letter in other respects at all intelligible:—very different from Winthrop's writings generally. There is another consideration: before this election, very little business appears to have been ordered or executed under the special direction of Winthrop. We hear of no reading of commissions, assuming the government, &c. The real state of the case doubtless is, that Winthrop modestly declined all interference with the affairs under Endicott; there being no cause of dissatisfaction with him among those under his government. This was the plain course of a mag-

nanimous mind, and well accords with the unassuming character of Winthrop. But, on removing to Charlestown, it became necessary that the people should know who were their leaders, and whom they were to obey. Hence the necessity of an election. Had Mr. Winthrop assumed the government on his arrival at Salem, he would, in all probability, have recorded so important an event in his journal; nor would his induction into office have been overlooked, in days when formalities were considered of great importance. Besides, even the charter may have been referred to, as authority for this election of officers. See *ante*, p. 63. And then it must be considered that, only the preceding April [1629], the Company thus instructed Mr. Endicott:—"Wee haue, in prosecution of that good opinion wee haue alway had of you, confirmed you Gouvernour of our plantacon;" and on the 28th of the next May, writing him again, this language is held:—"Wee haue sithence our last, and according as wee then advised, at a full and ample Court assembled, ellected and established you, Capitaine John Endicott, to the place of present Gouvernour in our Plantacon there." And, after the election of Mr. Winthrop as governor of the Company, and a removal of the government had been settled, it does not appear from the Company's records, that Mr. Endicott's government was to be interfered with. See *ante*, p. 70. The records expressly say, "It is conceeved fitt that Captain Endicott continue the Government there [in N. England] vnless iust cause to the contrarie" appear.

† Johnson, *Won.-work. Prov.*, 38-9.

more than two shillings a day, wages. By non-observance of this order, the parties each subjected themselves to a fine of ten shillings.

Notwithstanding the resolution of the principal men to build their chief town at Charlestown, the discouragements attendant on sickness and death caused many to be restless, and to think of other localities.* And, in the mean time, Mr. William Blackstone, who lived on Shawmut, became acquainted with their distresses, and, going over to their relief, advised them to remove to his peninsula. His advice was kindly received, and began to be followed soon after; so that, before the end of August, many of those at Charlestown had passed over to Shawmut, and began to make improvements and preparations for the rest to follow.†

This Mr. Blackstone, of whom mention has before several times been made, appears to have lived here alone, having come over, probably, with Captain Robert Gorges, or about 1623, and may have possessed Shawmut by lease or purchase from Gorges.‡ It is not, however, very important when he came, or how he came to be possessed of lands here, so long as it is certain that he had a good title to what he had, which was acknowledged by the settlers under Winthrop, who, in due time, bought his lands of him, and he removed out of the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Blackstone had a house or cottage, in which he lived; and the nature of his improvements was such as to authorize a belief that he had resided here seven or eight years. He was one of those people who preferred solitude to society, and his theological notions corresponded with those habits of life. When he invited Winthrop to come over to his side of the river, he probably had no thought of a removal himself; for he did not remove until about four years later. His selling out and leaving Boston were no doubt occasioned by his desire to live more retired, as well as to a dislike of his Puritan neighbors,§ whom, it is

* "This caused several to go abroad upon discovery; some went without the Neck of this town, who travelled up into the main till they came to a place well watered, whither Sir Richard Saltonstall, Knt., and Mr. Phillips, minister, went with several others, and settled a plantation, and called it Wattertowne. Others went on the other side of Charles River, and there travelled up into the country, and likewise finding good waters, settled there with Mr. Ludlow, and called the plantation Dorchester."—*Charlestown Records*.

† "The Peninsula," says Shaw, "was, in all respects, the most eligible site for a fortified town in the country; and it is strange that Dudley, who was a soldier by profession, and had served as a Captain at the siege of Amiens, under Henry IV., did not prefer it" at first.—*Descript. of Boston*, 40.

‡ This is extremely probable: and why he was not driven off, as Walford afterwards was, was doubtless owing to the kind offices which he extended to those in authority, and not making himself in any way obnoxious to them.

And, as will be shown by the records hereafter, he had lands set off to him, which would not have been the case had his ownership of the peninsula been fully acknowledged. His case was precisely that of Oldham, Sir William Brereton, and others, with this difference: Blackstone was on his ground in person. He doubtless made the best terms he could with a power he could not resist successfully. His grant of territory here was superior to others, or to the most of those who came with Winthrop. It consisted of fifty acres, which was about *one fiftieth* of the whole of Shawmut. It will be remembered that Sir William Brereton was offered a "share with the rest," if he came over; but as to any right, derived from others, of territory in Massachusetts, none was acknowledged.

§ Lechford, in his *Plain Dealing*, says that Blackstone removed from Boston "because he would not join with the Church. He lives near Mr. Willious, but is far from his opinion." Lechford was a churchman.

said, he told that "he left England because of his dislike of the Lord-Bishops, but now he did not like the Lord-Brethren."* He is supposed to have been a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge, A. B. 1617, A. M. 1621,† and some have denominated him a clergyman of the Church of England.‡ In 1634 he removed to Rehoboth, where he lived till the twenty-sixth of May, 1675, the date of his death; and he was also the first settler within the original limits of Rehoboth, since Attleborough Gore, on the banks of Blackstone River, so named for him. A hill to which he used to resort, at certain seasons, for study and contemplation, still bears the name of Study Hill; a few rods from the base of which were lately to be seen the remains of his well, its stoning nearly entire; and, a few rods from the well, the grave of this singular man.

The place of Blackstone's retreat, on the banks of the noble river which bears his name, was as secluded as at Shawmut, before the arrival of Winthrop. And here, as at Shawmut, he had fine gardens, orchards and meadows; and here, as at that place, his were the first apples ever produced in these respective places. In 1765, several of his apple-trees remained, and bore fruit; and, in 1836, three trees were standing, in appearance very old, and "probably grew from the sprouts of those planted by Blackstone."§

William Blackstone was not only the first known white settler of Boston, but to him is due the credit of the settlement under Winthrop. This was acknowledged in the lifetime of the former, as shown in the records of Charlestown, in these words: || "Mr. Blackstone, dwelling on the other side of Charles River, alone, to a place by the Indians called Shawmutt, where he only had a cottage at, or not far off the place called Blackstone's Point,¶ he came and acquainted the Governor

* Mather, *Magnalia*, B. iii., p. 7, who thus introduces Blackstone:—"There were also some godly Episcopalians; among whom has been reckoned Mr. Blackstone; who, by happening to sleep first in an old hovel upon a point of land there, laid claim to all the ground whereupon there now stands the Metropolis of the whole English America, until the inhabitants gave him satisfaction."

† He married Mary Stevenson, 4 July, 1650. She was the widow of John Stevenson, of Boston, and they were married by Gov. Endicott. Mrs. Blackstone died two years before her husband, namely, June, 1673. Mr. Blackstone left one son, whose posterity, I am informed by gentlemen of credibility in Rhode Island, are somewhat numerous in that state at the present day. It is said that the late President Kirkland was in some way related to the family of Blackstone, and that, a few years before his death, he made a journey to Cumberland, for the purpose of finding his grave, and placing upon it a suitable monument; but that the residents of whom he sought information being entirely ignorant of any such person, or his grave, he gave up his search,

concluding that nothing satisfactory could be found.

‡ This would rather appear from Edward Johnson's notice of him, who, speaking of Mr. Bright and Blackstone in connection, says, derisively, "The one betooke him to the seas again, and the other, Mr. Blaxton, to till the land, retaining no simbole of his former profession, but a eunomical cote."—*Wonder-work. Prov.*, 20.—With this before him, Mr. Hubbard makes considerable improvement. He calls him a clergyman, and says "he betook himself to till the ground, wherein probably he was more skilled, or at least had a better faculty, than in the things pertaining to the house of God," &c.—*Hist. N. Eng.*, 113.

§ For many of the above facts I am indebted to Mr. Bliss' excellent *History of Rehoboth*, and to Mr. Daggett's valuable *History of Attleborough*.

|| I use Mr. Frothingham's transcript of those invaluable records, in all cases, with the most perfect confidence.

¶ As to the precise locality of Blackstone's house, and his spring, not far from it, opinions of people differ. But I am pretty well

of an excellent spring there, withal inviting him and soliciting him thither. Whereupon, after the death of Mr. Johnson, and divers others, the Governor, with Mr. Wilson and the greatest part of the church, removed thither. Whither also, the frame of the Governor's house was carried, when people began to build their houses against winter, and this place was called Boston."*



MR. BLACKSTONE'S RESIDENCE.

To this "memorable man," as to others before his time as well as since, justice will eventually be done. And though the noble City, whose foundation he laid, be the last to honor his name, it will one day, it is not to be doubted, pay the debt which it owes his memory with interest.

Should not the principal street in the City bear his name?

Mr. Blackstone having died a month before the breaking out of Philip's War, he was spared the witnessing of the horrors of that distressing period; but the Indians ravaged his plantation, burnt up his buildings, and, what will ever be deeply deplored, his library, also. This was large and valuable for those days, and its loss to the history of Boston and to New England can never be known.†

Four days after the first court was held at Charlestown, August 27. the first ordination took place.‡ Mr. Wilson was ordained Pastor, or teaching Elder, over the church there, and also over that part of the the same church which had removed to Mr. Blackstone's side of the river.

convinced that Blackstone's Point was that afterwards called Barton's Point, now near the northern termination of Leveret Street, and the Depot of the Lowell Rail Road. His point is easier located than his house or his spring. That there were many springs on this part of Shawmut, has always been demonstrable. House No. 19, Poplar Street, covers a large spring, which, in 1838, afforded abundance of water a considerable part of the year. This writer then occupied that house; and this spring, it is not unlikely, was the identical spring near which Blackstone lived. What Shaw says in his *Description of Boston*, 103, agrees very well with this. "Blackstone's Spring," he observes, "is yet to be seen [about 1800] on the westerly part of the town, near the bay which divides Boston from Cambridge."

* These records also say, that Mr. Winthrop's removal to Shawmut was "to the discontent of some;" of those probably who had begun to build, and to whom a removal would have been a serious loss. A further proof that this place was not thought of for a town until

Blackstone urged it, appears in the fact, that Winthrop had engaged to settle at Newtown, and had a house in process of building there at this time, which he also removed to Boston afterwards.

† From the inventory of his effects, taken immediately after his decease, 28 May, 1675, a copy of which may be seen in Mr. Bliss' *History of Rehoboth*, p. 8, the inference in the text is drawn. The "ten paper books" enumerated in the schedule, are conjectured to have been MSS. of great value, and that they might have thrown light on his whole history, as well as that of the country for the fifty years in which he resided in it.—See Dr. Usher Parsons, in *Holmes' Annals*, i. 377.

‡ "We of the congregation kept a fast, and chose Mr. Wilson our teacher, and Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall deacons. We used imposition of hands, but with this protestation by all, that it was only as a sign of election and confirmation; not of any intent that Mr. Wilson should renounce his ministry he received in England."—Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 31—3.

Sept. 7. Many people having, by the seventh of September, taken up their residence on Shawmut,* a court was held on that day,



JOHN WILSON.

which is called the Court of Assistants; and this was the second court held at the new settlement of Charlestown. There were present the principal men from Salem, Dorchester, and Watertown, though at the opening of this court the two last mentioned places were not so named. Among the orders passed, were the following:—“Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, shall presently be set in the bilbows, and after sent prisoner to England, by the ship called the Gift, now returning thither; † that all his goods shall be seized to defray the charge of his transportation, payment of his debts, and to give satisfaction to the Indians for a canoe he took unjustly from them; and that his house be burnt down to the ground in sight of the Indians, for their satisfaction for many wrongs he has done them. Ordered, that no person shall plant in any place within the limits of this Patent, without leave from the Governor and Assistants, or major part of them; ‡ that a warrant shall presently be sent to Agawam to command those who are planted there, forthwith to come away; And, that Trimountain§ be called Boston; || Mattapan,

* The circumstance of the first party who landed in Boston from Charlestown, in 1630, is thus related by Mr. Loring in his *Hundred Boston Orators*, p. 365: “The ancestor of the Pollard family, of Boston, was William Pollard, whose wife, Anne, died 6th Dec., 1725, aged one hundred and five years, leaving of her off-spring one hundred and thirty. She used to relate, that she went over in the first boat that crossed Charles river, to what has since been called Boston, and that she was the first that jumped ashore. She described the place as being at that time very uneven, abounding in small hollows and swamps, covered with blueberry and other bushes.” Mrs. Pollard’s portrait, taken in 1723, when she was one hundred and three years old, has for some years past hung in a room over the Savings Bank in Tremont-street, in the occupation of the Mass. Hist. Society, and was there deposited by Isaac Winslow, Esq. — *Ibid.*

† But he did not go in the Gift. The captain of that ship, says Hubbard, not being “gifted that way, nor his ship neither.” — *Hist. N. England*, 137.

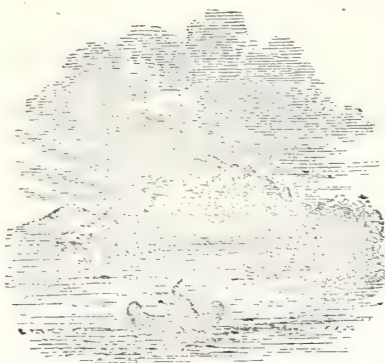
‡ This order was especially to prevent people from settling in so scattered a manner as to render themselves weak and unserviceable as a whole, in the event of invasion.

§ “So called, I suppose,” says Prince, “on the account of the three contiguous hills appearing in a range to those at Charlestown.”

— Another author, Shaw, says, “These were not, however, Beacon, Copp’s and Fort Hills, as generally supposed, but three little rising hills on the top of a high mountain, at the north-west side of the town.” — *Description of Boston*, 50. “The high mountain,” he observes, “as Wood calls it, is the high ground extending from the head of Hanover-street, south-westerly to the water, beyond the new State House, the summit of which was since called Beacon Hill, now [1800] almost levelled to its base.”

|| “Being now become a distinct town of themselves, and retaining Mr. Wilson for their minister, afterwards called their plantation Boston, with respect to Mr. Cotton, who came from a town in Lincolnshire so called, when he came in to New England.” Dudley, as has been seen, assigns the same reason for naming Shawmut Boston. “And from the late Judge Sewall, in comparison with the Charlestown records, I learn that this town was settled under the conduct of Mr. Johnson.” — *Prince*, 316.

Dorchester; and the town upon Charles river, Watertown."* This last was called Pigsgusset, by the Indians.†



TRIMOUNTAIN.

Although the seventh of September, Old Style, is justly regarded as the date of the first settlement of Boston,‡ yet it was not till a month or more that the government was removed from Charlestown, Sept. 28. where, on the twenty-eighth of September, the third Court of Assistants was held. In the mean time, among other things, probably fortifications had been considered necessary to be at once erected; for at this court an order passed for raising fifty pounds for the use of Mr. Patrick and Mr. Underhill,

who were military men.§ The Indians may have shown signs of dissatisfaction. In fact, if they did not manifest any jealousy at seeing their country overrun by such a singular race of people as the emigrants must have appeared to them to be, they must have been void of such feelings as were exhibited five-and-twenty years later by their neighbors bordering on the south of them. But merely common prudence may have caused the same court to order, that if any person permit an Indian to use a gun, on any occasion, he should pay a fine of ten pounds; and that no person be allowed to give or sell any corn to an Indian, without license from the court.

Sept. 30. Amidst the numerous trials which now beset this devoted people, no single blow had ever been witnessed which had cast such a gloom over them, as did the death of Mr. Isaac Johnson. He died at Boston, about two of the clock on the morning of this day. He was able to attend the court on the seventh of the month, but that was his last earthly court. It was Mr. Johnson who first favored Blackstone's proposal for a removal to this side of the river; and his improvements in the settlement, at the time of his death, were doubtless superior to any other's on the place. His lot had been selected, and was that comprehended by School, Washington, Court and Tremont streets, at this time; of course comprehending the Chapel burying-place. In the upper end of this lot, when on his death-bed, he desired to be buried; and he was accordingly buried there. This was the first place of interment of the English at Boston, and it continues to be used as a

* Prince's *Chronology*, 315.

† Wood's *New England's Prospect*, 88.

‡ Hence the second centennial anniversary of the settlement of Boston was celebrated on Friday, the 17th of September, 1830.

§ The fifty pounds were thus apportioned to be raised in the settlements:

1. Charlestown, £7	3. Dorchester, £7
2. Boston, 11	4. Roxbury, 5

5. Watertown, 11

6. Medford, 3

7. Salem, 3

8. Wessagascus, 2

9. Nantasket, 1

From which the relative importance of these places may be seen. But it can hardly be supposed that the above rate was based on the property of the respective places; for, assuming that to have been the basis, Salem could scarcely have stood so low, or Boston so high.

place of sepulture to this day.* “He may be said to have been the idol of the people, for they ordered their bodies, as they died, to be buried round him; and this was the reason of appropriating for a place of burial, what is now [1760] the Old Burying-place, adjoining to King’s Chapel.”†

By Mr. Johnson’s will, a copy of which was “on the Massachusetts files” when Hutchinson wrote his history, executed on the twenty-eighth of April, in the fifth of Charles I. [1629] it is shown that he was of Clipsham, in the county of Rutland, son of Abraham Johnson, Esq., and grandson of Robert Johnson. Dr. Chaderton was his mother’s father. His estate was much the largest of any of the undertakers. It lay in the counties of Rutland, Northampton and Lincoln. His New England adventure he valued at six hundred pounds. Having no children, he gave legacies to a great number of his friends, and to pious and charitable uses. His lands he gave to his father and brothers. To Mr. Cotton he gave thirty pounds and a gown-cloth. The advowson and right of patronage of the parish church of Clipsham, he gave to Mr. Dudley and Mr. Cotton. His funeral charges he limited at two hundred and fifty pounds; but a small part of which, however, was required. His heart was set on the New England settlement, and he ordered his executors to carry on his share in it. In another will, made before his death, he appointed John Hampden, Esq., with Winthrop and Dudley, executors.‡

Sept. 20. In the midst of the removal from Charlestown to Boston, death continued his work. Mr. William Gager died on the twentieth of September. He was the chief physician of the infant settlement, and consequently a great loss to it. He was also a high officer in the church at its first organization in Charlestown, being its deacon. A house was ordered to be built for him at the public charge, and he was to be paid twenty pounds for the first year, and be furnished with a cow; and after that he was to receive thirty pounds per annum. He left a family. John Gager, his son probably, resided in Boston until 1645, about which time he settled in New London, and finally in Norwich, where he died in 1703.§

Soon after the death of Mr. Gager, Mr. William Colburn was chosen deacon of the same church. He was “invested by imposition of hands of the minister and elder.”

One who lived amidst these scenes writes, as he had just cause to do: “The first beginning of this worke seemed very dolorous; first, for the death of that worthy personage, Izaac Johnson, Esq., whom the Lord had indued with many pretious gifts, insomuch that he was held in high esteeme among all the people of God, and as a chiefe pillar to

* This is the substance of what Chief-Justice Samuel Sewall told the Rev. Thomas Prince. So that few things in our history can be better substantiated than the circumstances of the death and the place of burial of Mr. Isaac Johnson.

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.* i., 16.

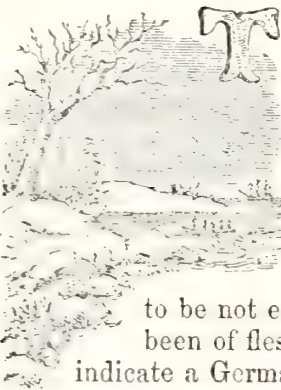
‡ *Ibid.*

§ See Hinman’s *Genealogy of the Puritans*, p. 134, and Caulklin’s *Hist. of New London*, 159.—William Gager grad. at Yale 1721, and Charles A. 1835.

support this new erected building. He very much rejoiced, at his death, that the Lord had been pleased to keepe his eyes open so long, as to see one Church of Christ gathered before his death; at whose departure there was not onely many weeping eyes, but some fainting hearts, fearing the fall of the present worke.”*

CHAPTER XII.

Origin of the name Boston. — Traditions and Superstitions of St. Botolph. — Boston in England. — St. Botolph's Church. — Mr. John Cotton. — Splendor and Magnificence of St. Botolph's. — The First Church in Boston. — Extravagance in Buildings and Dress discountenanced. — Prodigacy of the English Clergy. — Legislation upon Fashions. — Drinking of Healths discontinued.



THE original name of Boston is supposed to be derived from an old British saint, of the name of Botolph, who lived along the middle of the seventh century of the Christian era.† As of other saints of early times, there is doubtless much of fiction hanging about St. Botolph's history. It was a common thing to ascribe the performance of miracles to saints while living, and, when dead, even their bones were believed to be not entirely divested of that power, although they had been of flesh. The termination of this saint's name seems to indicate a German origin; but that is a matter too remote to merit attention here. However, it is said that the remains of the “holy man” were entombed in St. Edmund's Monastery, at Bury, concerning whom it was superstitiously told that the monks of that place, when they wanted rain, carried about a coffin in procession, containing the bones of St. Botolph. How soon this practice fell into disuse is not mentioned; but it probably did after a few failures of certain well-known signs of rain, in the observance of which the first movers were, or might have been, better skilled than their immediate successors.

From the earliest accounts that can be found of the English Boston, it is supposed to have been founded by St. Botolph, whom Bede, who was nearly cotemporary with him, denominates a pious Saxon, about A. D. 650.‡ For a long series of ages little is known about it. For

* Johnson, *Wonder-working Providence*, 38.

† The name of *Botolph*, with variation of spellings, is met with in many old writers, and, according to Camden, it is derived from the Saxon noun *boat*, and *ulph*, help, because Botolph was the tutelar saint of mariners. — See *Thompson's Collections*, p. 223. Rishanger, who wrote about 1312, speaks, in his Chronicle, of “Thomas filius Jordani de Botolstone.” — See *Pub. Camd. Soc.* xv., p. 72.

Lambarde, who wrote about or before 1577, a little earlier than Camden, says it was then called *Bostonstow*, though “commonly and corruptly called *Boston*.” — *Alphabetical Description*, &c., p. 38, 4to, 1730.

‡ He also founded a priory at Colchester, in Essex, the ruins of which are still [1810] to be seen, though its “principal demolition” occurred in 1648, during the siege of Colchester by Sir Thomas Fairfax. — *Brayley and Brit-*

near a thousand years succeeding its foundation, few of the vicissitudes attending it through that dark period have been recorded. Indeed, its history had hardly been attempted until its daughter on this side of the Atlantic had, in most respects, far outgrown her mother city.*

One hundred years before the period now referred to, namely, in 1719, a writer said it was, and long had been, a famous and flourishing town, built on both sides of the river Witham, which is here enclosed on both sides with artificial banks, over which was a high wooden bridge.† At a far more remote period it had become a great mart for wool, "which very much enriched and invited thither the merchants of the Hanse towns, who fixed their Guild there." The inhabitants in 1719 were chiefly "merchants and graziers."‡ At the same date it had a commodious and well-frequented haven, admitting ships of two hundred and fifty tons up to the town, while, only thirty years later, even a small sloop of but forty or fifty tons, drawing but six feet of water, could get up only at spring tides.§ This was caused by the river being choked up with silt. Not long after, however, its usual navigation was restored by cutting a new channel from the town to Dogdike, an extent of twelve miles.||

To an inhabitant of Boston in New England it may appear scarcely credible for places elsewhere to remain nearly the same for a hundred years together; yet such was the case with the mother of Boston,¶

ton's Essex, 315. St. Botolph's church, in Aldersgate, London, was dedicated to this saint; but how early founded does not appear. Its first benefactor, recorded by Maitland, bears the name of *John Thornton*, and date, 1393. Judging from the prevalence of the name of Botolph, the saint who bore it must have had in his day, and even long after, an extraordinary reputation. In those days, as now, a name of renown was tacked upon everything that would bear it. But it has, in some instances, been so varied or corrupted as not to be recognized; thus, Bottle Bridge, in Huntingdonshire, was once *Botolph-bridge*, or so says Camden. But whether our *Buttolphs* are descendants of the same family as the Saint we are ignorant, while it is very probable that the ancestors of persons bearing the name of *Boston* took that name from their having resided in ancient Boston.

* Boston is 34 miles S. E. of Lincoln, 117 N. from London, and about five miles from the sea. In 1820 there was published in London, rather a handsome large octavo, of between four and five hundred pages, entitled "*Collections for a Topographical and Historical Account of Boston, and the Hundred of Skirbeck, in the County of Lincoln. With Engravings.*" By PISHEY THOMPSON." This work has for some time been scarce, even in its place of publication; and, as I am informed by my friend, COL. T. B. LAWRENCE, he found it difficult to procure a copy in Old Boston itself. It is not unlikely that inquiries for the work by our

Boston people have had some influence on Mr. Thompson, as he is now engaged on a new edition of his work. In a Lincolnshire newspaper, called the "*Boston, Stamford and Lincolnshire Herald*," of 16 Nov., 1852, containing the proceedings of the government of the borough of Boston on the 9th of the same month, Mr. Noble, one of the aldermen, after giving notice of Mr. Thompson's design, requested that that gentleman might have liberty to inspect the deeds and other documents in their keeping for that object, which was granted. For the use of a copy of Mr. Thompson's book I am indebted to Mr. CHARLES DEANE, whose excellent library is no unintelligible monument of a taste and judgment worthy the imitation of all young men.

† One of iron has since been substituted, constructed upon a single arch, 86 feet in span, 39 feet wide, at an expense of about £22,000.

‡ *Magna Britannia, Antiqua et Nova*, ii. 1407-8.

§ Thompson's *Collections*, 122.

|| Dugdale, iii. 602.

¶ In 1698, Dr. Cotton Mather, writing of Boston, very aptly observed:—"The Town hath indeed three elder Sisters in this Colony, but it hath wonderfully outgrown them all; and her mother, Old Boston, in England, also." By the "three elder Sisters" he probably meant Salem, Charlestown and Dorchester; or, possibly, Charlestown, Dorchester and Roxbury.—See *Magnalia*, B. i. 31.

judging from the following facts: The parish register of Old Boston shows that in 1614 there were thirty marriages, eighty-four baptisms, and eighty-three burials; while in 1714, just one hundred years later, there were thirty-one marriages, ninety-nine baptisms, and one hundred and thirty-one deaths.*

One of the most famous and interesting objects of ancient Boston is St. Botolph's church, rendered doubly famous to the people here for its having been the church of which Mr. John Cotton was vicar twenty-one years;† and from which he was obliged to fly to New England. This church was described one hundred and thirty-four years ago‡ as "beautiful and large, the tower of which is so very high as to be the wonder of travellers, and the guide for mariners at a great distance. It is looked upon as the finest in England, and is 280 foot high, or better, and was begun to be built at midsummer, 1309, dame Margaret Tilney laying the first stone. The length of the church is equal to the height of the steeple, ninety-four yards. There are 365 steps, fifty-two windows, and twelve pillars, which are designed to parallel the days, weeks and months, of the year." Its handsome tower was built after the model of that of the great church at Antwerp. At the summit of this tower is a beautiful lantern, for a guide to seamen, which can be seen forty miles. It was a figurative saying of some of the pilgrims who settled this Boston, that the lamp in the lantern of St. Botolph's ceased to burn when Cotton left that church, to become a shining light in the wilderness of New England.||

St. Botolph's has no galleries, and yet it will contain five thousand persons, as estimated at the obsequies of the late Princess Charlotte. The nave is lofty and grand; the ceiling, representing a stone vaulting, is said to be of Irish oak. It consists of fourteen groined arches, with light spandrels, which, by their elegant curves, intersections and embowments, produce a beautiful effect. The upper part of the nave is lighted by twenty-eight clerestory windows, between the springs of



ST. BOTOLPH'S CHURCH, BOSTON, ENGLAND.¶

* There was a return of the population in 1768, 3470; in 1801, 5926; in 1811, 8113; in 1831, 11,240; in 1841, 34,680. — Dugdale, *ut supra*, *City Doc.* No. 63. Note by Hon. J. P. Bigelow, and Gorton's *Topog. Dict.*

† From 1612 to 1633. — Thompson's *Collections*, p. 86.

‡ In the *Magna Britannia, Antiqua et Nova*, *ut supra*.

¶ From a splendidly engraved view in Thompson's work.

|| "Both Bostons have reason to honor his memory; and New England-Boston most of all, which oweth its name and being to him, more than to any one person in the world." — Dr. Increase Mather.

the arches. The chancel, which is spacious and lofty, has on each side ranges of stalls, the seats of which are ornamented with grotesque carvings; over these formerly were canopies, highly embellished with foliage and fret-work. The altar is of oak, in the Corinthian order.

Such was the splendid and magnificent church of St. Botolph's, in which many of the fathers of "New England-Boston" had been wont to worship, and which they had looked upon with pious reverence, and which they justly remembered as one of the chief glories of their native



A CATHOLIC GENTLEMAN.*

land. But at the period of their emigration a great change had commenced; they began to consider extravagance in architecture and dress as very wicked, and disapproved of by the God they intended to honor by such extravagance. In order to appreciate, in some de-



A PROTESTANT GENTLEMAN.

gree, the change spoken of, people of these times can contrast St. Botolph's, not with the rude church prepared for Mr. Wilson, but with most New England churches before the American Revolution. The



WILSON'S CHURCH.†

Friends of modern times are not more opposed to show and ostentation than were the early Pilgrims of New England. These, indeed, very nearly approached the Quakers in all matters of dress, buildings, furniture and equipages. Soon after the Puritans became detached from the established church, their dress designated them; as much so as did the dress of the Friends distinguish them afterwards from the Puritans.

Many regard some of the fashions in dress of this century as highly ridiculous and absurd; but extremes in these matters are nothing

* This and the opposite engraving are accurate copies from prints in the exceedingly rare work of Bishop Carleton, "A THANKFULL REMEMBRANCE OF GOD'S MERCIES," 4to, London, 1626.

† This view of the first church erected in Boston is, of course, from such descriptions

and intimations as can be gathered from the early writers. It is said to have had mud walls and a thatched roof, which is about the extent of all that has been said about it. As to its length, breadth and height, there is not a syllable which I remember to have seen. Its location will be described hereafter.

now compared with what they were in those days, when shoes were twice the length of the foot, or so long as to prevent "kneeling at devotions in God's house," as one of those times is reported to have said.

Fashions in all times probably began among the rich, and with those in high official stations. The practice was, of course, imitated by the common people; and, though very natural, it was, on the whole, a very detrimental imitation. Even the clergy rendered themselves obnoxious by their foppery in dress, which was one object of complaint among the Puritans; and many of their other practices were in keeping with minds influenced by such frivolity. To notice but a single instance, — the investigations at Belvoir Castle, by a committee of Parliament, in 1650-1; — that committee reported upon the incumbents of the church to this effect: "Weak and negligent;" — "no preacher;" — "negligent and scandalous;" — "negligent, and suspected of popery;" — "corrupt in doctrine;" — "a bare reader, and no minister;" — "weak pluralitan, non-resident, altogether negligent and scandalous." This is probably a specimen of the reports for the whole commonwealth of England. But Episcopalians, even of this age, pronounce the judgment of the parliamentary committee more unjust than the practices they condemned. But it must not be denied that there was much to be complained of, and which even the profligacy of Charles the Second could not overlook.*

All experience has shown that to legislate upon apparel is idle and futile; yet there may be other matters quite as futile which now occupy the time of legislators, and which will, in a few years, be viewed as wild and extravagant as it was for the early legislators of Boston to prescribe, by solemn enactments, the length which ladies might wear their hair, and how much of their necks and arms should be exposed to the gaze of the other sex. Good example, emanating from the good and great, will always exert a wider and a better influence, in matters of customs and habits, than all the compulsory laws that can be made. Thus Governor Winthrop says that, upon consideration of the inconveniences which had grown in England by drinking one to another, he restrained it at his own table, and wished others to do the like, so as it grew into disuse by little and little.† Winthrop had judgment, mildness and penetration; and it is hardly to be doubted that his own opinion disapproved of many acts which his station compelled him to sanction at a later period.

* "When he was at Newmarket, Nathaniel Vincent, D. D., Fellow of Clare Hall, and chaplain to his Majesty, preached before him in a long periwig, and Holland sleeves. This foppery displeased the king, who commanded the Duke of Monmouth, then Chancellor of the

University, to cause the statutes concerning decency of apparel among the Clergy to be put in execution, which was accordingly done." — Strutt's *Dresses and Habits*, in *The Book of Costume, &c.*, p. 126.

† *Journal*, i. 37.

CHAPTER XIII.

First General Court at Boston. — How constituted. — Privileges of Freemen. — Simon Bradstreet. — Reasons for Stringency in respect to Freemen. — Small Affairs comparatively Great. — Accidents from Fires, Wolves, &c. — A Murder and Execution at Plymouth. — Corn obtained of the Indians at Narraganset. — The People in Danger of Famine. — Their Wants and Privations. — Capt. Roger Clap. — Arrival of a Ship with Provisions. — Arrival of the Handmaid. — Her severe Passage. — Reward for killing Wolves. — Ferry to Charlestown. — Order to support Ministers. — Fines and Penalties. — Measures for a fortified Town. — Determine upon Newton. — Extreme Weather. — Disastrous Voyage of Richard Garret. — Kindness of Indians. — Thomas Morton's Return to New England. — A Prisoner at Boston. — Again sent to England.



HITHERTO, the Courts had been held at Charlestown, probably in the "Great House" before mentioned; but now "the first General Court of the Massachusetts Colony" is held at Boston. In what kind of a building no mention is made; it must have been in some very rude structure, as sufficient time had not elapsed to allow of the preparation of any shelter very commodious or complete. The persons composing this court were, Mr. Winthrop,

Mr. Dudley, Sir R. Saltonstall, Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Endicott, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Pyncheon and Mr. Bradstreet.* The denomination or title of the Court was, "The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants."† It was now proposed that the Freemen should have the power of choosing Assistants, and the Assistants, from among themselves, to choose the Governor and Deputy Governor, who, together with the Assistants, were to have the power of making laws, and of choosing officers to execute them. To all of which the people agreed.‡

At this court about one hundred and eight persons applied to be admitted as Freemen;§ and the greater part of them probably were admitted to that station among their fellows in the Colony, which allowed

* Bradstreet lived to be "the Nestor of New England;" dying at Salem in 1698, aged 95. There is an excellent biography of him in Dr. Eliot's *New Eng. Biographical Dictionary*. Joshua Scottow dedicated his "Narrative of the Planting of the Massachusetts-Colony," &c., to him, in 1694. In this dedication he says: "The long experience of your being the only surviving antiquary of us Nov Angles, the prime Secretary and Register of our civil and sacred records, and the bifronted Janus who saw the closure of the Old, and the overture of this New Albion world." He calls him one of the "nursing fathers of this out-cast Sion, whose name is embalmed to eternity; that he had, through nine hard apprenticeships of above 60 years' durance, in the service of his generation, and faithful discharge of that trust for so long a season, as hath rendered him a MOOT-MAN, to be dignified with the highest honor this people were

capable to confer." Bradstreet was then 91 years of age, when Scottow dedicated his book to him; and well he might, as he did, style him "Our New England Nestor." Scottow spells the name *Bradstreet*, which was agreeable to the pronunciation of it.

† See *ante*, p. 63: also Prince, 320.

‡ Speaking of the acts of the first court, in which an attempt was made to regulate the rate of wages, &c., Mr. Hubbard observes, "It being commonly found, that men gotten from under the reins of government, are but like cattle without a fence, which are thereby apt to run wild and grow unruly, without good laws." — *Hist. New Eng.*, 146-7.

§ The most full and complete list of Freemen anywhere to be found is contained in the *N. Eng. II. and Gen. Regr.*, vol. iii. In the same volume will also be found the oath prescribed for those admitted, &c.

them a voice in the concerns of government. No special qualifications for the rank of Freeman had yet been adopted, or, at least, none are recorded; but before the May election of 1631, a regulation was established which required that, to be eligible for the rank of Freeman, all candidates must be joined in fellowship with one of the churches. This condition respecting Freemen was perhaps occasioned by an early apprehension that too many might be admitted to elective privileges who were opposed to Puritan principles. This appears probable, because, in the first list of proposed Freemen, the names of many of the "first planters"* appear.

In this early beginning of Boston, things and events were taken notice of, and considered of much moment, which, had they happened a few years later, no one would have thought worthy to be recorded for future attention. It is necessarily so in the beginning of all new settlements. Thus it is noted by Governor Winthrop, in his Journal, kept upon the spot, that "the wolves killed six calves at Salem," and the best retaliation the people could make was to kill one wolf. A man at "Watertown had his wigwam burnt, and all his goods." It is uncertain whether the sufferer were an emigrant or a native. At the same time, Mr. Phillips, the minister of Watertown, and others, had their hay burnt; the wolves attacked and killed some hogs at Saugus, a cow died at Plymouth, and a goat at Boston, with eating Indian corn.

These are indeed trifling occurrences, when compared with events of 1853; but were they not as much to the people then as a railroad accident now, or the launching of a ship of two thousand tons?

At this time a circumstance happened which shocked the little communities of Boston and its neighboring settlements to a degree probably beyond any other which had befallen them. It was a premeditated murder; and although it was committed at Plymouth, and the account of it would not legitimately come within these pages, but that the execution of the criminal was the result of the "advice of Mr. Winthrop, and others, the ablest gentlemen in the Massachusetts Bay, who all concurred with us that he ought to die, and the land be purged from blood."† The authorities of Plymouth did not apply to

* This is according to Johnson, *Wonder-w. Prob.* 39. By "first planters" he doubtless had reference to those persons who were found settled about Boston Bay when Winthrop came. By this it seems that their number was more considerable than it would otherwise appear. There were on the first list of proposed Freemen, Blackstone, Maverick, Jeffries, Gibbons, and several others, known to be Episcopalians.

After the text and this note, so far, were written, I met with the following confirmation of my convictions relative to the qualifications of Freemen, in Cotton's *Bloudy Tenent washed, &c.*, p. 28-9. "The Magistrates and other members of the General Court, upon intelligence of some Episcopal and malignant prac-

tices against the country, made an order of Court to take trial of the fidelity of the people, not by imposing upon them, but by offering to them an Oath of Fidelity, that in case any should refuse to take it, they might not be trusted them with Place of publick charge and command."

† Bradford, in *Prince*, 319-20. "The first execution in Plymouth Colony, which is a matter of great sadness to us, is of one John Billington, for waylaying and shooting John Newcomen, a young man, in the shoulder, whereof he died. This said Billington was one of the profanest among us. He came from London, and I know not by what friends shuffled into our company."—*Prince, ib.* If there were any palliating circumstances attend-

those of Massachusetts because they had any doubt of the guilt of the culprit, but because they had some fears as to jurisdiction.

About the end of this month an expedition was undertaken of much importance. It was no less than a voyage by sea to the country of the Narraganset Indians, for the purpose of procuring a supply of corn; for, among all the privations and sorrows by the scythe of death yet encountered, the settlers of Boston began to be admonished that others might be near at hand; even the monster Famine was to be guarded against.

It will not be forgotten that the colonists arrived too late to prepare ground for planting this year; that they found those already at Salem, where they hoped to find relief if they required it, almost destitute of food themselves; and Captain Peirce had not yet arrived with the supplies he was upon a voyage to England to procure.*

Thus situated, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and the benevolent Maverick, fitted out a pinnace to obtain corn, if they could, of the Indians.† The attempt succeeded. The little vessel returned, in due time, freighted with one hundred bushels of corn. It stood them in about four shillings the bushel.‡

Johnson draws a picture of the situation and condition of Boston previous to and pending this voyage to Narraganset, without which an adequate idea cannot well be formed of the straits to which the inhabitants were reduced. At this early day the general good was much obstructed "by certain persons in their greedy desire for land;" and "let such take notice," he says, "how these were cured of this distemper; some were taken away by death; and then, to be sure, they had land enough; others, fearing poverty and famishment, supposing the present scarcity would never be turned into plenty, removed themselves away, and so never beheld the great good the Lord hath done for his people; but the valiant of the Lord waiteth with patience."§

ing this murder, they are not stated; on the other hand, much appears to prove that the perpetrator was a "hardened sinner." Governor Bradford said "he was a knave, and so would live and die." This he said in 1625. A pond about three miles from Plymouth, discovered by John Billington's son, Francis, in January, 1621, is known to this day as *Billington's Sea*. There was another son, named John; and there are respectable families at this day of the name of Billington in New England, descended from the unfortunate passenger of the Mayflower of 1620. — See *Davis' Morton, Colls. Ms. H. S.*, and Hubbard's *Hist. New Eng.*, for other particulars.

* See *ante*, p. 89-90.

† After doubling Cape Cod, the pinnace put into the first harbor she found, and there meeting with Indians, traded with them for corn. From the coast where they traded they saw a very large island four leagues to the east of them, which the Indians commended as a fruitful place, full of good vines, and free

from sharp frosts; having only one entrance into it by a navigable river; inhabited by a few Indians, who, for a trifle, would leave the island, if the English would set them upon the main. — *Dudley's Letter*. Mr. Prince takes it for granted that this "first harbor" was really in the Narraganset country, and that the island four leagues to the eastward was "Aquetneck." Now I have no such an idea; and have very little doubt that some point not beyond the west side of Buzzard's Bay was the extent of the outward voyage.

‡ *Dudley's Letter to the Countess of Lincoln*, 11-12. Winthrop omits to mention this important event in his *Journal*. His entries all along, from his arrival to this time, are very brief, and often inaccurate as to date, occasioned, no doubt, from his continual cares and avocations, which did not allow of his putting down events as they occurred.

§ *Wonder-working Providence*, 48-9. It is not strange that many were discouraged; for not only were provisions scarce here, but it

When such liquors as they had brought with them failed, and the rich as well as the poor had nothing but water to drink, they thanked the Lord that they were not only allowed this, but that they could drink as much of it as they desired. When their bread was exhausted, they feasted themselves with fish. The women would, "once a day, as the tide gave way," gather muscles and clams on the shore, "which are a fish as big as horse-mussels." This they cheerfully did, day after day. One woman said her husband walked to Plymouth, about forty miles, "and had with great toil brought a little corn home with him. Another would say her last meal was in the oven; while many said they had nothing left. One said her husband had been far among the Indians for corn, but he could get none. In his charity and kindness, the Governor had so far parted with his own store to the people, that a day or two more would consume all he had."*

Captain Roger Clap, who arrived a little before Winthrop, speaks also of the want of provisions he and others experienced. Planting-time being past when he arrived, "provision was not to be had for money." And, though he wrote to his father in England to send him provisions, "before this supply came, and after, too, many a time," he suffered from hunger, and longed for such crusts of bread as he used to see upon his father's table; and he thought, when he occasionally could get "meal and salt and water boiled together," it was a luxury indeed.†

During these hardships, the worthy ministers encouraged their followers, who, with Christian confidence, encouraged one another; and, as they stood steadfastly in the belief that relief would come, "they lifted up their eyes and saw two ships coming in, and presently the newes came to their eares," says one among them, "that they were come from Ireland full of victuals."‡

Oct. 29. The ship *Handmaid* arrived at Plymouth almost a complete wreck. She lost all her masts, and had a passage of near three months. In this ship came about sixty passengers, who all arrived in good health. On board were also twenty-eight young cows when she sailed, but, in the terrible tempests which beset them on the way, ten

was also a time of great scarcity in Europe; at Boston "every bushel of wheat meal standing them in 14s. sterling, and every bushel of peas 10s., and not easy to be procured neither."—Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*

* When Boston had been settled sixty-eight years, Dr. Cotton Mather, in reviewing its progress, observed that "within a few years after the first settlement, it grew to be THE METROPOLIS OF THE WHOLE ENGLISH EMPIRE." And, he says, "little was this expected by them that first settled the Town, when for a while Boston was proverbially called *Lost-town*, for the mean and sad circumstances of it."—*Magnalia*, B. i. 31. It contained in 1698, "seven thousand Souls of us at this hour living on the spot."—*Ib.*

† Capt. Roger Clap's *Memoirs*, 20.

‡ *Wonder-working Providence*, 49. I suppose the "two ships" here mentioned to have been the *Lyon*, Capt. Pierce, who, it will be remembered, was despatched to Ireland for provisions. See *ante*, p. 90, and *Prince*, p. 313. The *Lyon* did not sail, probably, till towards the end of July, and her return could not reasonably be looked for until about this time, which is a little anticipated by Johnson; for, according to *Winthrop*, i. 41, she did not arrive until 5 Feb., 1631. The other ship may have been the *Handmaid*; but she arrived the beginning of November. Or the ship No. 17, in the table at p. 88, *ante*, without a name, may have been the other.

of them were washed overboard, or otherwise lost. Soon after, Captain
 Nov. 11. Grant, master of the Handmaid, Captain Standish, and two gentlemen who came passengers in the Handmaid, arrived at Boston. The two gentlemen intended to settle here; but, says Winthrop, "having no testimonials, we would not receive them."*

Nov. 9. At a Court of Assistants, at which were Winthrop, Dudley, Ludlow, Endicott, Coddington, Pyncheon and Bradstreet, it was ordered that every Englishman who should kill a wolf within this Patent "shall have one penny for every beast and horse, and one farthing for every weaned swine and goat, in every plantation, to be levied by the constables of said plantations." At the same Court it was proposed that whoever would first give in his name to the Governor "that he will undertake to set up a ferry between Boston and Charlestown, and begin the same at such time as the Governor shall appoint, shall have one penny for every person, and one penny for every hundred pound weight of goods he shall so transport."†

Nov. 30. Again, at the next Court of Assistants, present only the Governor, Deputy, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Ludlow, Nowell, Pyncheon, Coddington and Bradstreet. The first business transacted was to fine one of the Assistants five pounds, for whipping two persons without another of the Assistants being present, contrary to an act of Court formerly made; in the next place a man was ordered to be whipped for shooting at a fowl on the Sabbath day; and, thirdly, that sixty pounds be collected for the maintenance of Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips.‡

Dec. 6. The Governor and most of the Assistants held a meeting at Roxbury, "and there agreed to build a town fortified upon the Neck, between that and Boston." A Committee was appointed "to consider all things requisite." Eight days after, they met again at the

Dec. 14. same place, when the Committee reported that Roxbury was not suitable for a fortified town. "First, because men would be forced to keep two families. Second, there was no running water; and if there were any springs they would not suffice the town. Third, the most part of the people had built already, and would not be able to build again."

Dec. 21. The attention of the authorities was next turned to Watertown, and they met there according to an appointment at their last meeting; and, as first at Roxbury, so now here, "all agreed it a fit place for a fortified town," but did not take any measures to begin

* It would be interesting could we know who the "two gentlemen" were that, at this time, were refused a residence in Boston. All I am able to do is to imitate the silence of Winthrop's annotator.

† Prince, 323-4, from *Mass. Col. Res.* — This, though the fourth meeting, or "Court of Assistants," was the *first* of these Courts held in Boston — *Ibid.* The next was held on the last day of November.

‡ In this amount Boston was assessed £20, Watertown, £20, Charlestown, £10, Roxbury, £6, Medford, £3, and Winnesemet, £1. — Prince, *ib.* I have seen it somewhere stated that, at the time of the removal to Boston from Charlestown, there were but *seventeen* inhabitants left at the latter place. The above assessment would hardly warrant such conclusion.

Dec. 28. it. Finally, after many consultations at Boston, Watertown and Roxbury, it was decided to fortify a place on the north-west side of Charles river, about three miles west of Charlestown; and all except Mr. Endicott and Mr. Thomas Sharp* engaged to build houses there in the spring of 1631, and to remove their ordnance and munition thither. This place they called Newton.†

It was a time of despondency with many, but they were reminded of the constancy and firmness of their neighbors of Plymouth. Their troubles about a fortified town had put them back in their building, and other necessary labors, nearly six months. The leaders of the people were of the opinion that, by erecting fortifications, and removing into them all the warlike stores, and binding all the Assistants to remove to the fortified place, those who had settled about in different places would be obliged to concentrate themselves there also, for their own personal safety.

In the course of the third week in December, Captain Walter Neale and some other gentlemen came to Boston from Pascataqua. Their object was probably only a friendly visit. Mr. Neale arrived at Pascataqua last summer, in the bark Warwick; having been sent over by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as Governor of his Patent.

Dec. 24. Up to this time the season had been, as it usually is at this day, mild and open, with no heavy frosts; but now it comes on intensely cold, which was heightened by a previous fall of snow. The wind blowing at the same time powerfully from the north-west endangered those who ventured abroad. During this extreme weather, a shallop, in which were three of Governor Winthrop's servants, coming down from Mistick for Boston, was driven upon Noddle's Island, and the men were forced to remain there all night, without fire or the means of making any. The next day, however, they succeeded in reaching Boston; but two of them were badly frost-bitten.

Dec. 26. The following Sunday the rivers were frozen up, and the people of Charlestown were prevented from coming to the sermon in Boston as usual, till high water in the afternoon.

Dec. 22. Two days before the cold weather came on, Mr. Richard Garret, of Boston, sailed for Plymouth in a sort of shallop or open boat. Though it is said he undertook the voyage against the advice of his friends, no reason for such advice is assigned. With Mr. Garret went his daughter, a young girl, and a Mr. Harwood,‡ and three others.§ When they arrived at or near the Garnet's Nose, the north-west

* Mr. Endicott lived at Salem, and Mr. Sharpe was to sail for England in the next ship. — *Dudley's Letter*.

† It took the name of Cambridge in 1638.

‡ Though Winthrop, my authority, does not Mr. these two men, I have assumed the responsibility to do so. Garret was a shoemaker, and Harwood "was a godly man of the congregation of Boston." Both Richard

Garret and Henry Harwood are names in the first list of freemen of the colony. — The title of Mr. (Master) at this time in New England was far more honorable than that of *Esquire* two hundred years later. People in ordinary circumstances were called *Good-man* and *Good-wife*.

§ Gov. Dudley says there were "6 men and a girle."

wind drove them from their course, in spite of all they could do.* They expected to be driven out to sea; and their vessel began to fill with water; they at length became exhausted in their endeavors to free it. Believing themselves lost, some of the company disposed themselves to die; one of them, however, with more courage than the rest, espied land at a distance, to which it seems the wind was driving them. This animated those who had not lost the power of motion by the benumbing cold and frost, partially to spread a sail, and they were driven through dangerous rocks and shoals on to Cape Cod. Thus some got to land, but others had their legs so frozen into the ice which made in the boat, that they were forced to be cut out. Having at last all got on shore, they were not without the means of kindling a fire, but it was in a place where scarcely wood enough could be procured to make it of much service to them, and they were without even a hatchet with which to help themselves. In this extremity these poor people passed a most wretched and dismal night.† In the morning, two of them started for Plymouth, supposing it to be within seven or eight miles, whereas it proved to be near fifty; and but for the kindness of the Indians, every one must have perished. Those who started for Plymouth were discovered in their wanderings by two squaws, who immediately reported their discovery to their husbands. The Indian men pursued and soon overtook them, conducted them to their wigwam, refreshed and entertained them.‡ The next day, one of the Indians set out to guide the two men to Plymouth, and the other sought out the rest of the distressed company, which were seven miles off. Garret died the same day, and the others could scarcely be kept alive. After doing what he could for them, the Indian returned to his wigwam and got a hatchet, with which he hewed a hole in the frozen earth, and buried Garret as well as he could, piling wood upon his grave to protect his body from the wolves. He then built them a wigwam, and made them as comfortable as it was possible for him to do in such a desolate place and with the means he had. Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, learning by the faithful Indian before mentioned that others were yet left suffering on the coast, immediately sent three men to them, who brought them to Plymouth.§ Though they came comfortably, and with a fair wind, another of them died there soon after. One of the two men who went for Plymouth with the Indian, died in the

* "But the wind then coming strongly from the shore, kept them from entering and drove them to seawards, and they having no better means to help themselves, let down their killick, that so they might drive the more slowly, and bee nearer land when the storm should cese. But the stone slipping out of the killick, and thereby they driving faster than they thought all the night, found themselves out of sight of land in the morning." — *Dudley*.

† "The stronger helped the weaker out of the boate, and taking their stile on shore, made a shelter thereof." — *Dudley, ibid.*

‡ These Indians belonged to the tribe of Nauset. It will be remembered that it was this tribe which was so outraged by one Capt. Hunt, in 1614. — See *ante*, p. 20.

§ "The governour and counsell of Plymouth liberally rewardinge the Indian, and took care for the safety of our people, who brought them all alive in their boate thither, save one man, who, with a guide chose rather to goe over land, but quickly fell lame by the way, and getting harbor at a trucking house the Plymouthans had in those parts, there hee yet abides." — *Dudley, ibid.*

way, and the other died afterwards from the effects of the frost. The girl suffered the least of all; * and though Mr. Harwood recovered, he laid a long time under the surgeon's hands.†

This was a serious calamity to Boston in its early days. The loss of five or six active and useful citizens must then have been very heavily felt. To realize the magnitude of such a loss at that time, it is necessary to consider what one of a similar magnitude would have been at any given time since. Thus, when the population of Boston was sixty thousand, a loss of fifteen hundred men from their midst would have been nearly in the proportion to its population as the loss of five in 1630 was to the inhabitants then.

Notice of Thomas Morton's apprehension in 1628 has been before taken,† and of his being sent out of the country, and of his return again

* "Hannah Garret, a fatherless child, dyed (12.) 1632." — *Boston Records*. Whether this was the sufferer named in the text is not known. James Garret and wife Deborah had children born in Boston, Mary, 4: 3: 1638; Priscilla, 28: 4: 1640; James, 6: 6: 1643. — See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, iv. 184.

Gov. Dudley is very particular respecting this disastrous voyage of early Boston men, "because," he says, "the first man that dyed was a godly man of our congregacon, one Richard Garrad a shoemaker, who, at the time of his death, more feared hee should dishonor God than cared for his own life."

† Winthrop, i. 39-40, who is also very minute and circumstantial about this melancholy affair.

‡ See *ante*, pages 49, 50, and 94. Following Morton the *Memorialist*, I there stated the capture of Morton the *Disturber* as "after the arrival of Gov. Endicott." But, from certain fragments of Gov. Bradford's Letter-book (referred to in note ‡, p. 50, *ante*), I am aware that a conclusion must be drawn that preparations were made to send Morton out of New England in June, 1628; consequently, before the arrival of Gov. Endicott at Naumkeag. If arrangements for sending the *Disturber* away were made before he was caught, then it may be that the statement of the *Memorialist* is true. But the accounts of the capture of Morton are destitute of dates, and Prince was no better off in his time in this respect, acknowledging (*Chron.* 244) that he was obliged to place it "by guess." Capt. Oldham was certainly in England early in the spring of 1629, and with him Morton was sent to England (*Colls. Ms. His. Soc.* iii. 62-3); but what time he sailed, or when he arrived there, nothing yet appears to show. — See *Bradford in Prince*, 252. Judge Davis supposed (in *Morton, Mem.* 141) that the *Disturber* was sent away in a ship called the *Whale*. This may have been the name of Capt. Oldham's ship, but we know that when Morton speaks about being "in the Whale's belly," he refers to his confinement in the Handmaid. He makes

his case a parallel one to that of Jonah; and, therefore, in running out his parallel, he must necessarily run into a whale's belly. He does not mention the name of any ship, but the captain of the Handmaid he calls Mr. Wethercock. His real name was Grant, as stated in page 88, *ante*. Morton says this captain sailed without having "vittells but for a moneth, besides the vessell was a very slugg, and so unserviceable; so that in fine the Master and men were all at their wits end about it." That "nine moneths they made a shife to use her, and shifted for supply of vittells at all the islands they touched at." Finally, "with all those helpees," he says, "and short allowance of a bisket a day, and a few lymons taken in the Canaries," they came in view of the Land's End. Further, he says it was through the great mercy of God they had not all perished, "for when they let drop an anchor neere the Island of St. Michael's, they had not one bit of foode left." This eventful voyage he records in the last chapter of his "New Canaan," styling himself "Mine Host of Ma-re-Mount," who, he says, "after hee had bin in the whales belly, was set ashore to see if hee would now play Ionas, so metamorphosed with a longe voyage, that he looked like Lazarus in the painted cloth; but Mine Host thought it fitter for him to play Ionas in this kinde [making a book] than for the Seperatists to play Ionas in that kinde as they doe. Hee therefore bid Wethercock tell the Seperatists that they would be made in due time to repent those malicious practices, and so would hee too; for he was a Seperatist amongst the Seperatists as farre as his wit would give him leave." This Morton published in 1632. Two years later, when Charles I. was carrying on his high-handed measures about "ship-money," &c., and Bishop Laud was prosecuting his Conformity designs, Morton wrote to Mr. William Jeffery (perhaps the same mentioned *ante*, p. 50) that "the Massachusetts Patent, by order of the Council, was declared, for manifest abuses, to be void; that the king had reassumed the whole business into his

in 1629.* He had an interest at Mount Wollaston, and there again he took up his residence, and there he was when Boston was settled. Hence his Patent, if he had one, was covered by the Charter brought over by the Massachusetts people.† It was therefore the duty of Governor Winthrop, as he conceived, to put an end to a colony within the bounds of his government, particularly as that colony did not acknowledge his authority; and hence the order of Court for Morton's punishment and transportation, as stated in a previous chapter.‡

The order of Court that "Thomas Morton, of Mount Wollaston, shall presently be set in the bilbowes,"§ was dated on the seventh of September of this year (1630). He had already been taken into custody,|| and was held a prisoner in Boston, until an opportunity should offer to send him again to England. There seems to have been some difficulty in finding any vessel the captain of which would receive him.¶ At length, "in the end of December," writes Deputy-Governor Dudley,

own hands, and given order for a general Governor to be sent over." And, in his exultation he vaunted that "he should soon see his desire upon his enemies;" and as to John Grant (Wethercock), "had he not betaken him to flight, he would have been taught to sing *clanavi* in the Fleet before that time." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 191. This letter was dated on the first of May (1634), the very day on which the "Commission passed the privy seal." [I suppose the *quo warranto* of which Holmes speaks (*Annals*, i. 227) under 1635, and the "great ship which fell asunder in launching" should be under 1634. The story about the new ship "which in the very launching fell all in pieces, no man knew how," is given with superstitious satisfaction by Sir Simon D'Ewes, in his *Autobiography*, ii. 118, among the events of 1634. The *quo warranto* may be seen in Hutchinson's *Col. Papers*, 101, but not in its chronological order.] The turn of times in England, and not the accidental falling over of a ship in launching, saved New England at this time from the serious calamity with which Morton and his associates had so effectually prepared to visit it.

* Mr. Isaac Allerton was sent over to London in 1628, probably in the fall (Prince, *Chron.*, 252), as agent for Plymouth about the Kennebec Patent. He returned the next year (1629), perhaps towards August (see Prince, *ib.*, 265), and, to the surprise of everybody, Morton came with him, being employed as his scribe. To quiet the people, Mr. Allerton was obliged to discharge Morton, who repaired at once to his old quarters at Ma-re-Mount. Here he remained till August, the next year, as stated in the text.

† See Bradford, in *Colls. Ms. Hist. Soc.*, iii. 61, who says when his government was applied to by the other Plantations, "they were told that we had no authority to do anything" against Morton's colony; "but seeing

it tended to the utter ruin of all the whole country, we would join with them against so public a mischief." But, on the arrival of the Massachusetts Colony, want of jurisdiction was out of the question; and, when Morton urged it, the charter was referred to with an air of confidence that admitted of no appeal: at which his resentment was unbounded, and he labored for its abrogation after he arrived in England, and not without success. At this time he exultingly wrote, "Repent you cruell Separatists repent, there is yet but 40 dayes if Iove vouchsafe to thunder, Charter and the kingdome of the Separatists will fall asunder. Repent you cruell Schismatiacks repent," &c. — *New Canaan*, B. iii. chap. 31. Fortunately for New England, the government in Old England "falling asunder," Morton's projects fell to the ground, as already mentioned.

‡ See *ante*, pages 95 and 98.

§ "BILBOES, a sort of punishment at sea, when an offender is laid in irons, or set in a kind of stocks," — *Phillips and Kersey*. It is quite probable that a ship's stocks was made use of on this occasion, because time and hands could not be well spared to build wooden stocks.

|| See *ante*, page 94.

¶ In his *New Canaan*, Morton entitles the 29th chapter of his third book "How mine Host was put into a whale's belly," and then proceeds: "The Separatists (after they had burned Ma-re-Mount, they could not get any shipp to undertake the carriage of mine Host from thence either by faire meanes or fowle),



BILBOES.

who was one of those prominent in office at the time, "departed from vs the shipp *Handmaide* of London, by which wee sent away one Thomas Morton, a proud insolent man, who had lived here divers yeares, and had beene an Attorney in the West Countreyes, while he lived in England. Multitude of complaintes wee received against him for iniuries doone by him both to the English and Indians; and amongst others, for shootinge hail shott at a troope of Indians for not bringing a cannowe vnto him to cross a river withall; whereby hee hurt one, and shott through the garments of another. For the sattisfacon of the Indians wherein, and that it might appear to them and to the English that wee meant to doe iustice impartially, wee caused his hands to bee bound behind him, and sett his feete in the bill-bowes, and burned his howse to the ground, all in the sight of the Indians, and soe kept him prisoner till wee sent him for England;* whether wee sent him, for that my Lord Cheife Justice there soe required that hee might punish him capitally for fowler misdemeaners there perpetrated, as wee were informed."†

CHAPTER XIV.

Deaths. — A Fast turned into a Thanksgiving. — Incidents of the Voyage of the *Lyon*. — Arrival of Mr. Roger Williams and others. — Melancholy Fate of young Way. — Arrival of distinguished Men. — Disasters to returning Ships. — Feeling in England against New England. — Banishments. — Indians complain of Wrongs. — Flight of Birds ominous. — Fire. — Artificers' Wages regulated. — Visits of Indians. — Return of Gentlemen to England. — Other Indians visit Boston. — Roger Williams. — Precautions against the Mohawks. — Walford banished. — Chikataubut. — A General Court established. — Ferry to Charlestown. — Philip Ratcliff.



N the third of January there died at Boston a young lady, who, by her amiable conduct, had so endeared herself to all that it was declared that Boston "had not received the like loss of any woman" since it began to be settled. She was the daughter of Mr. Thomas Sharp, one of the Assistants; but her Christian name and her age are not mentioned, or the disease of which she died; only that she had had "a long sickness."

they were enforced (contrary to their expectation) to be troubled with his company; and by that meanes had time to consider more of the man, than they had done of the matter."

* It is not unlikely that Morton may have had difficulties with some of the neighboring Indians, but many circumstances show that he was rather a favorite with them in general. In his own account it appears that when the "devellish sentence against him was passed at Boston, the harmeles salvages (his neighbours) came the while, grieved poore silly lambes, to see what they went about [when the Authorities put him in the bilboes]; and did reprove these eliphants of witt for their inhumane deede; the Lord above did open their

mouthes like Balam's Asse, and made them speake in his behalfe, sentences of unexpected divinity, besides morrallity; and tould them that God would not love them, that burned this good man's howse; and plainly sayd, that they who were new come would find the want of such a howses in the winter." — *New Canaan*, B. iii., chap. 23.

† That Morton was greatly misrepresented; there is not much room to doubt, while there may be no doubt that he was a reckless and misguided man. The "fowler misdemeaners" darkly hinted at by Dudley, are openly said to be "murther besides other miscarriages," by Morton's namesake, the Memorialist. — See *Memorial*, (1st ed.) p. 72, or Ed. Davis, 140.

One other death is recorded this month, which was that of a girl, a daughter of John Ruggels, only eleven years old.* Her demise was specially noticed on account of her having given such extraordinary evidences "concerning the things of another world."

Feb. 5. The situation of the settlers of Boston was becoming every day more trying; as the winter advanced, provisions grew scarcer; muscles, groundnuts and acorns, the chief dependence now of many, the snow and frozen state of the earth rendered hard to be procured; and Captain Peirce was looked for in agonizing despair, especially as the perils of the ocean, danger from pirates, and the hostility of known belligerent powers, were taken into view. Under these distressing circumstances, a Fast is ordered to be kept; when, to the great surprise and greater joy of the people, the very day before the Fast was to take place, Captain Peirce, in the *Lyon*, is announced as arrived at Nantasket, laden with provisions. Whereupon, to express their joy and gratitude, the Fast is ordered to be changed to a Thanksgiving, and to be celebrated on the twenty-second of the same month, "in all the plantations."

Not having heard anything from the *Lyon*, it is reasonable to suppose that the people would be wrought up to a mental excitement not easily conceived of by observers at this distance of time, but easily arrived at by those whom starvation had been approaching with slow but certain strides, and was now not only in the very presence of many, but actually staring them in the face. Nor was this state of things confined to the poor people of Boston, but even the Governor himself had seen his last grain of meal go to the oven.

New life was put into every one by this acquisition of provisions; even the sick, which were many at this time, began to improve in health; especially those suffering from the scurvy, who received great benefit from the juice of lemons, of which Captain Peirce had taken care to bring a quantity.

The *Lyon* sailed from Bristol on the first of December, and, as usual in a western voyage over the Atlantic in the midst of winter, she had a tempestuous passage of sixty-four days. About two hundred tons of goods, chiefly provisions, were received by her, and an accession of great importance besides, consisting of "about twenty passengers," † who all, save one, came safe. This one, a young man, son of Mr. Henry Way, of Dorchester, "fell from the spritsail yard in a tempest, and could not be recovered, though he kept in sight near a quarter of an hour." ‡ Thus the fond hopes of one family were turned into deep affliction on the arrival of the long-looked-for ship.

And, after all, he does not seem to have been in general discredit in England; so that it may pretty safely be concluded that, as bad as the "Merry-Mount rioter" was, he was not so bad as his enemies would have us believe.

* "Of whose family and kindred dyed so many, that for some reason, it was matter of observacon amongst vs." — *Dudley*.

† According to Gov. Dudley, there were about twenty-six which came at this time.

‡ "Who, in a tempest, haueing helped to take in the spritt saile, lost his hold as hee was comeinge downe, and fell into the sea, where after long swimming hee was drowned, to the great dolour of those in the shipp, who beheld soe lamentable a spectacle, without bee-

Among the passengers who came to Boston now in the *Lyon* were Mr. Roger Williams,* with his wife, Mr. John Throgmorton, [Mr. John ?] Perkins, and [Mr. Francis ?] Onge, with their wives and children.†

Many letters were received from friends by this arrival; and though the news contained in them must have been a great relief to the people here, it caused a sorrowful mixture of pleasure and pain to haunt their minds, until other arrivals with later accounts, in a measure, took their place. Three of the ships which returned for England in the end of the last summer were attacked by several men-of-war from Dunkirk, on the English coast, and though they were not taken, they suffered extremely in a very severe contest, losing some thirteen or fourteen men. The *Charles* — “a stout ship of three hundred tons” — one of the three ships, “being soe torne that shee had not much of her left whole above water.” The *Success* and *Whale* were the other two ships. They “also vnderstood the death of many of those who went for Old England the last year, as likewise of the mortality there, whereby graves are seen in other places as well as here.”‡

“To increase the heape of our sorrows,” continues Dudley, “wee received advertisement from our friends in England, and by the reports of those who came hither in this shipp to abide with vs, that those who went discontentedly from us the last year, out of their evill affections towards us, have raised many false and scandalous reports against vs,

ing able to minester help to him. The sea was soe high and the ship droue so fast before the wind, though her sailes were taken down.” — *Dudley*.

* Mary was the name of his wife, but of what family she came has as yet eluded the vigilance of genealogists; nor have they succeeded much better in ascertaining her husband's ancestry. Professor ROMEO ELTON has, at length, after a long and praiseworthy search, discovered, and this year (1853) published his discoveries respecting the parentage of ROGER WILLIAMS. He was the son of William Williams, of Conwyl Cayo, in South Wales, and was born on an estate which had been the seat of his ancestors for many generations, called Maestroiddyn fawr, in the hamlet of Maestroiddyn. He entered the university of Oxford 30 April, 1624, at which time he was

18 years of age; hence he was born 1606, and was indeed “a young minister” on his arrival at Boston, as Winthrop observes. On his

Roger Williams

banishment from Massachusetts, in 1635, he went to a place which he named Providence, and there became the founder of Rhode Island, in 1636. His children were, Mary; Freeborn; Providence, b. 1638 (the first white children born in that state); Mercy; Daniel and Joseph. This last-named child lived in Cranston, R. I., and died there at the age of 81, as appears by the inscription on his gravestone, as follows:

“Here lies the Body of
JOSEPH WILLIAMS, ESQ.,
who was the first white
man that came to Providence.* He was Born
1644, he died au. 17,
1724, in the 81st year of
his age.

In King Philip's war courageously went through,
And the native Indians he bravely did subdue;
And now he's gone down to the Grave, and he will be no more,
Until it please Almighty God his body to restore,
Into some proper shape as he thinks fit to be,
Perhaps like a Grain of Wheat, as Paul sets forth you see.
Corinthians, 1st Book, 15 Chapter, 37 v.”

The above autograph of the founder of Rhode Island is from a fragment without date.

† Winthrop's *Jour.* and his editor's notes; Harris' *Memorials of Dorchester*; Francis' *Hist. of Watertown*.

‡ *Dudley*. — “Of those which went back in the ships this summer [1630], for fear of death or famine, many died by the way and after they were landed, and others fell very sick and low.” — *Winthrop*, i. 46.

* A slight error, occasioned by confounding him with his father.

affirming vs to be Brownists in religion, and ill affected to our state at home; and that their vile reports have wounne credit with some who formerly wished vs well.”*

Against such imputations Dudley protests in clear and strong terms, saying he hoped their friends who had known them would give no credit to any such reports; as that they had turned from the professions they had so long made in their native country; that he knew not even one person that came over the last year who was altered in his judgment and affection, “eyther in ecclesiasticall or civill respects since their comeing hither.” “Let our friens therefore,” he writes, “give noe credit to such malicious aspersions, but bee more ready to answer for us, then we heare they have beene. Lett, therefore, this be sufficient for vs to say, and others to heare in this matter.”

Feb. 10. Until this time, the frost had enchained the rivers and harbor, but now there was a relaxation, and the ice broke up, and did not make again as before. And it was remarked that “ever since this Bay was planted by Englishmen, namely, seven years, that at this day the frost hath broken up every year.”† It would be curious to institute an inquiry extending from 1630 to this or any late period, relative to the breaking up of the harbor.

Feb. 16. Mr. Robert Welden died at Charlestown, “a hopeful young gentleman, and an experienced soldier.” He died of consumption. “In the time of his sickness he was chosen to be captain of one hundred foote, but before he tooke possession of his place hee dyed.”

Feb. 18. His affectionate companions gave him a soldier’s funeral, burying him under arms at Boston, “with three vollies of shott.”‡

Mar. 4. A Court of Assistants is held at Boston, which is the first this year. There were present, Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, Ludlow, Endicott, Pyncheon, Nowell, Sharp, Coddington,§ and Bradstreet.

* “Capt. Levett, about this time returning for England, died at sea; by which occasion, some letters, sent from indiscreet persons, fell into the hands of them that had no good will for the Plantation; and by that means clamors were raised against them, which furnished their enemies with matters of complaint against them, which their petitions were stuffed withal.” — Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 146.

At a Court on the 6th of September of this year, “one Henry Linn [of Boston] was whipped and banished for writing letters into England full of slander against our government and orders of our churches.” — Winthrop, i. 61. Mr. Savage, from the *Colony Records*, i. 59, says “Linn” was not banished; that before, in 1630, he had been sentenced to be whipped, which probably occasioned this second offence.

The Capt. Levett here mentioned was, it is not improbable, Capt. Christopher Levett, “His Majesty’s Woodward of Somersetshire, and one of the Council of New England.” He made a voyage to the northern parts of New England in 1623 and 1624, which was pub-

lished in 1628, and recently reprinted by the *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, and also by the *Maine Hist. Society*. There does not appear to be anything added to these editions throwing any light on the path of the author of the voyage.

† Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 43.

‡ Dudley and Winthrop; the annotator on the latter finds Elizabeth Welden, church member, No. 91, “gone to Watertown.” He thinks she may have been the widow of this Capt. Welden. His conjectures in this line average better than most men’s.

Wm. Coddington

§ The above fac-simile of Mr. Coddington’s autograph is copied from an original letter of his, dated 1646, at which time he was resident at Newport, and Governor of Rhode Island, as it seems by this letter. — See *N. Eng. H. and Gen. Regr.*, vol. iv. Mr. Coddington built the first brick house in Boston. — Callender’s *Hist. Discourse*.

The first order of this Court was, "that six persons be sent to England in the ship Lyon now returning thither, as unmeet to inhabit here; also that Sir Christopher Gardiner* and another be sent as prisoners in her; second, a man† is fined five pounds for taking upon him to cure the scurvy, by a water of no value, which he sold at a very dear rate; to be imprisoned till he pay his fine, or give security for it, or else be whipped; and shall be liable to any man's action of whom he has received money for the said water."

Mar. 8. There was a Court at Watertown: Winthrop, Dudley, Saltonstall, Ludlow, Nowell, Pyncheon, Coddington, and Bradstreet, were present. The first matter to be disposed of was a complaint made by the Indians, that two of their wigwams had been burnt by some of the English. On investigation it was found that a servant of Sir Richard Saltonstall, and others, had on some occasion made use of the wigwams (the Indians not living in them at the time), and leaving a fire unquenched when they left them, the complained-of conflagration was the supposed consequence. As to one of the wigwams, there was no direct proof how it was fired; but the Court was more anxious to satisfy the Indians than to entertain legal objections, and therefore ordered that Sir Richard Saltonstall should satisfy them, which he did, with seven yards of cloth, for which his servant should pay him "at the end of his time, fifty shillings."‡

The place of the burnt wigwams is not mentioned; but the Indian who made the complaint lived at Mistick,§ and was known among the English as Sagamore John, but his Indian name was Wonohaquaham. One of his men, called Peter in the records, shared in the damages, for one of the wigwams belonged to him.||

This peninsula on which Boston is built does not appear to have been claimed by any Indians, until a long time after it was possessed by the English; nor do any indications of a prior settlement by the former come under the notice of those who early describe the place.¶ It may

* From Court records, as well as from the *Chronicles* of that time, it seems that knaves and harlots were as common as they have been since, according to the number of inhabitants. There is in Dudley's famous *Letter to the Countess*, to which I have been so much indebted, a curious account of this Sir Christopher Gardiner; from which, together with Morton's *Memorial*, and *Prince*, a pretty full account of him, and his three or four wives, may be obtained. It may be, however, that some allowance is required to be made in favor of the knight, in making use of the two former of the three authors. According to Scotto, Gardiner came over in the fleet with Winthrop; his words are, however, that "he came over in the first fleet." — *Narrative*, 17, 18.

† Prince did not think it worth while to preserve the name of this "man," but the records contain it, and *Snow*, 40, has extracted it. It was Nicholas Knopp.

‡ Prince, from the *Colony Records*.

§ Then comprehending a tract of country since included in Charlestown and Medford. 6 Sept. of this year Gov. Winthrop had granted to him by the Court of Assistants, six hundred acres of land "near his house at Mistick." This was Winthrop's farm, and to which he gave the name of "Ten Hills," by which the place is known at this day. It lies nearly opposite the entrance of Malden river into the Mistick. At this confluence something of a bay is formed. Over against Ten Hills, on the opposite side of the bay, Gov. Cradock had a plantation.

¶ See *The Book of the Indians*, B. ii. 104—110.

¶ We indeed meet with this statement in Mr. Shaw's work: "As a proof of its having been an ancient populous Indian settlement, tradition says, there was discovered a kind of *Golgotha* on the spot where Gardner Green's house stands [now Pemberton Square], on the side of the hill. Dr. Mather related that three

have been with the tribes north and south of it truly "Disputed Territory," as it lay on the boundary of both. It will be seen, in the progress of this history, that when a claim was made for Boston by a remnant of Indians on the south of it, there were none left on the north to contravene an opposing claim.

The second subject for consideration in this Court was, "in regard that the number of Assistants is but few, and some of them are going for England, ordered, that when the number of Assistants resident within this jurisdiction shall be fewer than nine, it shall be lawful for the major part of them to keep a Court; and whatever orders or acts they make shall be as legal and authentical, as if there were the full number of seven or more." *

To people who never before visited new countries, many things would appear strange and marvellous; it was so at this time with the people of Boston. Governor Dudley saw "soe many flocks of doues" on the eighth of March, that, in his astonishment, he said, "what it pordended hee knew not." From "faire daylight" on that day, "until about eight of the clock in the forenoone, there flew over all the townes in the plantacons so many that they obscured the light, and passeth credit, if the truth should be written."

Mar. 16. "About noon, the chimney of Mr. Thomas Sharp's house in Boston took fire, the splinters being not clayed at the top, and, taking the thatch, burnt it down. The wind being north-west, drove the fire to Mr. Coalburn's house, being a [few] rods off, and burnt that down also, † which were as good, and as well furnished, as the most in the plantacon." With their houses were consumed "much of their household stuff, apparell, and other thinges, as allsoe some goods of others who sojourned with them in their houses; God so pleaseing to exercise vs with corrections of this kind, as he hath done with others; for the prevention whereof in our new toune intended this somer to bee builded, we haue ordered that noe man there shall build his chimney with wood, nor cover his house with thatch, which was readily assented vnto; for that diuers other howses haue beene burned since our arrivall (the fire alwaies beginninge in the wooden chimneyes), and some English ‡ wigwams, which haue taken fire in the roofes covered with thatch or boughs." §

Mar. 22. At the next meeting of the Court of Assistants, at Boston, there were present the same gentlemen as at the last meeting. The order regulating artificers' wages, which had been made in August preceding, was rescinded; and they were "to be left at liberty to agree for wages." In the absence of any reasons for thus rescinding the for-

hundred skull-bones had been dug up there, when he was a youth." — *Descript. of Boston*, 78.

* Prince, from the *Colony Records*.

† Winthrop, i. 48.

‡ I apprehend that the true reading of Dudley would give "Indian wigwams," for it does

not appear that the designation *wigwam* is but rarely applied to dwellings of the English.

§ By this excellent description of Dudley a good notion is obtained of the style of building employed by the first inhabitants of Boston, which will answer equally well for all New England.

mer order, it may be conjectured that the principal inhabitants had now got their dwellings finished, and therefore they did not feel so particular about its continuance as they had done.

By a second order of the same Court, all persons were required to provide themselves with arms; those not able to procure them, to be provided by the towns in which they lived; magistrates and ministers were excepted in the order. By a third order, "all persons having cards, dice, or tables in their houses, to make away with them before the next Court."*

Nothing is heard of any intercourse with the Indians living Mar. 23. to the southward of Boston, by Boston people, up to this time, while daily correspondence seems to have been held with those living on the northern side. This latter intercourse may have revived an old jealousy between them and the Massachusetts, whose principal residence was now about Neponset river. At the head of these was a Chief named Chikataubut, who must have been considerably advanced in years, for he was a sachem when the English came to Plymouth, and had much to do with all the settlements between that place and Boston. He had learned, probably, that Indians who visited the new people at Shawmut fared well, and he resolved to venture among them to see what benefit they might be to him. Accordingly he mustered up a considerable number of his men, who, with their wives, made their appearance at the dwelling of the Governor; and, to satisfy him that they had not come out of idle curiosity, he presented him with a hogshead of Indian corn. The Governor could not allow himself to be outdone in generosity in so important a state affair, and therefore provided a dinner



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for the whole company. "After they had all dined, and had each a small cup of sack and beer, and the men tobacco," Chikataubut "sent away all his men and women, tho' the governor would have stayed them," because it was in the time of a thunder-shower. Chikataubut and one squaw and her sannap (which is their name for husband), stayed all night. At this interview the chief had on English clothes, and the Governor allowed him to dine with him at his own table, "where he behaved himself as soberly as an Englishman." The next day, after

* Prince, from *Ms. Col. Recs.*

dinner, he returned home, "the Governor giving him cheese, and peas, and a mug, and some other small things." *

From this time the visits of Indians from all quarters became frequent at Boston; some for trade, some out of curiosity, some to make complaints of wrongs, fancied and real, from their neighbors, both Englishmen and Indians; in short, they came at all times and upon all occasions, until interrupted by rumors of wars and other troubles, as will be marked in the progress of events.

March 26. Wonohaquaham and Montowampate† came to Boston, and complained to the English Governor that a white man, named Watts, had defrauded them of twenty beaver-skins, and requested his assistance for the recovery of their value. Watts having gone for, or being in England, Mr. Winthrop could do nothing further for them than to give them a letter to Emanuel Downing, Esquire, his brother-in-law, ‡ in London, which he did.§

March 28. Important events crowded fast upon one another in the little colony of Boston; and one is now close at hand which caused many an anxious heart and weeping eye. It was to part with some of the most beloved and respected of the small number which composed it. The Lyon was riding at Salem, bound for England, where she had been some time waiting for a wind to take her to sea. In her the beloved Wilson had taken passage; and thus the people of Boston were as sheep who had lost their shepherd. They were to lose, also, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Sharp, || and Mr. Coddington.

Mr. Dudley, the Deputy-Governor, had, for several months, been setting down such facts, and noting such events in the colony, as he thought would be of interest to his immediate friends in England; and now, having put them into the form of a letter, he this day seals it up, and, directing it "To the righte-honourable, my very good Lady, the Lady Brydget, Countesse of Lincoln," entrusts it to the care of Mr. Wilson, for delivery. ¶

* Winthrop, *Journal*, 42, 49.

† *Ibid.*, 49. Winthrop mentions the English names only of these Indians, namely, "John Sagamore and James his brother."

‡ See Winthrop Pedigree, *ante*, p. 72.

§ Mr. LEWIS, in his delightful *History of Lynn*, has, with great research, given, from deeds, depositions and other court papers, all or nearly all that can be desired with respect to the Indians in and about ancient Lynn. He says a tradition exists that Montowampate did go to England. This last named chief was the "Sagamore of Lynn," and his brother was "Sagamore on Mistic river, including Winnisimmet." — *Hist. Lynn*, 47, 48, 74. See also Dudley's *Letter to the Countess*. I do not know why the editor of Winthrop thought himself obliged, with Dudley's letter before him, to profess ignorance of the locality of these Sagamores. — Dudley says, "both theis brothers command not above thirty or forty men, for aught I can

learne." — *Letter*, p. 6. It is not improbable that Wonohaquaham went to England in the Lyon, which sailed from Salem on the 1st of April. If so, he went in company with Mr. Wilson, Sir R. Saltonstall, and others, who sailed at that time. If he were not going to England then, why should Winthrop give him a letter to a person in London, by which he might get redress?

¶ These two returned no more to New England.

¶ "I thought to have ended before," he says, "but the stay of the shipp, and my desire to informe your honour of all I canne, hath caused this addition; and every one hauinge warninge to prepare for the shipp's departure to-morrow, I am now this 28 of March, 1631, sealinge my letters." With this paragraph ends the invaluable LETTER of Dudley. No document in the annals of Boston, will compare in importance with it, and no one can success-

March 30. Those who were going for England from Boston and its vicinity, had collected in the town, and were waiting the orders of Captain Peirce, who was here to accompany them to Salem. So, at seven o'clock this morning, a part of the company, with the Captain, set off in two shallops. Soon after, Mr. Sharp sails in another shallop. At ten o'clock, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Wilson, and many others, met at the Governor's, and there Mr. Wilson took leave of his flock, which he committed to the care of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell, the Elder; "who were men of eminent piety and learning," and most fit to exercise the office of prophesying* during his absence. "Which done, they accompanied him to the boat, and so they went over to Charlestown, to go by land to the ship."

April 4. A deputation of Indians came to Boston from the Connecticut river. From what tribe or nation they came, does not appear; but they had been threatened by, or feared, the Pequots, which induced them to endeavor to secure the friendship of the English, and to induce some of them to settle in their country. At the head of this deputation, was a Chief, named Wahginnacut, as Winthrop understood it, and they were accompanied by an Indian named Jack Straw, who had lived in England, and had been in the service of Sir Walter Raleigh. They appear to have been at Salem, where they were joined by Wonoha-quaham, who, also, accompanied them to Boston. Wahginnacut had probably solicited aid of Mr. Endicott, who, not being Governor at this time, gave him a letter to Mr. Winthrop. The Chief gave a glowing account of his country, and said, if some of the English would go and live there, he would supply them with corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver. Seeing the Governor did not incline to the proposal, he requested that two Englishmen might be permitted to return with him to his country, to view it, and ascertain whether what he said was true or otherwise. But this did not suit the convenience of the Governor neither, and, after entertaining them to a dinner, he dismissed them. The Governor gave as a reason for not complying with the request of the Indian Chief, that he had "afterwards" learned that he was "a very treacherous man, and at war with the Pequots."†

April 12. The arrival of Roger Williams, on the fifth of February last, has been before taken notice of; and though then but twenty-

fully study this period of its history without it. Winthrop's Journal, of the same period, cannot be over-estimated, as to its value, but it is an imperfect diary, and was not probably

expected the Lyon would sail the next day, but it will be seen that she did not sail until four days after. She arrived at London on the 29th of April, "all safe."

* Understood then as we now understand preaching.

† There is nothing to show from what point on the Connecticut river this Indian deputation came. If they came from Suckiag (since Hartford), it is probable that the Pequots had not extended their conquest to that point in 1631; but by or before 1633, they had conquered the tribe at that place. — See *New Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.* vi., 368-9.

Jho: Dudley;

intended for any use but for that of its author, who may have had the intention of compiling a history from it in connection with other documents. When Dudley sealed his LETTER, he

five years of age, he was called a "godly minister." And this was the man to whom the world owes so large a debt for laying the foundation of religious liberty; for convincing mankind that "a most flourishing civil state may stand, and be best maintained, with a full liberty in religious concerns;" that "the people were the origin of all free power in government." These were among his fundamental principles, which, though not so well defined in his day as they were afterwards, yet, these were the principles, for the maintenance of which, he was banished from Massachusetts!*

The civil government, as the laws stood, was entirely in the hands of the Church. Nobody was eligible to office except he were a church-member. This state of things caused Mr. Williams thus to express himself in his "Bloody Tenent:" "Not only was the door of calling to magistracy shut against natural and unregenerate men,—though excellently fitted for civil offices,—but also against the best and ablest servants of God, except they be entered into the church estate." This course of legislation, the people began, ere long, to see, tended to corruption; that Freeman's oaths were no bar to hypocrisy. It did not at first occur to the framers of the laws, perhaps, that a man might refuse to take the oath from a pure conscientiousness; because he would not do wrong; and that a designing hypocrite would take any oath at any time that he might have an opportunity to do wrong; for, as soon as he had sworn falsely he was eligible to office, and there were no means within the reach of man to detect his perjury.

April 12. There was a Court now sitting at Boston; present, the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Ludlow, Nowell, Pyncheon, and Bradstreet. Mr. Williams was called to the office of teacher at Salem, and had accepted it. This Court took up the matter, and wrote a letter to Mr. Endicott, in which they protested against his being entertained there, "marvelling they would choose him without advising with the Council; and withal desiring him that they would forbear to proceed;" for Mr. Williams, it was charged, "had refused to join with the congregation at Boston; because they (the Church of Boston) would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England while they lived there."

The same day on which these proceedings took place at Boston, Mr. Williams was settled in the ministry at Salem. But the civil power soon overawed the Church in which he was settled, and before the end of the following summer, he was obliged to leave. From Salem he went to Plymouth. His history is too well known to be pursued here; it belongs to the general history of the United States, but more especially to the history of religious liberty of the world.

At this Court, watchers were ordered to be set at sunset, at Dorches-

* A view of these times and circumstances does not hardly seem to warrant the following:—"Our fathers came to establish a free church. They established what they called a

free church, and transmitted to us, what we call a free church."—Mr. Everett's *Second Centennial Address on the Arrival of Winthrop*; delivered 23 June, 1830.

ter and Watertown; and that if any person shoots off a piece after the watch is set, he shall forfeit forty shillings; if not able to pay the forfeit, "then to be whipt;" that every Captain shall train his company every Saturday; and that persons shall not travel singly between their plantations and Plymouth, nor without arms, though two or three together. These orders were probably occasioned by some indications of uneasiness or dissatisfaction among the neighboring Indians, who, about this time, entertained fears that the Mohawks were about to attack them, and the English also.*

Another act of this Court was, that of banishment against Mr. Thomas Waford, of Charlestown. He was fined ten pounds, and was ordered to depart with his wife out of this patent before the twentieth of October next, upon pain of confiscation of his goods. His offence is not very clearly ascertained, though in the records he is charged with "contempt of authority, confronting of officers," &c.

April 13. Chikataubut makes another visit to the Governor, and desires to trade with him for clothes for himself. The Governor desired to be excused from entering into traffic; saying it was not the custom for English Sagamores to truck; but he ordered his tailor to take his measure for a suit of clothes. This was what the Chief desired; and in return he gives the Governor two large skins of coat beaver. Which had the best bargain, it is not easy to determine at this remote day, as it depends altogether on the quality of the cloth used in making the garments for the Indian. It may be the Governor was similarly situated with the great Virginia Chief, Powhatan, who, when Captain John Smith went to him to trade, told the captain it was below the dignity of men in their standing to descend to such vulgar business as trade was, but, that they should show their magnanimity by allowing each other to take freely whatever they pleased. Smith thought that by such an arrangement, the magnanimity would be all on his side, as his commodities were of much value, and those of Powhatan next to no value at all. He therefore was obliged to decline proceeding on those terms, whereupon he incurred the resentment of the haughty Chief. This is not introduced as a parallel, but as a possibly parallel, case.

Two days after, Chikataubut returned for his clothes, and they were all ready for him, "a good new suit from head to foot." On such occasions, he did not fail to honor the Governor with his company at dinner. To-day he declined eating, however, until the Governor had "given thanks;" and when he had eaten his dinner, he desired a repetition of the same ceremony.†

* On the 14th of April, Winthrop says, "We began a Court of Guard upon the Neck, between Boston and Roxbury, whereupon should always be resident an officer and six men." — *Journal*, i. 54. On the 16th, he notes that "there was an alarm given to all our towns in the night," occasioned by the discharge of a gun, but none knew the place where the discharge was made. This was

thought much more of because the Indians had "sent word the day before, that the Mohawks were coming down against them and us." — *Journal*, 55.

† At a Court on the 18th of May following, Chikataubut and Sagamore John agreed to make satisfaction, if any of their men committed any offence against the English. About a month after, viz., June 14th, "One of their

At the general election now held, Mr. Winthrop was reelected Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy-Governor. In explanation of an order of Court of the nineteenth of October of last year, it was ordered, "with full consent of all the company present, that, once every year at least, a General Court be holden, at which it shall be lawful for the Commons to propound any person or persons whom they shall desire to be chosen Assistants;" the Commons also to have the power of removal of Assistants for misbehavior; that "the Commons may be preserved of good and honest men," ordered, "that for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."

Thomas Williams having "set up" a ferry between Winnesemet* and Charlestown, the Court allows him to take three pence a person for his service, and four pence from those ferried between Boston and Winnesemet.

The same day, at noon, the house of Mr. William Chesebrough† was burnt down, "all the people being present."

An order of Court was made that none should travel out of this Patent, by sea or land, without leave from the Governor, Deputy-Governor, or some Assistant; another, that no person should buy corn, or other provisions, or any merchantable commodity, of any vessel which might put in to Boston, without leave of the Governor or some Assistant;‡ and that Edward Converse, who had undertaken to

men was complained of for shooting a pig, &c., for which Chikataubut was ordered to pay a skin of beaver, which he presently did."—Winthrop.

* Few Indian names are spelled with more variations than this. I have usually taken it as I find it in the authority consulted at the time. *Winnisimet* appears to be the spelling in general use. It is now Chelsea.

† Although a man of wealth and consideration in Boston, William Chesebrough is not dignified by the writers of that period with the title of Mr. He probably was too liberal for the time and place, and soon removed to Mount Wollaston; thence to Rehoboth; thence into the Narraganset country. He was a resident of Braintree in 1640; from which town he was a representative to the General Court. In 1644 he was an inhabitant of Seaconk, where he set up his business, which was that of a smith. He probably accompanied John Winthrop, Jr., to Pequot (N. London) in 1645; but what time he settled at Pawcatucke does not clearly appear. The following copy of an original paper not only throws light on the history of an early resident of Boston, but it shows that Boston (that is, Massachusetts) exercised jurisdiction over what is now Stonington, in Connecticut:—"Agreeable to a Petition, dated 22 Oct., 1658, the Magistrates grant y^e English Plantation between Misticke and Pawcatucke be named Southertowne, belonging to y^e County of Suffolk; and y^e all

y^e prudential affairs thereof be managed by Capt. George Denison, Mr. Parks, William Chesebroke, Thomas Stanton, Walter Palmer, and John Minot, Senr. 28: 5: 1658." From another original paper the following interesting items are derived, relative to the residences of some of the chief men of Southertowne:—"From Wekapauge to Mr. Stanton's is 3 miles, 300 rods; from Mr. Stanton's to Goodman Chesebrough's, is 2 miles, 123 rods; from Goodman Chesebrough's to Misticke river, by Capt. Denison's house, is 4 miles." Chesebrough had sons Samuel and Nathaniel. There had graduated at Yale one Chesebrough and three Chesebroughs, before 1836. The subjoined autograph is a fac-simile of one

to an original paper of 1660. Besides these facts, many others may be gathered from Mr. Bliss' *Hist. Rehoboth*, Miss Caulkin's *Hist. N. London*, Trumbull's *Records of Connecticut*, and *Suffolk Deeds*, i. 26, 38.

‡ Morton the Disturber, in one of his letters written in England to a friend in New England, calls the Governor *King Winthrop*. Taking these orders of court into account, the libel was certainly not very severe; and, as we proceed, the *libel* will appear even less severe, possibly.

set up a ferry between Boston and Charlestown, be allowed two pence for a single person, and one penny if there were two or more persons.

At this Court, an agent of Governor Cradock was very severely sentenced. His name was Philip Ratcliff. He came here to manage certain affairs for Mr. Cradock,* and, not fully realizing his liability to render himself obnoxious by intemperate speeches, he incurred the displeasure of the Authorities so seriously that they would not be satisfied without some of his blood, which they ordered to be taken by cutting off his ears. Nor was this all; he was whipped, and then banished the colony.† His offence, as it stands charged,‡ was for uttering "most foul, scandalous invectives against the Churches and Government." Maiming was then a custom in the mother country for various offences, and there is nothing singular that it should be practised here, as it was for a long period after it commenced with Philip Ratcliff.

* It is not unlikely that his residence may have been at Medford; for there, by his agents, Mr. Cradock had planned for a large establishment. Mr. Wood speaks of it in 1633 as follows:—"It is seated by the water side very pleasantly; there be not many houses as yet [it was then called Mistick]. On the west side of Mistick river the Governor [Winthrop] hath a farme, where he keeps most of his cattle. On the east side is Master Craddocke's Plantation, where he hath impaled a Parke, where he keepes cattle till hee can store it with deere. Here, likewise, he is at charges of building ships. The last yeare one was upon the stockes of a hundred tunne; that being finished, they are to build one twice her burden."—*N. Eng. Prospect*, 34. June 5th, 1635, Ralph Mason of Boston, for £17, mortgages his "new dwelling-house" to Mr. Cradock. May 29th, 1639, Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, mortgages to Mr. Cradock "half of the mill, and six shares of the weare at W. for £240. On 2: 5: 1639, M. buys of C. (Davison, agt.), the moiety of the water-mill, and the 6 shares in the weare. June 29th, 1640, Thomas Dexter of Lynn, mortgaged his farm to Mr. C. for £150. April 26th, 1641, Josiah Dawstin 'of Mistick als. Medford,' has secured to him by Mr. C., Dix's house, 60 acres of planting, and 7 of meadow, called Rock-meadow."—*Suffolk Deeds*.

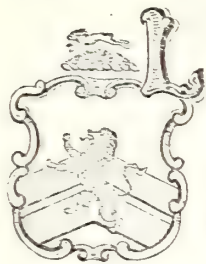
† Nor was this all, neither, if any credit be due to the author of *New Canaan*. Not feeling very confident of the correctness of his statements, and yet feeling bound to let him be heard, I give the following extract from his work:—"Master Ratcliff, according to this author, stirred up vengeance against himself, by calling Mr Cradock's servants to an account; these servants, being church members, were of course in the favor of the ruling powers. They therefore delayed payment under such excuses as caused Mr. Ratcliff to think himself, as well as his master, grossly outraged, and this occasioned his intemperate speeches, which Morton fully acknowledges, and a specimen of which he gives to this effect: "That if the

church members here were all like the men with whom he had to deal, he believed the Devil was the author of their Church." Morton acknowledges further, that Ratcliff "disdained the tenents of the Seperatists, and they" finding he was not one of themselves, "disdained to be employed by a carnall man." Therefore they would not acknowledge his authority, meantime sending word to Mr. Cradock, "that his man was a member of the Church of England, and therefore an enemy to the Churches here." Part of his crime was "for blasphemy against the Church of Salem, the mother Church of all this Holy Land." And now, continues Morton, "hee convented was before their Synagoge, where no defence would serve his turne, yet was there none to be seene to accuse him, save the Court alone; the time of his sickness, nor the urgent cause were allowed to be urged for him, but whatsoever could be thought upon against him was urged, seeing hee was a carnall man, of them that are without. So the matter was adjudged before he came. He only brought to hear his sentence; which was, to haue his tongue bored through; his nose slit; his face branded; his ears cut; his body to be whipped in every severall plantation of their iurisdiction; and a fine of 40 pounds imposed, with perpetuall banishment." The barbarous whipping, he says, was performed by "the Deacon of Charles Towne," in which employment Shackles (which is the name he gives the Deacon) "takes a greate felicity, and glories in the practice of it." But Morton relieves his reader in some measure by adding, "This cruell sentence was stopped, in part, by Sir Christopher Gardener, then present at the execution, by expostulating with Mr. Temperwell [Winthrop], who was content with the whipping and the cutting off parte of his ears," the fine, sequestration of all his goods, and banishment. The above is the substance of Chap. xxv., B. iii., entitled, "*Of the manner how the Seperatists doe pay their debts to them that are without.*"

‡ In Winthrop's Journal, i. 56.; who says Ratcliff was "convict, ore tenus."

CHAPTER XV.

Proceedings relative to Sir Christopher Gardiner. — Sir Ferdinando Gorges' Claim. — Ship-building. — Arrival of the ship *Plough*. — Indians visit Boston. — Arrival of the *Friendship*. — the *White Angel*. — Contest about an "Opinion." — Massacre of the Agawams by the Tarratines. — Liberal-ity towards the Indians. — Colonists punished for wronging them. — Controversy with Plymouth about runaway Servants. — Winthrop refuses to settle at Newton. — Dudley censures him for it. — Statement of the Grounds of Complaint. — Dudley's Magnanimity. — Arrival of the *Lyon* with Mrs. Winthrop, Mr. John Eliot, &c. — Persons leave the Colony.



LETTERS are received at Boston, which came by way of Pascataqua, from England. They were, or June 25. some of them were, directed to Sir Christopher Gardiner. As Sir Christopher had been made a prisoner by the Authorities of Boston, these Authorities took the liberty to break open his letters. They were doubtless somewhat surprised when they came to peruse them, learning thereby that Gardiner was not without friends in England, and that some of those friends, at

least, had full confidence in him as a man of integrity. A letter from no less a personage than Sir Ferdinando Gorges to him confirmed this fact, and the Boston Magistrates were probably under some fears that they had overstepped the bounds of discretion in having thus violated the sacred rights of correspondence. But the peculiar embarrassments of the Government in England, and the great distance of New England from that country, probably prevented any difficulty or trouble to the Authorities here, which might, under other circumstances, have followed. Besides finding that Sir Christopher was not so contemptible as he had been supposed to be, Governor Winthrop found that Sir Ferdinando Gorges placed reliance on him, to see what could be done, whereby he might recover his territories in New England, of which he had been deprived by the very charter which he had been active in procuring for the Massachusetts Company. Here, however, the matter seems to have rested; and Sir Ferdinando is branded as an enemy to New England, because he endeavored to ascertain the situation of things in this country affecting his rights as an original patentee.

Ship-building had already been begun, before Boston was July 4. one year old. Governor Winthrop caused to be built at Mistick a "bark" of thirty tons, which he named the "*Blessing of the Bay*;" and on this fourth day of July it was launched. By the end of August it was ready for service, and sailed upon a trading voyage to Long Island and New York.*

A small ship of sixty tons came into Boston harbor, with ten July 6.† passengers. They came from London, and had a patent of

* Among the curious things noticed by the sailors on their voyage, were Indian canoes at Long Island, capable of carrying eighty men. — *Winthrop*, i. 112.

† Some idea of the relative importance of Boston, at this stage of its history, is to be had from an assessment of £30, ordered to be laid by the Court of Assistants, held on the

lands at Sagadahock; but, on visiting that region, they were dissatisfied with it, and concluded to settle in the neighborhood of Boston. This small company consisted of husbandmen, and they gave themselves the name of the Company of Husbandmen. Their ship was named the Plough, and hence the origin of the "Plough Patent." The master's name was Graves.* They intended to go up to Watertown; but the ship, drawing ten feet of water, ran aground in the attempt; and, as Mr. Hubbard says, "laid her bones there."† Most of this company "proved Fatalists, and vanished away."‡

July 13. The following week, the greatest Indian Chief in the country made his appearance at Boston. This was Miantunnomoh, son of Canonicus, Sachem of Narraganset. Wonehaqueham came along with him, to introduce him to the Governor. Being invited to dine, after dinner he presented the Governor with "a skin," and "the Governor requited him with a fair pewter pot." Whether he stayed all night at the Governor's request or not, is not mentioned; but that he did stay all night is stated.

July 14. A ship of Barnstable, which had been at sea eleven weeks, now makes her appearance in the harbor. This was the Friendship. An account of her sailing had been received, but she was forced to put back again by adverse winds, and fears began to be entertained for her safety. She brought eight heifers, one calf, and five sheep. A few days after, another ship, the White Angel, brought in and landed twenty-one heifers.§

July 21. There are to be found very few things upon record which probably set the Fathers of Boston in a more ludicrous light than the following. The Pastor, Mr. Phillips, and the Elder, Mr. Richard Brown, of the Church at Watertown, had expressed "an opinion" which the Church of Boston thought required looking into. Accordingly, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, and Mr. Nowell, the Elder, repaired to Watertown, and there "debated the matter before many of both congregations." It appeared that the Watertown Pastor and Elder had said "that the Churches of Rome were true Churches," and this was the "opinion" which was to be disposed of, according as it might be heretical or otherwise. After it was sufficiently debated, it was determined, by vote, probably, that that "opinion" was "an error." The vote was not unanimous, however, for there were three that dissented.

July 26. By an order of Court "a watch of six and an officer" is to be kept every night at Boston; that every first Thursday in

day previous, namely, July 5. The amount ordered to be raised was to discharge a contract made by the Colony "for making the Creek from Charles river to Newton."

1. Winesmet, £0 15s.	6. Boston, £5 0s.
2. Wesagascus, 2 0	7. Dorchester, 4 10
3. Saugus, 1 0	8. Roxbury, 3 0
4. Nantasket, 0 10	9. Salem, 3 0
5. Watertown, 5 0	10. Charlestown, 4 10

* Prince, 357, has "(T.) Graves:" it was probably Thomas Graves.

† She may have "laid her bones there," but Winthrop says she sailed for the island of Christopher's, and returned in about three weeks to Charlestown, "so broke she could not return home." — *Journal*, i. 58, 60. ‡ *Ibid*.

§ A milch cow at this time was valued at from £25 to £30, sterling. — *Hutchinson*.

each month a general training of Captain Underhill's company is to be held here and at Roxbury. At the same Court, Captain Southcott has liberty granted him to go for England, under a promise "to return with all convenient speed." He did not, however, return any more to New England; but why he did not is not known. Perhaps, like many other adventurous men of that day, he took part in the civil war that ensued.

Aug. 8. A good deal of apprehension and alarm was occasioned in Boston, about this period, by an inroad of the Tarratines among the Indians on this side of Merrimack river, in which they perpetrated a bloody massacre upon the Agawams, a small tribe in friendship with the English.* Seven of these were killed, several wounded, and others carried into captivity. Among the wounded were Wonohaqucham and Montowampate, who belonged in the vicinity of Boston, but who were upon a visit to Masconomo, the Sachem of the Agawams, at that time.† They also rifled a camp or wigwam at which some of Mr. Cradock's men were stationed, employed in catching sturgeon. With those carried away prisoners was the wife of Montowampate, from whom they heard about a month afterwards. The war-party of Tarratines carried her to Pemaquid, and Mr. Abraham Shurte,‡ who lived there, learning the circumstances, ransomed her and sent her home.§

Sept. 27. In all or nearly all of the Government's transactions with the Indians, not only justice appears to have been done them, but a commendable liberality is also observable towards them. At a Court

* Some who had read Winthrop's Journal before the late Editor, namely, Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Prince and Mr. Noah Webster,* all agree that the reading, "The Tarratines came in 30 canoes" upon this expedition, is the true reading; but the late Editor, though he is not sure his predecessors read wrong, substitutes 3 for 30, because he found that the Indians of New York had great canoes, capable of carrying 80 persons. This may have been a conclusive argument with him, while it is extremely doubtful whether it will be so with his successors. We hear of no such great canoes among the Tarratines, while the number of them that fell upon the Agawams must have been large. Quartermaster John Perkins, living at Agawam (Ipswich), at that time, told Mr. Cobbet, a few years after the affair happened, that he himself saw 40 birch canoes full of Indians in one fleet, which came on an apparently hostile design, but being discovered, made off without effecting their object.—See BOOK OF THE INDIANS, B. ii., 110.

† "This Sagamore of Agawam (as was usually said), had treacherously killed some

of those Tarratines' families, and therefore was the less pitied of the English."—Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 145. He had been, by order of Court, 5 July previous, forbid "coming into any Englishman's house."

‡ Often written *Shurd*, while his own signature was *Shurte*. He was living in the end of the year 1662, aged "fourscore years, or thereabouts." He was the ROGER CONANT of those parts; and I will take the liberty to advise the gentlemen of the *Maine Historical Society*, that every day they neglect his history, the greater will be the charge against them, and the more difficult it will be for them to meet it. The Shurte family probably came from Bideford, Co. of Devon.—See Watkins' *History of Bideford*. See, also, *Commissioners' Report, &c. of the Difficulties in Lincoln County, Me.* He came to N. England in 1626.—See his deposition, *Ibid.*, p. 40.

§ "About this time the Indians that were most conversant among them [the English] came quaking and complaining of a barbarous and cruel people called the Tarratines, who, they said, would eat such people as they caught, alive; tying them to a tree, and gnawing their flesh by peece-meales off their bones; as also that they were a strong and numerous people, and now coming, which made them flee to the English."—Johnson, *Wonder-w. Prov.*, p. 50.

* The edition of Winthrop's Journal, published in Hartford, in 1780, noticed in a previous page (57), was published under the supervision of Mr. Webster. Of this I am assured, on the authority of Dr. Belknap, whose own copy of that edition I possess, with notes and corrections in his own hand, "here and there inserted." No name of Editor or Transcriber was printed in that impression.

of Assistants now convened at Boston, on complaint of Chikataubut and his men, that Mr. Josias Plaistowe had stolen four baskets of corn from them, he was ordered to return them eight baskets, pay a fine of five pounds, and hereafter to be called Josias, and not Mr. Josias, as formerly, and thus "be degraded from the title of a gentleman." Two of his servants, being accessory, were ordered to be whipped. Their names were William Buckland and Thomas Andrew.

But a short time previous, the Court entertained a complaint made by an Indian and his squaw, that a young white man had attempted to disturb their family relation by some overtures to the latter of an unjustifiable character. He was sentenced to be whipped, and was whipped accordingly, in the presence of the injured party, who "were very well satisfied."

Governor Dudley writes* that, soon after the arrival of the colonists which came over in 1630, with Winthrop, himself, and other chief men of that company, for want of provisions to support their servants, many of them were allowed to go free, and maintain themselves as well as they could. Now, the want of those servants had become of serious inconvenience to those who had advanced some twenty pounds apiece to enable them to come to New England, and their masters were becoming every day better able to employ and support them. The Government at Boston had, or thought they had, reason to believe that many of those servants had gone to Plymouth, and were harbored by the people there; therefore Mr. Winthrop, by virtue of his office, wrote to Mr. Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth, complaining that the people of Plymouth had entertained and were harboring the servants which belonged to the people of Boston.†

Out of this letter of Winthrop and his Council may have originated the ill-feeling and jealousy which existed at this period at Plymouth, and caused its Governor to deny the people of Massachusetts the privilege of trading for corn with the Indians at Cape Cod,‡ as they had done the previous year. However this may be, Governor Bradford wrote in answer to that letter of Winthrop, after considerable delay,§ for which he apologizes, and says that they of Plymouth are willing to correspond with the authorities of Boston upon "this or any other naborly course, so farr as may no way be prejudiciall to any, or swarue from y^e rules of equitie." The Boston gentlemen intimated in the letter of complaint that an agreement or understanding had been made with Mr. Winslow; but Mr. Winslow had gone to England,|| and could not then be consulted; therefore Bradford says they of Plymouth know nothing about any agreement with Mr. Winslow; that their meaning and former practice

* See *ante*, p. 89.

† See Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 60.

‡ Inferences drawn from Gov. Bradford's reply to Winthrop. The letter of the latter which occasioned the reply I know not to be in existence. Winthrop's letter was dated July 26th, 1630.

§ Date of Bradford's letter is "Feb. 6, 1631." [1632, N. S.]

|| He sailed about the middle of July, 1631. — See *Prince*, 357.

“was and hath been, only such as come to dwell and inhabit, whether as seruants or free men, and not of sojournours, which come but for a season, with a purpose to returne.” Yet, he says, “if any abuse should grow hereby, we shall agree to any good order for the preuenting or redressing of the same; provided the way be left open for pore men to releue their wants, and for mutuall help to both plantations. We have therefore giuen warning in open courte to all our people, not to receiue any as seruants or dwellers with them, but to acquainte vs first therewith, that we may inquire of their certificates or dismissons; but we haue sett no peneltie vpon it as yett, because we hope ther shall be noe need, if ther be, we haue libertie to punish such things at our discretions. If that will not serue, when we vnderstand what peneltie you appointe in the case, we shall doe y^e like, or y^e which shall be equivelente vnto it. As for the instances you giue, we find that John Philips, when he came, was sicke, and if he had not been by some receiued to house, he had been in danger to haue perished. He alledged he was sent by his maister to seeke a seruise; yet as a seruente he was not entertained by any, till his maister came and sould his time; not to him y^e gave him house roame, but to him that would giue most. So he had no cause to complaine. [As] for John Pickworth, he came but as a sojournour, to worke for a few weeks, in which time he goate a wife; and so is longe since returned duple, and hath no cause to complaine, except he hath goot a bad wife. Richard Church* came likewise, ass a sojournour, to worke for y^e present; though he is still hear residente, longer then he purposed; and what he will doe, neither we, nor, I think him selfe, knowes; but if he resolute here to setle, we shall require of him to procure a dismission; but he did affirme to vs at y^e first, that he was one of Mr. Webb’s† men, and freed to goe for England, or whither he would; ‡ y^e which we y^e rather beleued, because he came to vs frome Wessagusset upon y^e faling out with his parttnr. § [As] for others intimated, we know none, though we haue inquired, but they had a dismission, either to come hither, or goe for England. Now ther are diuerce goone from hence, to dwell and inhabite with you; as Clement Briggs, John Hill, John Eedy, Daniel Ray, &c.; the which, if either you, or they desire thir dismission, we shall be redy to giue them, hoping you will doe the like, in the like cases, though we haue heard something otherwise.” ||

This letter was signed by

William Bradford *Gou^r.*

* This was the father of Col. Benjamin Church, one of the most noted captains in the Indian wars. For a very satisfactory note upon the father, see the *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 243.

† Mr. Francis Webb? As is observed in the *Gen. Regr.*, ut supra, this name in the original stands “Webbs,” but I think it was intended for “Webb’s;” and who but Francis?

‡ That is, he came over at the charge of Mr. Webb, and was one of those of whom

Dudley speaks, as set at liberty because their masters could not provide for them.—See *ante*, p. 89.

§ Thomas Morton? Church probably went to Plymouth while Morton was in power at Mount Wollaston. Winthrop wrote in July about the runaway servants, and in August (1630) Morton was carried a prisoner to Boston.

|| Taken from the original letter, all in Bradford’s own hand.

Myles Standish, Thomas Prence, Samuel Fuller, and John Alden. The four last were Assistants, and answered to the Governor and Council of later times. Mr. Winslow was another of the Assistants, whose name would no doubt have followed that of the Governor, had he been at home.

As no more is heard about harboring runaway servants, the matter probably ended with Mr. Bradford's letter.

It had been agreed, in December last, after a good deal of anxious deliberation among the officers of the government, to build a fortified town at Newton, as in its proper place has been mentioned. Accordingly, several of the gentlemen built houses there this spring.* Mr. Winthrop probably saw that a fortified town in that place would be no advantage to the Colony whatever, and that Boston was daily increasing in importance. Therefore, about the beginning of November, the Governor caused his house at Newton to be taken down, conveyed to Boston, and set up there. It appears not to have been finished, which is evidence that he did not intend to live in it at the former place, while Dudley had his finished, and his family actually in it. This proceeding of Mr. Winthrop caused Mr. Dudley to censure him for a want of good faith, and the other gentlemen were likewise dissatisfied with the reasons which Mr. Winthrop gave for not taking up his residence at Newton; and it must be confessed, that those reasons do, even now, look a little obnoxious to the charge of insincerity. He said he had performed his promise, inasmuch as he had a house up, and servants occupying it by the time appointed; and hence, if he did remove it elsewhere, immediately, it did not affect his agreement; and, besides, he had been reminded by the people of Boston, that he had promised them, when they settled with him here, that he should not leave them, and even Mr. Dudley himself had discouraged the people of Boston from settling at Newton.†

Thus matters stood for a time; the Governor and Deputy having suspended friendly intercourse.‡ At length, their mutual friends got

* "On this spot a town was laid out in squares, the streets intersecting each other at right angles. All the streets were named, and a square reserved for a Market Place, though not used for that purpose, remains open to this day." — Rev. Dr. Holmes, *Annals*, i. 210.

Mr. William Wood, who came to New England probably in 1629, and left it in 1633, thus speaks of "New-Towne, which is three miles by land from Charles-Towne, and a league and a halfe by water. This place was first intended for a City, but upon more serious considerations it was not thought so fit, being too farre from the Sea, being the greatest inconvenience it hath. This is one of the neatest and best compacted Towns in New England, having many faire structures, with many handsome contrived streets. The inhabitants most of

them are very rich, and well stored with cattell of all sorts; having many hundred acres of ground paied in with one generall fence, which is about a mile and a halfe long." — *New England's Prospect*, 33-4.

† See Hubbard, *Gen. Hist. of New England*, 136.

‡ The curious reader may desire to find, in this history, an account of some of the steps taken in this singular case, by which he may discern more clearly the real actions of the actors in it. I therefore extract as follows from Winthrop, giving him thereby the advantage of *ex parte* testimony. He says, "At a Court at Boston, 3 April, 1632 [held, I believe, in the Governor's own house], the Deputy, Mr. Dudley, went away before the Court was ended, and then the Secretary deliv-

them to submit the matter to Arbiters;* these — though they determined that the Governor's conduct was, in some measure excusable, especially as he was ready to acknowledge his error — the Arbiters, therefore, decided that Mr. Winthrop should pay Mr. Dudley twenty pounds towards his expenses in building, or provide a minister for Newton, and contribute towards his maintenance. The Governor chose the former, and soon after forwarded the twenty pounds to Mr. Dudley.

The Deputy-Governor, although proverbial for driving good bargains, in this affair gave a proof of his magnanimity, which will worthily accompany his name through the wilderness of ages. He refused to take Mr. Winthrop's money; saying that he was satisfied that the Governor's intentions were good, and that if the award had been five times as much, he would have returned it in the same manner. Whereupon a sort of business-understanding was restored.

Before dismissing this case, it may be well to notice an occurrence or two in the progress of it. Mr. Dudley looked upon the conduct of the Governor in so unfavorable a light, that he determined not to serve any longer in the government with him, and much of crimination ensued between them. Dudley labors under a disadvantage in the recital, because he can be heard only through his adversary. Winthrop accused him of extortion and usury, because "he had sold seven bushels and an half of corn, to receive ten for it after harvest." In answer, Dudley pointed to a law made by themselves against usury, to which was this proviso added: "That nothing in that law was to prohibit the letting of cattle, or other usages of a like nature, in practice amongst farmers." But this vindication did not satisfy the Governor, or he pretended that the clause in favor of farmers' affairs did not extend to this case. Dudley seems now to have lost his temper in some degree, and with warmth affirmed that he had done nothing illegal; and that he never knew any man of understanding of other opinion; and that if the Governor thought otherwise, it was his weakness; and, among other "hot words about it," he said to the Governor, "that if he had thought he had sent for him to his house to give him such usage, he would not have come there." Winthrop, no doubt, feeling that his own was the hard side of the case, says, "He took no notice of these speeches, and bore them with more patience than he had done upon a like occasion at another time." But he did not let the Deputy-Governor go at this stage of the controversy, though he did not succeed any better, if so well, in his next accusation against him. Mr. Winthrop complained that Mr. Dudley was extravagant in building his house at Newton; that he had set a bad example for people to follow, who

ered the Governor a letter from him, directed to the Governor and Assistants, wherein he declared a resignation of his Deputyship and place of Assistant; but it was not allowed." *Jour.*, i. 72.

* The gentlemen were Mr. Nowell, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Weld, Mr. Maverick, and Mr. War-

ham, who met at Charlestown on the 3 August, 1632. By continuing the narrative of this affair under this year (1631), the time in which much of it took place, is, of course, anticipated, and some events which transpired during its progress, fall in after it.

could not afford to do so ; particularizing "wainseoting and adorning his house." This charge, without Mr. Dudley's reply, would indeed seem of some validity. But when he says that the extravagance complained of, was only "for the warmth of his house, and the cost small ; and that the wainseoting consisted only of clapboards nailed to the wall in the form of wainseoting," this charge has a little the appearance of being made for the want of a better one ; and whether it were prompted by jealousy, because the Deputy-Governor was better able to build a handsomer house than the Governor could afford to, it is not undertaken to decide.

It was objected by Mr. Dudley, that the Governor had exercised too much authority, and demanded of him how he had derived such an assumption of power,—whether from the Patent or otherwise ? The Governor smartly replied, that he had not transcended his authority ; "and speaking somewhat apprehensively," as he himself says, "the Deputy began to be in a passion, and told the Governor, that if he were so round, he would be round too." What this being "round" meant, is easier to be understood, perhaps, than "speaking somewhat apprehensively." Notwithstanding the Governor's usual mildness, he did, by his own candid confession, suffer himself to get a little "round" on this occasion ; and in that spirit he told Mr. Dudley he might get *round* too, for aught he cared. "So the Deputy rose up in great fury and passion, and the Governor grew very hot also, so as they both fell into bitterness."

All this appears to have taken place in the presence of the reverend arbitrators, who, interfering, stayed the further progress of the wordy warfare ; and both, when they had time to reflect, were no doubt satisfied that, by the storm they had raised, the "ship of state," though not in any great danger, had not advanced any during the continuance of the tempest.

Proceeding with his allegations, Mr. Dudley inquired by what right Mr. Winthrop had removed certain cannon, which were public property ; and by what authority he had caused a fort to be erected in Boston ? The Governor replied, that the cannon laid rusting on the beach ; that he had often called the attention of the Court to their spoiling condition, and nothing had been done ; that now they were mounted, and placed where they might be of service, and all without any charge to the public. The Deputy next desired to know on what authority he had licensed Captain Edward Johnson "to sit down at Merrimack" ? The Governor said he had only licensed him to trade with the Indians, "as he had done divers others," which was within his authority. It was then demanded why he had given the people of Watertown leave to erect a wear in Charles river ; and why he had "disposed of lands to divers" ? Why he had allowed Ratcliff and Gray, who had been banished, to remain within the jurisdiction ?

It is pretty clear, judging from the Governor's answers to the latter inquiries, that if he had slightly overstepped the bounds of his author-

ity, he gave very plausible reasons for doing so. The key to much of the difficulty unquestionably was a jealousy on the part of the Deputy-Governor. If he refused, or was otherwise prevented coöperating with Winthrop, the latter was, as a matter of course, obliged to assume responsibilities. Being a more popular man than Mr. Dudley, the people clustered around him, and were at all times ready to sustain him; and thus similar cases will always have a similar issue. They are easily discerned through all periods of history.

There had been several orders of Court passed of an extremely arbitrary character,* to which Mr. Dudley, as one of the Court, made no objection at the time, and perhaps would not have objected to them, or the exercise of them, had he been consulted afterwards; but the cause, whatever it was, that interrupted his intercourse with Winthrop, left the latter in a sort of dilemma. He must either carry out those orders on his own responsibility, as Governor, or let them remain a dead letter. He very properly might have thought it was not his duty to go out of Boston to consult the Deputy-Governor, when cases came up requiring immediate action.

Notwithstanding the difficulties between the two highest officers of the government, neither of them appears to have suffered much in his popularity. Of the two, Winthrop was, no doubt, the more liberal; and, if he did deviate a little sometimes, the people took little or no notice of it; while Dudley, precise and exact, doing always as he agreed to do, demanded the same of others. Sometimes, perhaps, he may have been a little too rigid in his exactions, allowing not hardly enough for human frailties and uncontrollable circumstances; hence he was not likely to be quite so popular as one of a somewhat differently constituted mind.

Nov. 2. Governor Winthrop's popularity was strikingly manifest during the progress of the difficulty with Mr. Dudley, though the extraordinary demonstrations about to be detailed must not be entirely claimed for the former. Captain William Peirce, their former deliverer from famine, now sailed into Boston harbor. His arrival at any time was a sufficient cause for feasts and rejoicings; but he brought with him at this time about sixty passengers, whom he landed safe, after a voyage of two months and a half. Among these passengers came Mrs. Winthrop, the Governor's lady, his oldest son, John Winthrop, Jr., and his wife, and others of his children; and Mr. John Eliot, afterwards so famous for his labors to christianize the Indians. Two children had died during the voyage, one of which was the Governor's daughter, aged about one year and a half.

Nov. 4. The state of the weather was such that the *Lyon* could not get up to the town for two days; then, coming to anchor before Boston, the passengers went on shore. Captain Peirce accompanied the Governor and his lady in his own boat, at whose departure the ship

* See under 14 June, 1631, *ante*.

gave them seven guns, and the captains at the head of their train-bands on shore stood ready to escort them from the boat to the dwellings provided for them. "Divers vollies and three drakes" saluted them on their landing, "and divers of the Assistants, and most of the people of the near plantations came to welcome them," who brought and sent, for many days, all sorts of provisions, as "fat hogs, kids, venison, poultry, geese, partridges, &c. ; so as the like joy and manifestation of love had never been seen in New England ; and it was a great marvel that so many people, and such store of provisions could be gathered together at so few hours' warning."*

Nov. 11. This rejoicing and festivity was followed in a few days by a Thanksgiving.

Nov. 17. Governor Bradford, of Plymouth, came on a visit to Boston, and, what is rather remarkable, he lodged at night on board the *Lyon*, with Captain Peirce. It may be that accommodations were better there than in the town, owing to the arrival of so many emigrants of late.

Mr. Eliot, immediately after his arrival, began to preach in Mr. Wilson's place, who was yet absent. He left his wife in England, at his first coming over, as did also many others.

Nov. 23. Captain Peirce did not make a very long stay at this time, and sailed for England by way of Virginia, and many went home with him ; among others, Sir Richard Saltonstall's eldest son. They were six weeks in reaching Virginia.

CHAPTER XVI.

Explorations of the adjacent Country. — Spot Pond. — Indian Alarms. — Great Arrival of Corn. — Organization of the General Court. — House of Representatives. — Fort built. — Return of Mr. Wilson. — Importation of Cows. — Arrival of Ministers. — Troublesome Questions. — Visit of Narraganset Indians. — Some punished. — Windmill set up. — The first Meeting-house. — Fears from the Indians. — Complaints and Grievances. — Punishment for Profaneness. — Mr. Stephen Bacheler. — A House of Correction ordered. — Distinguished Strangers. — The Governor entertains them. — Accompanies them to Plymouth. — Account of their Journey. — Trouble about Mr. Eliot. — He leaves Boston.



SOME of the gentlemen of Boston improved a portion of their time during the second winter of their settlement in making excursions into the surrounding wilderness. The Governor, Mr. John Masters, Mr. Robert Feake, and Adam Winthrop, a son of the Governor, were among a party who went up Charles river, "about eight miles above Watertown," as they judged. On coming to "a fair brook on the north side of the river, they named it Beaver brook, because the beavers had shorn down divers great trees there, and made divers dams

* *Winthrop, Prince.*

across the brook. This brook came from a pond a mile from the river." A little further onward they came "to a great rock, upon which stood a high stone, cleft in sunder, that four men might" pass through the fissure; this they called Adam's chair, in compliment to the youngest person in the company. Further up the river, they came to another brook, larger than the former, which they named Masters' brook, because Mr. Masters was the oldest in the company. A high, pointed rock, not far off, they named Mount Feake, Mr. Feake having married the daughter-in-law of the Governor. On the west of Mount Feake, from a very high rock, they could "see all over Neipnett;"* and also Wachuset mountain, which they supposed to be about forty miles distant, and other mountains about sixty miles off, in the north-west.

Feb. 7. In another excursion, in which there went with the Governor Mr. Nowell and Mr. Eliot, they discovered the since interesting body of water called Spot Pond. It "having in the midst an island of about one acre, and very thick with trees of pine and beech; and having divers small rocks standing up here and there in it, they therefore called it Spot Pond;" and, says Winthrop, "they went all about it upon the ice." Not far off they named a certain rock Cheese rock, because "when they went to eat somewhat," they found they had nothing but cheese to eat; "the Governor's man, for haste, forgot" to put in the bread.

Feb. 14. Seven days after, the Governor and some others explored the country as far as Neponset river; but no mention is made of anything remarkable having been discovered. At a Court of

March 6. Assistants it was ordered that Courts, which had been held every three weeks, should, in future, be held on the first Tuesday in every month. During the winter no mention is made of any trouble from the

April 12. Indians; but early in April startling intelligence is brought to Boston of a war between the Narragansets and Pokanokets, and that the Narragansets had sent for the Indians about Boston to go and fight for them, and that Sagamore John had gone with thirty men, and Chikataubut with many of his. The messenger who brought this news came from Plymouth with letters detailing the circumstances, and requesting a quantity of ammunition. The Governor put him up twenty-

* As to what was formerly meant by the Nipmuck or "Neipnett" country there is much of uncertainty. This is not at all strange, inasmuch as there never was a time, probably, when anybody, Indian or Englishman, could truly define its boundaries. — See Book of the INDIANS, Book ii., p. 82 (eleventh edition). The Nipmuck or Nipnet Indians consisted of such as preferred living in the interior to living on the sea-coast, and such as withdrew from the tribes about the coast from some disaffection on their part or that of the tribes to which they belonged. The Nipnets were, therefore, the friends and relatives of the Wampanoags, Narragansets, and other tribes about the arms and inlets of this part of the

coast. The name *Netop* signified *friend* among these tribes, and hence the origin of the name of those inland Indians; the different tribes slightly differing in their pronunciation of it. Not taking these facts into account, writers, both early and late, have puzzled themselves and perplexed their readers in attempts to locate the "Nipmuck Country." When the king's commissioners, in 1741, settled the boundary between Plymouth and Rhode Island, they satisfied themselves that "this Nipmug territory could not be ascertained." — See *Douglass*, i. 398. The commissioners were led to investigate the matter because, by the Grant to Plymouth Colony in 1629, the Nipmuck country was a boundary.

seven pounds of powder; that being "as much as he could carry." April 16. However, a few days after, intelligence came, that the Narragansets, who were reported to have attacked the Pokanokets, at Sowams, had gone in pursuit of the Pequots, and thus the excitement was allayed.

At this time, a Dutch ship arrived from Virginia, with two thousand bushels of corn, which brought four shillings and sixpence the bushel. Thus it is seen that provisions of this sort were now at a fair price.

At a General Court, it was agreed that the Governor, Deputy-May 9. Governor, and Assistants, should be chosen by the whole Court; that the Governor shall always be chosen out of the Assistants chosen for the year ensuing. At this Court Winthrop and Dudley were re-chosen. Ludlow, Nowell, Pyncheon, Bradstreet, Endicott, Humfrey, Coddington, and John Winthrop, junior, were chosen Assistants. Mr. Humfrey and Mr. Coddington were chosen, though out of the country, being daily expected. The Court passed an order that there should be two persons elected in every plantation, to confer with the Court about raising a public stock.

Thus, in matters of revenue at least, it was found necessary that the people should have a voice, and hence this provision for a sort of House of Representatives.* Hitherto some of the measures of the government had been complained of as arbitrary and oppressive, which may have been the occasion of this new branch in the government.

The idea of fortifying Newtown having been laid aside, it was thought that fortifications should not be dispensed with altogether, and, according May 24. to some previous arrangements, it was agreed to build a fort in that part of Boston called Corn Hill. Boston people commenced it on this day. Charlestown men came and worked on it the following day, Roxbury men the next day, and Dorchester next. The May 25. name of the hill on which it was built was changed to Fort Hill, which it still retains.†

All was now bustle and stir in Boston, and many a heart May 24. leaped for joy. The ship *Whale*, Captain Graves, being announced as in the harbor, and on board of her was the beloved Wilson, who went for England the last year for his wife; also Mr. Richard Dunmer, and about thirty passengers, all in health. Of seventy cows sent in the same ship, two only were lost on the passage.

For these blessings, and especially for the signal victories June 5. gained by Gustavus Adolphus, in Germany, by which he rescued

* The towns accordingly chose the following gentlemen pursuant to the order :

1. Mr. Oldham and Mr. Masters, for Watertown.
2. Robert Coles and John Johnson, for Roxbury.
3. Mr. William Colborn and William Cesbrough, for Boston.
4. Richard Wright and ———, for Saugus.
5. Mr. Lockwood and Mr. Spencer, for Newton.
6. Mr. Gibbons and Mr. Palmer, for Charlestown.
7. Mr. Conant and Peter Palfrey, for Salem.
8. William Phelps and John Gallard, for Dorchester,

Again we meet with several names before duly honored in the preceding pages. But,

not to wait for another opportunity, we here insert a fac-simile of the autograph of ROGER CONANT, the father of Salem.

† There can be no mistake in locating this first fort in Boston. Mr. Wood says, "This

Roger Conant

that country from the Popish yoke, a thanksgiving was ordered to be celebrated throughout all the Plantations.

Some inconvenience had begun to be experienced by the colonists from an over-familiarity of the natives, who, under pretence of trade, would intrude at all times and seasons into private houses. Therefore, at this Court, it was agreed that every plantation should set up a trucking house. This, it was thought, would abate the difficulty.

On the same day this Court was held, there arrived the ship William and Francis, Captain Thomas, with about sixty passengers; among whom came Mr. Thomas Weld, and "old Mr. Stephen Bachelor, being aged seventy-one, with their families, and many other honest men."

The same day, also came in the Charles of Barnstaple, and in her was Mr. Timothy Hatherly, who afterwards laid the foundation of Scituate. There were about twenty passengers. She also brought an important accession of "near eighty cows, and six mares, all safe and in health." The former ship sailed from London on the ninth of March, and the Charles, from Barnstaple, on the tenth of April, and they met near Cape Ann. Mr. Edward Winslow, of Plymouth, was a passenger in the William and Francis.

June 12. Few thanksgivings have happened in Boston, probably, more heartily celebrated than that appointed to take place on the morrow. To make it still more joyous, however, another ship is added to the large number of late arrivals, — the James, near eight weeks from London, Captain Grant, with twelve passengers. She sailed with sixty-one heifers, but by what fatality she lost forty of them on the voyage, is not mentioned.

The "Congregation at Boston" were in considerable trouble, about this time, respecting the following matters, namely: whether one person might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder at the same time? If not, then which should he lay down? Whether there might be divers pastors in the same Church? These questions weighed so heavily on the Church of Boston, that the members wrote to the neighboring Churches for advice in what appeared to be an alarming difficulty. The Churches addressed returned an unanimous answer to the first question, in the negative; but on the second and third, they did not presume to adventure an opinion; and how the Boston Church finally extricated itself, does not appear.

Aug. 3. Less is heard of annoyance from the many Indians which must have visited Boston, probably every day, than could reasonably be expected, when it is considered that they could not have had any adequate idea of the white people's laws, and their rules of propriety in intercourse. At this time, Mecomah, afterwards known as Miantonomoh, or Miantonomo,* with his wife and twelve attendants, or

Necke of land," on which Boston is situated, "is not above foure miles in compasse, in forme almost square, having on the South-side at one corner, a great broad hill, whereon

is planted a Fort, which can command any ship as she sayles into any Harbour within the hill Bay." — *New England's Prospect*, 52.

* This orthography of the great Chief's

sannaps, as these were called by Chiefs, visited Boston. Two days after, it being Sunday, Miantonomo, being at meeting with the English, three of his sannaps went in the mean time, and broke into a house. After the meeting, complaint being made to the Governor, he complains to the Chief. It was required by the Governor that the offenders should be punished, and that the Chief should make one of the sannaps beat the others. Indians do not believe in corporeal punishment, and hence it was with some difficulty that the beating operation was brought about. However, it was at length performed; after which the offenders were sent out of town; but the Governor took Miantonomo and the rest of his company to his house, "and made much of them." They, however, left for home the same evening. It might have been difficult for the Chief to understand which of the two was the greater offence, prying into an empty house, or whipping Indians on a Sunday. At a Court not long before, some of Chikataubut's men had been "convented and convicted" for assaulting some English at Dorchester. They were set in the bilboes, and Chikataubut made to beat them himself.

Some time in the month of August, a windmill, which had been erected near Newton, was taken down and brought to Boston. It was set up on the hill in the north part of the town,* which hill afterwards received the name of Copp's Hill, from an inhabitant named William Copp. The windmill was removed from the country, "because it would not grind but with a westerly wind."

Although there had been regular meetings on Sundays, in August. Boston, for about two years, no Meeting-house† had been built. Private houses had been the places for public worship as soon as they were built, and before they were provided, the branches of the neighboring trees had been the only shelter for minister as well as people.‡ But Mr. Wilson had now returned; the place was becoming prosperous, and funds had been raised to the amount of one hundred and twenty pounds, which were to be applied to the erection of a Meeting-house, and a house for the minister.

The sort of building first erected for divine service in Boston, has been mentioned in a former chapter, § and such representation there given as the known facts about it seemed to justify. This first

name gives pretty truly its pronunciation, probably. In Danforth's Almanack, for 1649, there is this distich or epigram:—

"And by thy fall comes in the English wo,
If it may be, by Miantonomo."

See BOOK OF THE INDIANS, v. 697.

* "Equall in bignesse," to Fort Hill, "whereon stands a Winde-mill. To the North west [of Fort Hill] is an high Mountain, with three little rising hills on the top of it, wherefore it is called the *Tra-mount*. From the top of this Mountain [since Beacon Hill] a man may overlooke all the Islands which lie before the Bay, and disery such ships as are upon

the Sea-coast." — Wood, *New England's Prospect*, 33.

† Many of the Puritan fathers carefully avoided the term *Church*, when speaking of their place of worship. The Catholics had Churches; the Protestants had Meeting-houses. Quakers have no Churches to this day, though they have Meeting-houses.

‡ "Before they could build at Boston, they lived many of them in tents and wigwams at Charlestown; their *Meeting-Place* being abroad under a tree; where I have heard Mr. Wilson and Mr. Phillips preach many a good Sermon." — Clap, *Memoirs*, 42.

§ See page 104, ante.

rude structure, according to the best information Mr. Wadsworth* could collect, stood "about nine or ten years." In 1640, it was replaced by a superior edifice, in which the first sermon was preached on the twenty-third of August, of that year. The "Old Meeting-house" stood, according to Mr. Wadsworth, "near where the Town House now [1713] is, at a small distance from the south-east corner of it. This indicates the precise spot to be that on which now, 1853, Brazer's Block stands, on the south side of State Street.

The house erected in 1640, was of wood, and stood on the site now occupied by Joy's Building, in Washington Street, a little to the south of, and opposite to the head of State Street. When it had stood seventy-one years, it was destroyed by fire. The last sermon preached in it before it was burned, was preached by Mr. Wadsworth, on the thirtieth of September, 1711, and two days after, namely, October the second, it was consumed. Mr. Wadsworth says, "Considering the place where it was, and how many wooden buildings were near it, 'twas a wonder of Providence it stood so long. 'T was by many tho't not convenient to build another Meeting-House with wood, in that place, where other buildings would probably be near and thick about it, for fear of fire; and the winter [of 1711—12] coming on, brick-work could not be engag'd in till the following spring; and when the season did allow, the work was diligently set about. The stone foundation was begun April the fourteenth, 1712. They begun their brick-work, May twenty-ninth, and finished it fit for the roof, September the eighteenth, the same year. So that the brick-work was begun and finished in less than four months. They began to raise the roof, October second, 1712, just that day twelve month after the former house was burnt. 'T was about a year and seven months from the burning of the former, to our meeting in the present Meeting-House."

Mr. Wadsworth supposed the cost of the house would be "not far short of four thousand pounds;" and "that there had been no essay to raise one penny" towards the cost of it "by rate or tax. All that had been done was done voluntarily and without restraint. Of all that were chosen of any committees," he continues, "referring to this whole affair, I don't remember that any to this day [November, 1713] has been removed by death, except one worthy gentleman, Mr. Thomas Brattle† (who had a principal hand in modelling this house), yet he

* The Rev. Benjamin Wadsworth. He was son of Capt. Samuel Wadsworth, of Milton, who, with his company, was cut off by the Indians, at Sudbury, 21st April, 1676. Mr. Wadsworth began to preach in the "First Church" in 1696—fifteen years before it was burned. He was chosen President of Harvard College, in 1725, and died in 1737, aged 67. He was the author of many sermons.

† He died 18 May, 1713. He was the principal founder of Brattle-street Church. From his family the Church and Street take their name. The Rev. William Brattle, of Cambridge, was his brother. He wrote an account

lived till we met here for public worship ; and once, if not oftener, he was here for that purpose."

Speaking of the progress of the building, Mr. Wadsworth says, --- "There has been much hard work, heavy work, and some work high and lofty ; and so the more dangerous, yet in the whole managing this work hitherto not one person has by any hurtful accident lost his life ; not one has lost any one limb, nor has one bone been broken."

August 7. Among other acts of a Court at Boston, Mr. William Pyncheon was chosen Treasurer for the year ensuing, or till another shall be chosen.

August 14. This summer had been wet and cold, and crops were very poor, which was discouraging to many. Corn, on which they depended much, having no other grain, came in so light, that "great want threatened them." Besides, there were fires, and alarms by the Indians. Mr. John Oldham had a small house burnt down at Watertown, "made all of clapboards."

August 30. An express came to Governor Winthrop, that "ten Sagamores and many Indians were assembled at Muddy River," but what design they had, nobody knew. The Governor thought it best to ascertain whether their assembling at that point portended evil, and therefore ordered Captain Underhill to proceed to that neighborhood, with twenty musketeers, to reconnoitre. When the Captain arrived at Roxbury, he learned that the Indians had dispersed, and this was the only news that could be obtained about them.

Sept. 4. There had been complaints from Indians of injuries to their crops from the domestic animals belonging to the English. This could not be avoided, because the Indians were the very last people in the world that would think of making fences ; besides, it was very difficult for them to see why such labor should be required of them, because the animals which intruded upon them belonged, not to them, but to the English. However, the Court made Sagamore John (Wonohaquaham) promise that, "the next year, and forever after, he would fence his corn against all kinds of cattle." At the same Court, a man was ordered "to be severely whipped, for cursing, swearing, then justifying the same, and glorying in it." Another man, who had sold a gun, pistol, and powder and shot, to Sagamore James, (Montowampate) was sentenced to be whipped, and branded in the face with a hot iron.

The late strange assembling of Indians at Muddy-river, and several other circumstances, caused the people to apprehend that the natives were plotting to cut them off. They were led to this apprehension, because, by some of them, "divers insolent speeches were used, and they did not frequent the houses of the English as they were wont ; and one of their Powaws told them that there was a conspiracy among the

of the Witchcraft in the County of Essex, which is printed in the 5th volume of the *Mass. Hist. Colls.* Several of his communications were inserted in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, of which he was a member.

We might reasonably expect to see a minute account of this gentleman and his family, in a history of the Church of which he was a principal founder.

Indians." Upon receipt of this intelligence, "a camp was pitched at Boston, in the night, to exercise the soldiers, apprehending need might be." To try the valor of his soldiers, Captain Underhill caused an alarm to be given upon their quarters. The result was anything but creditable to their courage. Most of them were paralyzed with fear, and their conduct was disgraceful to soldiers. Hence the people thought, if such men must be depended upon to defend their wives and children, their chance of safety was poor indeed.

Sept. 14. Fears from the Indians still increased; and the Governor sent for "the three next Sagamores" to come immediately to Boston; but whether they obeyed the summons or not, is not mentioned. Meantime the arrival of the favorite old ship, the *Lyon*, Captain Peirce, had a tendency to divert the public mind from

Sept. 16. fancied rumors of hostile Indians; especially as he brought one hundred and twenty-three passengers with him, most of whom were, doubtless, near friends or relatives to many in Boston, and its immediate vicinity. The *Lyon* was eight weeks from the Land's End.

Sept. 27. The alarms from the Indians could not have sunk very deep into the minds of the Authorities, at least, for they had ordered a Thanksgiving for the safe arrival of the *Lyon*, which is now kept. In the same proclamation, however, "the prosperous success of the King of Sweden" was comprehended.

Oct. 2. Among several stringent orders of a Court now held, were the following:—"Mr. Bachelor, of Lynn, was required to forbear exercising his gifts until some sandals be removed." A man is sentenced "for theft on the Indians, at Damaril's Cove, for drunkenness and fornication," to pay a fine of five pounds to the Court, ten pounds to Henry Way and John Holman, to be "severely whipt, branded on the hand with a hot iron, and banished; with penalty to be put to death if he ever return." That no persons should take any tobacco publicly; if they did, for every time they took it, they should be fined one penny.

At this Court, it was by general consent determined, that Boston was the fittest place for public meetings of any in the Bay; and it was therefore ordered, that a House of Correction, and a House for the Beadle, should be built here "with speed."

Oct. 18. It is worthy of note, that, notwithstanding settlements had been forming upon the Pascataqua, about ten years, yet they brought their corn to be ground at Boston, this year. Captain Thomas Camock and Mr. Edward Godfrey, a merchant, afterwards Governor of Maine, brought up in Mr. Neal's pinnace at one time, sixteen hogsheads of corn, which was ground at the windmill. Whether it took from this time "to November" to grind that quantity of corn, is not known, though it is recorded that Captain Camock and Mr. Godfrey did not return till November. This, however, is not a very important question to be settled, especially as the two gentlemen, doubtless, enjoyed the fine autumnal weather as guests of the Governor, Captain Peirce, of

the Lyon, Mr. Wilson, and others. Having been waited upon by Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Wilson, on board the Lyon, the Captain of her took them all into his shallop, and proceeded to Wessaguscus. Thence Captain Peirce returned to his ship, being about to sail for Virginia, while the rest of the company "proceed on foot to Plymouth," to pay Governor Bradford a visit. They did not arrive there till "within the evening." By some means, not mentioned, their approach to Plymouth was known to the authorities there, "and the Governor, Mr. Bradford, a very discreet and grave man, with Mr. Brewster, and some others, went forth and met them without the town," conducted them to the Governor's house, where they were "together entertained." They were likewise "feasted every day at several houses." On Sunday they partook of the sacrament with the church, "and in the afternoon, Mr. Roger Williams, according to their custom, proposed a question, to which the pastor, Mr. Smith, spoke briefly. Then Mr. Williams prophesied. After that, the Governor of Plymouth, who had studied the Hebrew language, and antiquities, spoke to the question. After him, the elder [Mr. Brewster], a man of learning; then two or three more of the congregation; then the elder, agreeable to Acts xiii. 14, 15, desired Governor Winthrop and Mr. Wilson to speak to it, which they did. When this was ended, the deacon, Mr. Fuller,* put the congregation in mind of their duty of contribution; whereupon, the Governor and all the rest went down† to the deacon's seat, and put it in the bag, and then returned."‡

Oct. 31. About five of the clock, on Wednesday morning, Governor Winthrop and his company left Plymouth; Mr. Bradford, Mr. Smith and others accompanying them "near half a mile out of town in the dark. Lieutenant Holmes§ and others went with them to the Great Swamp, about ten miles; when they came to the Great river,|| they were carried over by one Ludham,¶ as they had been when they went; so they came that evening to Wessaguscus, where they were

* DR. SAMUEL FULLER, who came in the Mayflower. He died the next year. His autograph is so rare, that I was assured not long since it was not known at Plymouth. The subjoined fac-simile of it is copied from

Samuel
Fuller

the letter extracted *ante*, p. 132. For an account of this early physician, see *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* ii. 240. His will is contained in the same work, vol. iv. 33. — See, also, *Morton's Memorial*, Eliot, Allen, Thacher (*Med. Biog.*), and *Russell's Guide to Plymouth*.

† By this phraseology, the manner in which the floor of the house was constructed is easily conjectured. To those acquainted with the

interior of old school-houses, no explanation is necessary.

‡ There is nothing to be found, certainly nothing is known to the author, which gives so true, simple, and beautiful a picture of the manner in which the Pilgrims performed their devotions, as this. If a little foreign to the *History of Boston*, no one, I think, will wish it had been omitted.

§ John Holmes was taxed in Plymouth, in 1633 and 1634. The name has always been common in Duxbury. Lieut. William Holmes was admitted a resident of Plymouth, 1634. He was an officer in the Pequot war. — See *Mr. Winsor's Hist. Duxbury*, 267-8; *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.* iv. 233-4.

|| Mr. Prince, *Chronology*, 407, supposes this was what was afterwards called North river, between Pembroke and Hanover.

¶ The name of *Ludden* occurs on the Weymouth records, 1680.

comfortably entertained, as before, with store of turkies, geese, ducks, &c., and next day came safe to Boston."



WINTHROP CROSSING THE RIVER.

To go from Boston to Plymouth in the middle of the nineteenth century is too small a matter to be mentioned, though if one were obliged to walk over the ground, even now, on a good road, it would be talked about some, probably; especially if performed by a citizen of the Metropolis; and it is more than probable that the circumstance would be "talked about" in the newspapers. But to go through forty miles of wilderness in 1632, be obliged to tarry over night on the way, and be carried over a river on a man's back,* is a different affair altogether. A voyage to Iceland or Cape Horn would not excite half the curiosity to the people of Boston now, as the journey to Plymouth did then to the inhabitants of that day.

In this "progress" of the great Boston chief, he observes, in the excellent account of it which he has left for posterity, that, after he and his company had passed the Great river, and he had named the passage "Luddam's Ford," thence, he says, "they came to a place called Hue's Cross." That the Governor, "being displeased at the name," changed it to "Hue's Folly;" because, he said, if it were suffered to go by that name, it might give the Papists grounds to claim for their religion that it had been planted in these parts before that of the Protestants. Readers hereafter may smile at this, but they should remember that the fathers of New England were far from smiling at anything that reminded them of the Church of Rome. They had lived too near the times of the fires of Smithfield to think lightly of anything that brought that dreadful period of their country's history to their minds.

Nov. 2. Many of the good people of Boston were disturbed, about this period, because the reverend Mr. John Eliot had made up his mind to leave them and settle at Roxbury. They had intended to "call" him to be their teacher, but Roxbury had also called him;
Nov. 5. "and though Boston labored all they could" to prevent it, "yet he could not be diverted, so they of Boston dismissed him."

* Those who have heard of the anecdote, who have heard that anecdote, can fancy how the Governor of Massachusetts looked on the neck of John Ludham, fording the Great river, "the water being up to the crotch." Winthrop's annotator gives the name of the *ferryman*, Luddam, but I follow Prince, who followed or used Winthrop in the original. For the poetical part of the name I am responsible.

Nov. 7. By an order of court, it was declared "that the captains shall train their companies but once a month; that Sir Richard Saltonstall shall give Sagamore John a hogshhead of corn, for the hurt his cattle did his corn; that the neck of land between Powder Hill and Pullen Point* shall belong to Boston forever."

Nov. 21. Among the afflictions of the people of Boston, that of piracy now finds a place. Governor Winthrop received a letter from Captain Walter Neal of Pascataqua, informing him that Dixy Bull (who, it seems, was a man of note upon the coast) had turned pirate, and had induced fifteen others to join him, and with them he had rifled Pemaquid, and taken several boats in that region. On receipt of this intelligence, the Governor and Council decided to send an armed vessel with twenty men, who were to join others at Pascataqua, and then to proceed in quest of the piratical crew. "But snow, frost, and contrary winds" prevented the sailing of the vessel. The following May, however, a "pinnace" was despatched to the eastern coast, which returned after a cruise of several weeks, or two months, whose commander, Lieut. Mason,† reported that the pirates were not to be found, though it was conjectured they had "gone to the French." This is the first account of pirates on the coast of New England, and the mischief done by them does not appear to have been of much amount, or not so much as was at first apprehended.‡ The check they met with about the time, or soon after they commenced their career, at Pemaquid, no doubt had the effect to dishearten them, and put a stop to their ravages; for as they were about to depart from the last-named place, Mr. Abraham Shurt's men attacked them, killing one of the ringleaders on the spot. They took one Anthony Dix or Dicks, master of a vessel, and endeavored to persuade him to pilot them to Virginia, which he refused to do, and they fled to the eastward. These facts Mr. Dix told to Captain Roger Clap; and the latter adds, "Bull got into England, but God destroyed this wretched man." By this it may be inferred that he was executed there for piracy.§

* "The chiefe islands which keepe out the winde and the sea from disturbing the harbours, are, first, Deare Iland, which lies within a flight shot of Pullin-point. This island is so called because of the deare which often swimme thither from the Maine, when they are chased by the wolles: Some have killed sixteene deare in a day upon this island. The opposite shore is called Pullin-point, because that is the usuall channell boats use to passe thorow into the bay; and the tyde being very strong, they are constrained to goe a-shore and hale their boates by the seasing, or roades; whereupon, it was called Pullin-point." — *Wood, N. Eng. Prospect*, 34-5.

† I am not in possession of sufficient evidence to admit of my unqualifiedly stating that this *Lieut. Mason* was the same who afterwards went to Connecticut, and led its forces in the destruction of the Pequots. It may be doubted whether Capt. John Mason

were now in New England. Is it at all likely that *this* "brave soldier who had served in the Low Country wars under Sir Thomas Fairfax," so as specially to attract the attention of that general, should not be honored with a commission above that of a lieutenant in New England? Is it not more than probable, that so prominent a character as Capt. John Mason would have been found among the freemen before 1635? In that year his name is found entered "CAPTAIN JOHN MASON."

‡ See *Prince*, 409, 431. — *Winthrop*, i. 96, 104.

§ In the Treasurer's accounts there are these items which relate to the expedition for the suppression of piracy. "Paid Mr. Alcock for a fat hog to victual the pinnace for the taking [attempt to take] Dixie Bull, £3. 10s. Paid Goodman Lyman for a fat hog for the same use, £3 10s. Paid Mr. Shurd, of Pemaquid, for provisions for the pinnace, 26½ lb.

Nov. 22. A fast is kept at Boston, but the particular occasion of its appointment is not mentioned, though it was probably held on account of choosing a pastor and ruling elder in the church; as Mr. Wilson, formerly their teacher, was chosen pastor, and Mr. Thomas Oliver ruling elder. They were both ordained "by imposition of hands; first by the teacher and the two deacons, in the name of the congregation, upon the elder, and then, by the elder and the deacons, upon the pastor." *

Johnson calls this year "a yeare of sad distresses," which, he says, "was ended with a terrible cold winter, with weekly snowes, and fierce frosts betweene while, congealing Charles river, as well from the town to seaward as above, insomuch that men might frequently passe from one island to another upon the ice." †

Of the three ministers that arrived this year, mention has been made of one of them, Mr. Stephen Bachelor, who was the first. The second was Mr. Thomas Welde, and the third, Mr. Thomas James. Mr. Welde settled in Roxbury; the "diligent people thereof early preventing their brethren of other churches by calling him to be their pastor." The same writer says he was "valiant in faith, both in the pulpit and by his pen; and wading through the cares and toils of this wilderness for seven years, returns to his native country." He came from Terling Place ‡ in Essex, England, and arrived in Boston on the fifth of June, and about a month after was settled over the first church in Roxbury. Mr. John Eliot was afterwards his colleague. "In 1639, he assisted Mr. Mather and Mr. Eliot in making the tuneful New England version of the Psalms. In 1641 he was sent with Mr. Hugh Peters to England as an agent for the province, and never returned. He was settled at Gateshead, but was ejected in 1660, and died the same year." §

Mr. Welde was interested in the Antinomian controversy which agitated not only Boston, but the whole country, and no doubt was as far from sympathizing with Mrs. Hutchinson and her friends in that unhappy affair, as were Mr. Wilson and Mr. Winthrop; while at the same time much injustice has been done him by attributing to him the authorship of that book of "malignity," entitled "A Short Story of the Rise, Reign, and Ruin of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines, that infected the Churches of New England," &c.; it now fully appearing, from its own internal evidence, that Winthrop had a principal hand in it. || That Mr. Welde introduced it with a preface, is true, and it is

beaver, £13 2s. 6d. Lieut. Mason for his service in the pinnace, £10. Paid by a bill from Mr. Samuel Maverick, being husband and merchant of the pinnace, for a month's wages, to Elias Maverick, £2. Paid for victuals upon his account, £2 5s. — *Pinchon Papers*, 3 Cols. Ms. H. S. viii. 232-3.

* Prince, *Chron.*, 409.

† *Wond. Work. Prov.* 55.

‡ Dr. Eliot says he came from "Tirling in the Co. of Essex;" but as there is no such place as *Tirling*, I conclude *Terling* should

be substituted, which I have accordingly done.

§ Allen, *Amer. Biog. Dict.*, 763.

|| Since the text above was written, a gentleman has put into my hands a portion of an unpublished work, from which the following extract is taken: — "The Rev. Thomas Welde, who reluctantly wrote the preface to 'Rise, Reign and Ruine,' says, in apology, 'I should have been loath to have revived them [the troubles] on earth; but considering that their names are already in print, without any act of

equally true that the spirit of the preface accords very well with that exhibited in the body of the work; excepting that it falls somewhat short of it in malignity of expression.

Mr. Thomas James, who came to Boston at the same time with Mr. Welde, continued here till November, when, with a part of the members of the church of Boston, namely, eighteen men and fifteen women, he was dismissed to form a church in Charlestown. Mr. James continued there till 1636; by which time, according to Gov. Winthrop, "Satan had stirred up such a spirit of discord between the minister and people," that the former asked and received a dismissal. He finally returned to England, and died at Needham, in Suffolk, about 1687, at the age of eighty-six.* At the time of this separation from the Boston church, there remained here belonging to it but about seventy or eighty male members. These probably constituted the body of the inhabitants.†

mine, and that the necessity of the times calls for it,' 'and being earnestly pressed,' 'I, therefore, in a strait of time, not having had many hours, have drawn up the following preface.' — To charge this book upon Mr. Welde, against his solemn testimony to the contrary, is as absurd as it is unjust. It is, indeed, criminal so to do, unless, first of all, Mr. Welde's character be impeached, which, to the writer's knowledge, has not been even attempted.

* A good and somewhat extended account of Mr. James is given by Dr. Allen, who might very happily have added much value to his article from Prince, 413-14, without occupying any space beyond that which he has employed in combatting the learned Dr. Savage's pecu-

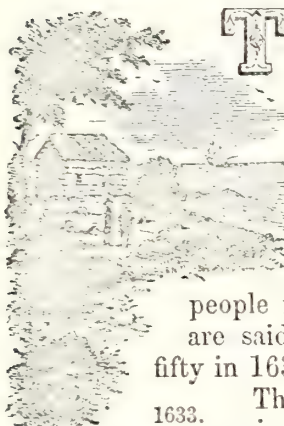
liar notions regarding the agency of the Devil. — Mr. Prince says, "When I lived at Combs in Suffolk, from 1711 to 1716, Mr. Thomas Denny [See N. Eng. H. G. Reg. v. 382], a pious and ancient gentleman there, informed me, that he knew the Rev. Mr. Thomas James, minister of Needham, about four miles off, who came from New England; that though he was much beloved and esteemed, yet when he died, the clergyman who came in his place would not allow him to be buried in any other part of the church-yard but the unconsecrated corner, left for rogues and excommunicates, though the clergyman owed his benefice to the noble uprightness of Mr. James' heart."

— *N. Eng. Chron.*

† Foxcroft's *Century Sermon*, p. 12.

CHAPTER XVII.

Few Inhabitants arrive in 1631. — French come to Maine. — Distressing Rumors. — Fort ordered at Nantasket. — Its Erection abandoned. — Mr. Bachelor freed from a former Order of Court. — Scarcity of Provisions. — Corn from Virginia. — Shipwreck of Captain Peirce. — Ship arrives with Passengers. — General Election. — Appearance of Locust. — Captain Stone. — His Difficulty at Connecticut. — His Trouble at Boston. — Banished. — Murdered by the Indians. — Arrival of the *Elizabeth Bonadventure*. — A Thanksgiving. — Orders of Court. — Proceedings relative to travelling at Connecticut. — Censured by Plymouth. — Remarkable Providences. — Failure of Crops. — Ship built at Medford. — Her Voyages.

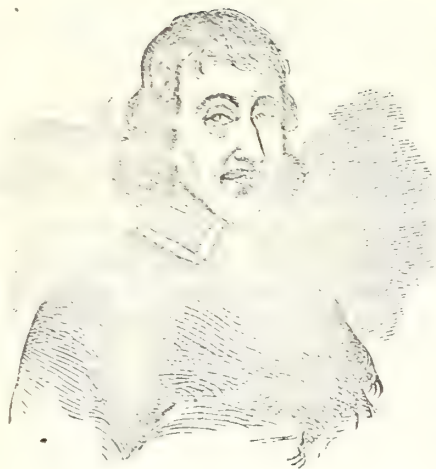


THE accession of inhabitants the year following the settlement of Boston was very small, owing mainly to the bad reports carried to England by many that returned in the fall of 1630, and in the ensuing spring. The country was not altogether untruly represented by those who described it as “a hideous wilderness, possessed with barbarous Indians; very cold, sickly, rocky, barren, unfit for culture, and like to keep the people miserable.” So that, in 1631, but about ninety are said to have come over, and about two hundred and fifty in 1632.

1633. The French, in pursuance of the treaty of St. Germain, now took possession of Acadia; in doing which, they seized some of the effects of the Plymouth people at Penobscot. The news of these transactions coming to Boston, much alarm was felt, and serious troubles anticipated. The fears of the people here were not a little heightened by the additional news, that the Cardinal of France had sent over several Priests and Jesuits; characters more dreaded by the Fathers of Boston, probably, than any others, unless he, whom they considered the father of them, might be an exception.* Governor Winthrop, therefore, “called the Jan. 17. Assistants to Boston, and the Ministers and Captains, and some other chief men, to advise what was fit to be done.” It was agreed that a fort should be forthwith constructed at Nantasket, and that begun in Boston should immediately be finished; that a plantation should be commenced at Agawam, it being considered “the best place in the land for tillage and cattle, least an enemy, finding it void, should take it.” John Winthrop, the younger, son of the Governor, was appointed to conduct the occupation of Agawam; but he could

* This terror, or hatred, or both, of everything relating to the Church of Rome, is prominent throughout the entire history of the Fathers of New England; nor is this at all to be wondered at, when we reflect upon their and their fathers' sufferings, as remarked in a previous page (146); and it may here be further added, that the spiritual leaders of the Puritans, men to whom all looked up for

counsel and direction, inculcated, with their great abilities and the whole weight of their character, the most illiberal as well as contemptuous feelings for all adherents to that Church. To instance a single example from one of them, see John Rogers' *Tabernacle for the Sun, or Church Discipline*, p. 61. 4to. London, 1653.



John Winthrop

be allowed only "twelve men out of the Bay." Others were to be supplied "at the coming of the next ships."*

Feb. 21. Meanwhile preparations had been made to fortify Nantasket, agreeably to the decision of the authorities above mentioned; and, judging from the company which now set out to make preliminary arrangements, it was a matter of great moment with the people of Boston. The Governor, four Assistants, three Ministers, and eighteen others, set off in three boats for the point to be fortified.

Feb. 24. They returned the third day after, and reported that they

had abandoned the design, because of the "too great charge," and the "little use it would be." The hard fare of the company during the three days probably had some influence upon the decision they came to; for doubtless every man of them knew the situation of Nantasket as well before they went as after. When they set out from Boston the wind was from the west, and the weather fine, but there soon came on one of those sudden changes so common here. The wind hauled into the north-west, and blew a heavy gale, and the cold became extreme. The party were not prepared for this, but they were compelled to continue there two nights, "forced to lodge upon the ground in an open cottage [hovel], upon a little old straw which they pulled from the thatch." Besides, their provisions failed them, and they were obliged to eat a poor sort of muscle, which was the best the place afforded at that time.

French soldiers and priests were indeed to be dreaded, but this comi-

* The names of ten only are found recorded. These were probably all that could then be found ready to go, or that could be spared. Their names were—

John Winthrop, Jr.,	John Gage,
Mr. [William] Clerke,	Thomas Hardy,
Robert Coles,	William Perkins,
Thomas Howlet,	Mr. [John] Thorndike,
John Biggs,	William Sargeant.

At a Court held April 1st, these are entered as "already gone" to plant at Agawam; and it was ordered that none else should go without leave of the Court. — *Prince*. Clerke and Coles were among the first freemen, 19 Oct., 1630. Howlet, Biggs and Gage, were later; and the others do not appear to have taken the oath, at least early. Thorndike returned to England in 1663, and died there about 1670, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. He

was of the family of Thorndike of Great Carlton, in Lincolnshire, and was son of Herbert Thorndike; and Herbert, who had a prebend in Westminster, and of whom remain ample materials for a biography, was his brother, which may account for John's being buried in that Abbey. This Herbert, in his will, proved 15 July, 1672, directed his body to be buried near his brother John's, whose children he mentioned, and wished to divert from the thoughts of returning to New England. From Paul, son of John Thorndike, by Mary, daughter of James Patch, are descended those bearing the name in New England, so far as known. Paul, son of Paul, was the father of Andrew, who was the father of Israel, the well-known merchant of our age. — *From a MS. pedigree in the hands of J. W. Thornton, Esq.*

pany no doubt concluded that they could meet them better at Boston than they could at Nantasket, under such forlorn circumstances as they had witnessed. They, however, soon learned that the French were upon no hostile design ; they came to trade and fish upon their newly-acquired territory.

At the Court now held at Boston, the order prohibiting Mr. Bachelor from "exercising his gifts" was reversed, and he was left free to gather a church. It may, therefore, be very safely concluded, that the "scandals" causing the former order were truly *scandals*,* and that actually there was no cause of complaint against this ancestor of one of the most numerous posterities in the United States. The members of this Court were the Governor, Deputy, Ludlow, Endicot, Pyncheon, Nowell, Winthrop, Jr., and Bradstreet.

Owing partly to the previous cold and wet summer, and partly to the long and severe winter just passed, provisions were again scarce in Boston, and the usual supply had not been received from England. But, unexpectedly, there arrived from Virginia, in the beginning of March, a Mr. Stretton, with a vessel loaded with corn ; for which he found a ready market at ten shillings sterling the bushel.

This was an age of disasters ; but when they had their beginning it would be as difficult to determine as it would be to say when they will end. But this tenth of April was a day of great sadness and sorrow to many, if not to all the inhabitants of Boston. It will be remembered, that after Captain Peirce had entertained the Governor and several others on board his ship in October last, he sailed for England by way of Virginia. He had a fair run along the coast ; but, on the second of November, about five in the morning, in or near latitude $37\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, owing to the negligence of one of his mates, whose watch it was, his ship struck on a shoal, and was cast away near Feak's Island,† about ten leagues from the Capes of Virginia. There were on board thirty-eight seamen and passengers, of whom seven of the former and five of the latter were lost. The ship went to pieces the next day, and nothing could be saved except a hogshead of beaver, and a few articles which drifted ashore, of trifling value.

The intelligence of this shipwreck was brought to Boston by Mr. Hodges, a mate of Captain Peirce, and a letter was received from the Captain himself at Plymouth, where a considerable part of his cargo was owned, giving an account of his misfortune ; more in the style of an "improvement" to an ancient sermon, however, than like the plain epistle of a hardy mariner. By this letter his friends learned that he

* Though the MS. was perfectly plain, the printer made this word read *sandals* on page 144, *ante*.

† Some of our ancestors seem to have had a disposition to perpetuate their names, or others had for them, by conferring them upon hills, islands, &c. With regard to the name of Feake, there has been rather a failure ; for Feake's island has disappeared, at least from

modern maps, and Mount Feake is known only to the reader of Governor Winthrop's Journal. How and when an island on the coast of Virginia received the name, I have not thought worth the pains of inquiry. In Cromwell's time, there was a "Mr. Feaks" who had the honor to preach before the Lord Mayor of London on some occasions.

had lost "his whole estate for the most part," and that they had lost what they had ventured, even their books of accounts; but nothing is said about the people and passengers that were drowned, about which all contemporary accounts are also entirely silent, further than these pages witness.* It was nine days after the ship was cast away before the survivors could find any English on the coast, during which time their sufferings were exceedingly great.

In the course of the month of May, two ships arrived with important freights at Boston, the *William and Jane*,† Captain Burdock. He had thirty passengers, "and ten cows or more." His voyage was accomplished from London hence in six weeks. The name of the other ship was the *Mary and Jane*, Captain Rose; she was one week longer than the other on her passage. In her came one hundred and ninety-six passengers. Two children had died by the way. In this ship came Mr. William Coddington and his lady, whom he had lately married.

May 29. The time for the meeting of the General Court having arrived, there were present the Governor, Deputy, Treasurer (Pyncheon), Nowell, Coddington, Winthrop, Jr., Bradstreet. The Court proceeded, by erection of hands, to a choice of officers, and Mr. Winthrop was elected Governor, Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, Mr. Roger Ludlow, Mr. Endicott, Mr. Pyncheon, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Nowell, Mr. Winthrop, Jr., Mr. Bradstreet, Sir Richard Saltonstall, and Mr. Humfrey, Assistants, for the ensuing year.

Notice is taken by the early writers of the appearance this spring, "especially all the month of May," of innumerable "great sort of flies, like for bigness to wasps or humble-bees, which come out of holes in the ground, eat the green things, and make such a constant yelling noise as all the woods ring of them, and deafens the hearers." These "flies" were a species of locust, and this was their first appearance to the English settlers, concerning which they were ready to adopt the superstitious belief of the Indians, "that their appearance portended a great time of sickness;" not thinking that any other occurrence might as well bear the same interpretation, and that what always had happened through all time reached by history, would, in all likelihood, occur again.

June 2. Considerable disturbance was occasioned upon the arrival of Captain John Stone from Connecticut river. He had put in there on his way to Boston from Virginia. While he lay there, at the Dutch plantation, a pinnace came in from Plymouth. It is well known to the readers of New England history, that about this time a difficulty existed between the Dutch of New Netherlands and Plymouth Colony, about the right to territory on that river, though a more trifling affair appears to have occasioned the present difficulty. Stone and the Dutch governor had been free with liquor, and in that state the former

* Captain Peirce's letter may be seen entire in *Prince*, 428, new edition, or vol. ii. 87, 88, old edition. It was dated 25 Dec., 1632, and was received at Plymouth 7 April, following.

† So Winthrop, i. 102; but Prince, out of Bradford, read "William and John."

complained of an insult from the Plymouth people against his countrymen of Virginia; whereupon, with the approbation of the Dutch Governor of the place, Stone seized the Plymouth vessel, but did not keep it long. The next day, having become sober, Stone and the Governor, upon reflection, concluding they had committed an act which might cause them trouble, made up the matter with the Plymouth captain; and here the affair they expected would end. But Stone had not been at Boston long, before Captain Standish appeared in town, and proceeded to prosecute him for piracy. He was bound over to appear in the Court of Admiralty in England. The Governor and Council at Boston, understanding the extent of Stone's offence, wisely persuaded the complainants, that as no piracy could be made out of the case, and that to carry it to England "would turn to their reproach," to take no further steps in the matter; which, with some reluctance, they consented to do.

Captain Stone was a useful man in the line of his profession, but withal of rather a reckless temperament. But, so far as his character can be decided upon at this day, his improprieties were principally occasioned by intemperate habits. He was an early trader along the coast, and at this time brought "cows and some salt in his small ship" to Boston. He met a melancholy fate the following year, as will be seen in its order of time.*

June 15. The ship *Elizabeth Bonadventure*, from Yarmouth, Captain Graves, arrives with ninety-five passengers, after a passage of six weeks. She brought, also, thirty-four "Dutch sheep and two mares." Of the sheep "above forty" were lost on the voyage; but every passenger came safe. A thanksgiving was appointed by

June 19. the Authorities on the eleventh of the month, which is observed "in all the congregations," for their delivery from their enemies, and for the safe arrival of their friends.

July 2. Among other orders of a Court now in session, one was, "that the ground lying betwixt the North river, on the north side of Mr. Maverick's, and so vp into the country, shall belong to the inhabitants of Charlestowne." Another was, that Governor Winthrop "should have, towards his charges this year, one hundred and fifty

* Under date of 12 Sept., 1633, Winthrop records that Stone "carried himself very disolutely in drawing company to drink, &c.;" and that for certain alleged conduct "with the wife of one Bancroft" [since Bancroft], he was proceeded against, and "his pinnace stayed, which was ready to sail;" whereupon he went to Mr. Ludlow, who had issued the warrant, and gave him abusive language. At this Ludlow "raised some company," took him into custody, and carried him before the Governor, who ordered him to be put in irons, and to await the decision of the Court. His irons, however, were taken off the same day. At the Court, the "great jury," being doubtless satisfied that the impropriety complained

of was committed when "he was in drink," rendered a verdict "*ignoramus*;" a very righteous judgment, no one can deny, namely, that a drunken man is a fool. However, "for his other misdemeanors he was fined £100;" but, instead of exacting the fine, the Court ordered him to leave the jurisdiction, and, "upon pain of death, to come no more here," &c. If the curious reader desires to know other particulars of Stone's offence, he may consult Hubbard's *Hist. of New Eng.* 156. According to Morton, 175, "Capt. Stone had sometimes lived at [St.] Christopher's, in the West Indies;" of whom, he says, "I have nothing to speak in the way of commendation, but rather the contrary."

pounds." A man, for being drunk "on the Sabbath day" at Marblehead,* is fined thirty shillings. No person to be allowed to sell strong water to an Indian, without leave of the Governor. "Any man allowed to kill any swine that comes into his corn, but the owner may have the swine, if he pay the damage."

The Authorities of Plymouth having fixed upon making a trading establishment on Connecticut river, the people of Boston proposed to them to take a part in it. They entertained the proposition favorably, and a meeting of those interested was held here to organize a company to carry out the measure. Governor Winslow and Mr. Bradford attended on the part of Plymouth; but, after six days' stay at Boston, they returned without effecting the object. The Boston gentlemen had somehow or other previously ascertained that the object was in no wise a practicable one, as there were, they argued, three or four thousand hostile Indians in the vicinity, and insuperable obstacles in the river itself, as shoals, bars, and ice. At first view these objections seem plausible enough, taking the want of a thorough knowledge of the country into account, under which they may reasonably be supposed to have labored. But when it is known that, not long after, they took possession of the same territory themselves, there may be a suspicion, very honestly entertained, that the decision against uniting with Plymouth was dictated by a disposition to overreach their neighbors; or, as would be said in modern times, their decision was "based upon political considerations."†

July 24. A ship came in from Weymouth. She had about eighty passengers on board. Having sprung a leak, she was forced to put into the Western Islands, where she lay three weeks. Owing to the "continual rain and extremity of the heat," sickness broke out among the passengers, which resulted in the death of several. Who they were, or what their condition, no record remains; thus it is in almost all such cases recorded in the early annals. Had there been any "of rank" among them, *their* names would doubtless have found a place in history; but they were probably the poor and destitute of the company, — the "forlorn hope" of a great empire, — whose names, like their bodies, lie hid beneath the waves of the Atlantic Ocean!

"Remarkable Providences" are everywhere to be met with in the age of the infancy of Boston; accidents and events, whether calamitous or fortunate, were regarded as special manifestations of the Deity

* Hitherto called Marbleharbor in the records. — *Prince*.

† We may suppose that Mr. Morton speaks the sentiment of the Plymouth people with regard to this transaction in what follows, from his *Memorial*, p. 172, ed. Davis. After stating that the Massachusetts men "cast in the way many fears of danger and loss, and did not proceed therein," concludes: "Whereupon those of Plymouth went alone, and prepared a frame of an house, and stowed it into a bark, ready to rear at their landing, and

went up the said river and reared their said house, and fenced about with a palisado, which was done with great difficulty, not only of the Dutch but also of the Indians; notwithstanding, the place they possessed themselves of was such as the Dutch had nothing to do with, and likewise was bought of the Indians which they carried with them. And this was Plymouth's entrance there, who deserved to have held it, and not by friends [Massachusetts] have been thrust out, as in a sort they afterwards were."

to those whom such providence immediately affected. At this period two men were drowned in the harbor, under circumstances August 6. which caused particular notice to be taken of it by Governor Winthrop in his Journal.* Their names are not mentioned, but they were the "servants," or men in the employ, of John Moody of Roxbury. They went "in a boat to the Oyster bank" on the previous evening; but this "morning early, when the tide was out, leaving their boat unfastened on the verge of the channel, the tide quickly carried it beyond their reach, and they are both drowned, although they might have waded out on either side; but it was an evident judgement of God upon them."† This was unquestionably the sincere belief of Winthrop, because one of the men, he says, "a little before, being reproved for his" conduct, and reminded that he was in danger of hell-fire, answered, "that if Hell were ten times hotter, he had rather be there" than in his present service. For this foolish expression, and perhaps a reckless disrespect for himself, it was honestly believed by his religious and virtuous cotemporaries, that he had been thus cut off and sent to everlasting misery.

A "great scarcity of corn" is noticed this autumn, "by reason," says Winthrop, "of the spoil our hogs had made at harvest; there being no acorns; yet people lived well with fish and the fruit of their gardens." This scarcity caused the Court to order that "no Nov. 5. man should give his hogs any corn, but such as, being viewed by two or three neighbors, shall be judged unfit for man's meat; that every plantation shall agree how many swine every person may keep, winter and summer." These orders were to take effect ten days after they were made. Such minute and fatherly legislation can scarcely be conceived of in this age, and, were it not well attested by the legislators themselves, it might be viewed as a fiction.

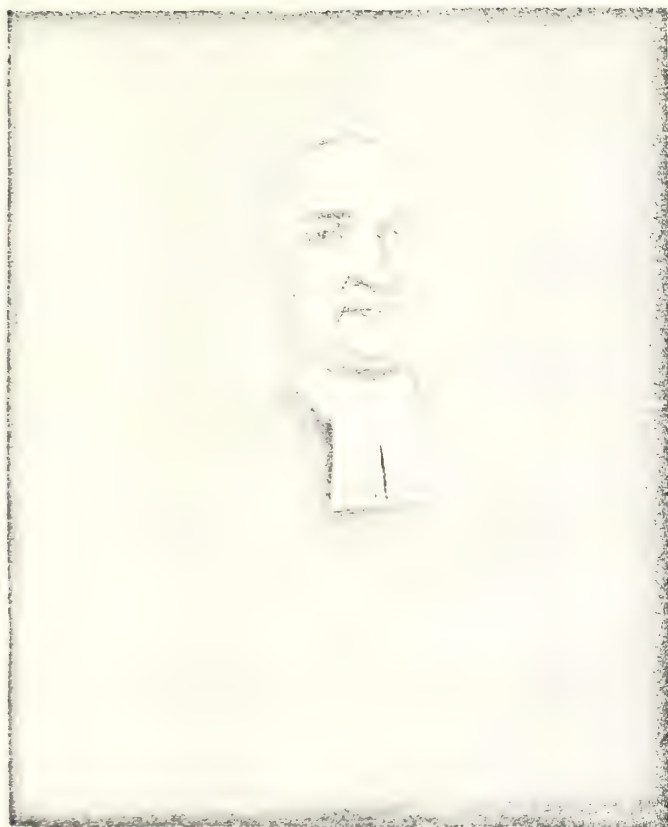
A small ship, of about sixty tons, was built this year at Medford, and named the Rebecca. She is often mentioned in the business of the Bay for several succeeding years, and was probably principally owned in Boston. Her first voyage mentioned is to Narraganset Bay, to receive a thousand bushels of corn of the Indians, which they had promised to

* By what rule or ordeal the Annotator of Winthrop charges a particular belief of our fathers as a *vice*, it might be difficult for him to explain. Some, we apprehend, will more justly charge, that he has fallen into precisely the same *vice* when he asserts that certain "judgments" favored one party or sect more than another.

† Thus far in this history I have had the aid and light of the Sun of New England history; nor will the attentive reader need be told that I refer to the Rev. THOMAS PRINCE, who truly is, to all that went before him, as the sun to the stars. His *New England Chronology, in the Form of Annals*, is a model work, which nothing ever can supply the place of. It is unnecessary here to say anything further relative to the author or his work, as

an account of both has recently been published in the *New Eng. Historical and Gen. Register*. — See vol. v. p. 375, &c. This note is made simply to bear testimony to the merits of a most ingenious author, and to apprise the reader that this Sun of history no longer shines upon us. He will be further noticed when we come down to the period in which he lived. The following facsimile is copied from an autograph letter, and was his usual closing salutation.

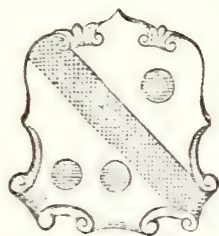
Yours most respectful
 humble servant
 T Prince



give Mr. John Oldham ; but she returned with five hundred bushels only, that being all the Indians could spare, as "their store was less than they expected." The same year she was sent on a voyage to England. The next year, 1635, she was employed coastwise ; and, in 1636, she brought "30,000 weight of potatoes from Bermuda," besides "store of oranges and limes."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Arrival of Mr. John Cotton. — Mr. Hooker. — Mr. Stone. — Mr. Peirce. — Mr. Haynes. — Family of Cotton. — Neglect of Family Pedigrees. — Cotton's Career. — His Contemporaries in England. — Dr. Sibbs. — Dr. Preston. — Mr. Perkins. — Cotton's Marriage. — A Second Marriage. — Mr. Thomas Leverett. — Cotton is informed against, and flies from Boston to London in disguise. — Here converts Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, Mr. Davenport. — Determines to come to New England. — His Voyage. — Son Sea-born. — Invitations to Settle. — His Ordination. — Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone. — Ordained at Newtown. — The Ship Bird arrives. — Oldham's Journey to Connecticut. — Workmen's Wages regulated. — Association of Ministers. — Trouble about the Fort in Boston. — Small-pox mortal among the Indians.



THE arrival of Mr. John Cotton at Boston marks an important era in its history. But it was not his arrival alone ; there came with him, at the same time, some of the best and ablest men that had hitherto set feet on these shores. Their arrival is thus recorded by Governor Winthrop, the man who was then on the spot to receive and welcome them.

"The Griffin, a ship of three hundred tons, arrived, having been eight weeks from the Downs. This ship was Sept. 4. brought [piloted] in by John Gallop, a new way, by Lovell's Island, at low water, now called Griffin's Gap. She brought about two hundred passengers, having lost some four ; whereof one was drowned two days before, as he was casting forth a line to take mackerel. In this ship came Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone, ministers, and Mr. Peirce, Mr. Haynes (a gentleman of great estate), Mr. Hoffe, and many other men of good estates. They got out of England with much difficulty, all places being belaid to have taken Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, who had been long sought for to have been brought into the high commission ; but the Master being bound to touch at the [Isle of] Wight, the Pursuivants attended there, and, in the mean time, the said ministers were taken in at the Downs. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone went presently to Newtown, where they were to be entertained, and Mr. Cotton stayed at Boston."

The family to which Mr. Cotton belonged may be easily traced to a high antiquity,* and it was long ago widely spread over England. He

* "About the latter end of Edward III." (1371), says Guillim, in his *Banner Displayed*, William Cotton, having married Agnes, daughter

and heir of Walter de Ridware of Hampstall-Ridware in the County of Stafford, had a son John, who laid off the ancient arms of Cotton

was born in the town of Derby, and in the county of the same name. His father's name was Rowland Cotton,* a lawyer of some note,† and the Christian name, Rowland, was long, if not to the present time, perpetuated both in Old and New England. It is often difficult to trace the ancestry of even very distinguished men, because, being younger sons of younger sons, their hope of ever becoming heirs to a remote progenitor is not strong enough to cause them to preserve their pedigree; while their older relatives neglect the younger branches of the family tree from another and more apparent motive.

Mr. John Cotton was born in 1585, entered Trinity College, Cambridge, 1598, being then but twelve years of age. He soon became noted for his acquirements, and was admitted to the degree of Master of Arts in 1606. Soon after, he received the appointment of head lecturer, dean, and catechist, of Emmanuel College. Such was the brilliancy with which he discharged his duties, and such were the mildness and gentleness of his temper, that he was greatly beloved by the students. In 1608 he gained great applause by a sermon which he delivered in the Church of the University, and, among others, attracted the attention of Dr. Richard Sibbs and Dr. John Preston, men whose works soon after moved the whole age of the Puritans.‡

and adopted that of Ridware. That of Cotton was, Argent, a bend sable between three pellets; while that adopted was Azure, an eagle displayed argent. When Weever wrote his *Antient Funerall Monuments* (in 1631), he saw a pedigree of the Cottons in possession of Edmund Cotton, Esq., of Necton Hall in Bramble Barton, alias Barton magna juxta Bury St. Edmunds, about which he says, "The antient seat of the Cottons in Cambridgeshire is Lantwade-hall: many descents were higher, and before the father to the elder Sir John Cotton, Knt., who died near the beginning of Queen Elizabeth. This Sir John being the elder, had three brothers, whereof Edmund was the third from Sir John aforesaid, and sisters they had, &c. This elder Sir John had one son called by his father's name, Sir John Cotton, Knt., who, dying in the time of King James, left to inherit his estate, the only son," by Anne, daughter of Sir Richard Highton of Highton tower in the County of Lancaster, living in 1631, also named John. Edmund Cotton, the third brother above mentioned, married Ela, daughter and heiress of Joan Coniers, the only son of Robert Coniers, Knt., nearly allied to Lord Coniers of Hornby Castle, County of Richmond. This Edmund Cotton "had divers children" by his wife, Ela. George was his eldest son, "who had issue many children," of whom Edmund was the eldest, who, "in like manner, had issue, divers sons and daughters," whose oldest son and heir was Edmund of Necton Hall, above mentioned, who furnished Weever with the family pedigree. It is to a branch of this family of Cotton, that JOHN CORROX of Boston is believed to belong. But

the means of showing to which branch is not known to be in this country.

* There was a Sir Rowland Cotton, Sheriff of Shropshire, 1616. Admiral Rowland Cotton died at Plymouth, Eng., 1794.

† "Our John Cotton," says his grandson, Dr. Cotton Mather, "besides the advantage of his Christian profession, had a descent from honorable progenitors, to render him doubly honorable. His immediate progenitors being by some injustice deprived of great revenues, his father, Mr. Rowland Cotton, had the education of a lawyer, bestowed by his friends upon him, in hopes of his being the better capacitated thereby to recover the estate whereof his family had been wronged." — *Magnalia*, B. iii. 14.

‡ Dr. Sibbs was a friend of, and intimate with, many of the fathers of New England. His name with that of our John Davenport is signed to several prefaces of the old Puritan quartos. They accompanied some of Dr. Preston's works: "The Saints Daily Exercise," now before me, is one. I have also before me, "Two Sermons" of his, in a 4to tract, "Preached to the honourable Society of Grayes Inne, June the 21 and 28, 1635. Who the next Lord's day following, died, and rested from all his labours." A knowledge of these sermons would have been important to Mr. Neal, who places his birth in 1579, at Sudbury in Suffolk. Mr. Neal, and those who have followed him in their accounts of Dr. Sibbs, write his name *Sibbs*; but in the titles of all his books which I have seen (and they are many) his name is printed *SIBBS*.

It was under the preaching of the Reverend Mr. William Perkins,* a strict follower of Calvin, that he became convinced of the errors of the Established Church; "but he for a time resisted and smothered those convictions, through a vain persuasion that if he became a godly man it would spoil him for being a learned one;" and while he could not forego his attendance on such preaching, from his great natural love of truth, yet, "when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr. Perkins, his mind secretly rejoiced in his deliverance. But Dr. Sibbs completed the work which Mr. Perkins had begun upon the youthful mind of Cotton. For a remembrance of which, and his thankfulness to Dr. Sibbs, he procured his portrait, which "he placed in that part of his house where he might oftenest look upon it."

Mr. Cotton had become somewhat obnoxious to many on account of the change in his principles before leaving the University; and he was elected to settle at Boston only by a mistake of the Mayor, who voted for, while he intended to have voted against, him. Probably few, if any others, could have been found, who, under such circumstances, would have held a place so long as Mr. Cotton did his at Old Boston; but he had a most happy way of dealing with his opposers, whom he would often silence without offending. Thus he was continued in his office for what, in these days, would be considered a very long term of years.

Soon after Mr. Cotton was settled at Boston, "his dear friend, holy Mr. Bayns," recommended a lady to him, whom subsequently he married; "one Mrs.† Elizabeth Horrocks, the sister of Mr. James Horrocks, a famous minister in Lancashire." On the day of his marriage he said, and no doubt truly, that "he first received the assurance" of his spiritual redemption; and hence it was a day of double marriage to him. With his first wife he lived eighteen years. She was then taken off by a sickness which likewise severely afflicted her husband, and incapacitated him from performing his ministerial duties a year or more; and within the compass of about a year he married a second wife, "one Mrs. Sarah Story, a virtuous widow, very dear to his former wife." He had all his children by this lady.

The storm which eventually burst upon the head of Mr. Cotton had been some time in gathering; and though delayed by "the discretion and vigilance of Mr. Thomas Leverett‡ (afterwards a doubly-honored elder of the Church in another land), yet, when the sins of the place had ripened it," he saw no other safety but such as flight might afford. Complaint being entered at the High Commissioned Court that "the Magistrates did not kneel at the Sacrament," and that some

* Though Mr. Perkins died at the early age of forty-six (in the year 1602), yet he found time to compose works, which it takes three ponderous folios to contain.

† Writers in Dr. Cotton Mather's time had not generally adopted the distinction since made between Mrs. and Miss.

‡ Mr. Leverett was an Alderman of Old Boston, and came to New England with Mr. Cotton. He was the father of Governor John Leverett, who came with his father to Boston, at the age of about 17. The Christian name of his wife only is known.—See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.* iv. 121, &c.

other ceremonies were unobserved also, "letters missive were despatched incontinently to convent Mr. Cotton" before that "infamous" Court. When Mr. John Rogers of Dedham heard that Mr. Cotton had been thus brought into trouble, "he spoke of it in his sermon with just lamentation," and predicted that the informer would "die under an hedge, or something else, more than the ordinary death of men, should befall him;" and this fate, it is related, actually happened to the "debauched" informer.*

Therefore, to escape "a perpetual imprisonment, as had already murdered such men as Bates and Udal, he concealed himself as well as he could from the raging Pursevants." Meantime application was made to the Earl of Dorset, to fulfil some engagement of protection which he had formerly made for Mr. Cotton; but, from some interference from the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earl returned answer, "that if Mr. Cotton had been guilty of drunkenness or uncleanness, or any such lesser fault, he could have obtained his pardon; but, inasmuch as he had been guilty of Nonconformity and Puritanism, the crime was unpardonable, and therefore he must fly for his safety."

Accordingly Mr. Cotton travelled in disguise to London, and there concealed himself. Up to this time he had not fixed upon New England as a place of exile. In London he had intercourse with several "conforming" ministers, whose conformity was, as they viewed it, a necessary deception, and they endeavored to induce Mr. Cotton to conform in the same manner. They therefore held a friendly conference with him upon the subject, in which the matter was freely debated. The arguments of Mr. Byfield, Mr. Whately, and Mr. Sprint were brought forward by Mr. Cotton's friends as unanswerable; but, when he replied to them, "the issue whereof was, that instead of bringing Mr. Cotton back to what he had now forsaken, he brought them off altogether from what they had hitherto practised; every one of those eminent persons, Dr. Goodwin, Mr. Nye, and Mr. Davenport, now became all he was, and at last left the kingdom for their being so."†

* This was noted at or near the time of its occurrence by Mr. Nathaniel Rogers; which in the original MS. record is still preserved, in a branch of the Rogers family in New England. It is contained, with a great many other reminiscences, in a very small MS. volume, procured for me by my friend J. H. Fogg, M. D., of South Boston, about three years since. The record is as follows:—

"A Joyner y^e was y^e principall Persecut^r of Mr. Cotton and his people of Boston, w^hy y^e Congreg^y: was so broken and changed, dyed (1637) under an hedge of y^e plague; it striking first into his house, of all y^e town, and at length v^po himself, who in a rage went out and sate him [down] and dyed." The account in the *Magnolia* does not materially differ from this; the author may have had his account from Mr. Rogers, who was a son of Mr. John

Rogers of Dedham, mentioned in the text, and settled in Ipswich, N. Eng., 1636.

† There is yet a conjecture among some antiquaries, that Mr. Goodwin may have come to New England; as, by the above passage from the *Magnolia*, it is certain he left England; but Mr. Neal, in his *Hist. of the Puritans*, ii. 716 (ed. 4th. 1754), clearly shows that "he went into Holland, and became pastor of an independent congregation at Arnheim. He went in 1639, and returned about the beginning of the Long Parliament." He was in great favor with the Protector, whom he attended on his death-bed. He died in 1679–80, in the eightieth year of his age. There was an edition of his works in 5 vols. folio, the third of which, now by me, is dated 1683. I suppose it is to this Dr. Thomas Goodwin that "Mr. John Lawrence" refers in his preface

After determining in his own mind between Holland, Barbadoes, and New England, he set sail for the latter place. In this decision he was doubtless influenced very much by the pressing invitations of friends here, and "letters procured from the Church of Boston, by Mr. Winthrop, the Governor of the Colony."

It has been very happily observed, "that the God that had carried him through the *fire* of persecution was now graciously with him in his passage through the *water* of the Atlantic Ocean, and he enjoyed a comfortable voyage over the great and wide sea." His arrival was hailed with exceeding joy by the "poor people in this wilderness;" who used to say of him, and the other two who came with him, that now their great necessities were supplied, "for they had *cotton* for their clothing, *hooker* for their fishing, and *stone* for their building." *

During the voyage of the Griffin, Mrs. Cotton was delivered of a son, to whom was given the name of Seaborn, and this was his first child. Arrived now in "New Boston," the history of the city becomes identified with that of Cotton,† and they must of necessity be continued together. "The new place of his adoption, especially upon the holy wisdom, conduct, and credit of our Mr. Cotton, upon some accounts of growth, came to exceed Old Boston in everything that renders a town

to his "Golden Trumpet sounded at Pauls Cross," 1624, when he says, "I wish to live to requite some part of your courtesies," &c. There was a Mr. John Goodwin, a contemporary of Dr. Thomas. He had a large family, some of whom may have come to this country. Like Dr. Thomas, he was a learned Divine, and was the author of several works; one, now before me, entitled "The Divine Authority of the Scriptures Asserted," 4^o. London, 1648, is accompanied by his "Eglie," from which his age is learned, namely, 47 in 1641. He wrote a book in defence of the execution of the king, which, after the *Restoration*, experienced the honor of being burnt with that of Milton's upon the same subject. Cotton's "Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven," London, 1644, was "published by Thomas Goodwin and Philip Nye." That famous work by Mr. Jeremiah Burroughs, "*Gospel Reconciliation; or, Christ's Trumpet of Peace to the World.*" was "Published (with a Testimony) by Thomas Goodwin, William Bridge, William Greenhill, Sydrach Sympton, Philip Nye, John Yates, and William Adderley." *Peter Cole* was the "Printer and Bookseller," who advertised, in 1657, "Eleven new books of Mr. Thomas Hooker, made in New England, attested in an epistle by Mr. Thomas Goodwin, and Mr. Philip Nye," and many other works by N. Eng. men, as Ward, Eliot, Mayhew, Stone, &c.

* Joshua Scottow was the first I have met with who published this play upon these names; but Mather, from whom the text is

taken, leaves out his grandfather Mather's name. "A quaternion," says Scottow, "viz., Mr. Cotton, eminent for spiritual clothing, and Mather for celestial dying, Hooker for soul fishing, and Stone for building up in the holy faith." — *Narrative*, &c., 23.

† There have been many lives of Mr. Cotton printed, all, or nearly all, of which are based upon that excellent piece of biography of him in the *Magnalia*; of which it may not be too much to say, perhaps, that it is the best in that curious work. Norton's life of him is of no value in point of fact, or very little indeed. It is, probably, all its author intended it to be, a work to perpetuate the Christian principles of this eminent father. A very excellent pedigree of the Cotton family may be seen in the first volume of the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Register*, prepared by Mr. J. WINGATE THORNTON. In another work, not yet published, the same gentleman notes the following families descended from COTTON:— "BYLES, BROOKS, BRADBURY, BOURNE, CUSHING, EVERETT, FROTHINGHAM, GRANT, GOOKIN, HALE, JACKSON, LEE, MATHER, SWETT, STORER, TRAYER, THORNTON, TUFTS, TRACY, UPHAM, WALTER, WILLIAMS, WHITING, and many others."

God's heavenly in the Lord
J Cotton

considerable." This, though in a strain of highly-wrought eulogy, is adopted by the sober judgment of other and later writers.*

Oct. 10. After about a month Mr. Cotton was ordained teacher of the First Church; and, at the same time, Mr. Thomas Leverett was chosen a Ruling Elder, and Mr. Giles Firmin† was chosen Deacon. On the occasion of the ordination of Mr. Cotton, besides the "imposition of hands," the people were notified that they might sanction by their election the choice of the Teacher; or, in the words of one of the chief of the performers‡ at the ordination, "he was chosen by all the Congregation testifying their consent by erection of hands." The same informer proceeds to describe the ceremonies at this early ordination, in these words:—"Then Mr. Wilson, the Pastor, demanded of him, if he did accept of that call? He paused, and then spake to this effect; that, howsoever he knew himself unworth and unsufficient for that place, yet, having observed all the passages of God's providence (which he reckoned up in particular) in calling him to it, he could not but accept it. Then the Pastor and the two Elders laid their hands upon his head, and the Pastor prayed; and then, taking off their hands, laid them on again; and, speaking to him by his name, they did thenceforth design him to the said office, in the name of the Holy Ghost, and did give him the charge of the Congregation, and did thereby (as a sign from God) endue him with the gifts fit for his office, and, lastly, did bless him. Then the neighboring ministers which were present did (at the Pastor's motion) give him the right hands of fellowship, and the Pastor made a stipulation between him and the Congregation."§ Thus it was that Mr. Cotton came into his ministerial office in Boston, and thus are the peculiar exercises circumstantially detailed, which cannot fail to be gratifying to all those of succeeding generations who would know their obligations to the early fathers.

Oct. 11. The next day, after the imposing ceremonies by which Mr. Cotton was placed at the head of the Church of Boston, there was a great assemblage at Newtown, from all the settlements adjacent, for the purpose of ordaining Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone at that place, which was done "in such a manner as before at Boston;" the former

* Hubbard calls him "that miracle of learning and meekness."—*Hist. N. Eng.* 158. Hutchinson says, Cotton is supposed to have been more instrumental in the settlement of their civil as well as ecclesiastical polity, than any other person." Some have gone much further than this; that "his suggestions and recommendations in the pulpit were observed and adopted by the Church, while the magistrates were ready to adopt his private political counsels as the law of the land."—See Eliot, *Hist. First Church*, 21.

† Father of the author of that well-known work (to the last generation), "The Real Christian;" in the preface to which there are

several valuable facts of a genealogical character. This son (of the same Christian name), who came over with his father, after about seven years returned to England, and died in 1697, at Ridgwell, in Essex, aged 80 years.—*Calamy*, i. 517, &c., where there is a particular account of him. Deacon Giles Firmin died before 6 Oct., 1634.

‡ Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 114.

§ Winthrop, i. 6. Hutchinson says, "The circumstances and order of proceeding in Mr. Cotton's ordination were intended as a precedent, and the congregational churches in New England have generally conformed thereto ever since."—*Hist. Mass.* i. 34.

as Pastor, and the latter as Teacher. At this ordination the gentlemen of Boston performed a conspicuous part.

Sept. 4. The same day that the Griffin arrived, arrived also the ship Bird, Captain Yates. She brought passengers, but how many is not known; she likewise brought some cows and four mares. She had a boisterous voyage, was driven far to the north, and was nearly three times as long at sea as the Griffin. Whence she sailed is not mentioned.

Meantime the adventurous John Oldham, with only three attendants, travelled by land from Boston to Connecticut. He followed the paths of the Indians all the way, and lodged with them in their huts by night; all of them treating him with kindness, and the Sachems making presents of beaver, in exchange probably for trifles. At his return he brought some hemp, "much better than the English, which grew there in great abundance;" also "some black lead, whereof the Indians told him there was a whole rock."

Oct. 10. By the arrival of the ship James at Salem, Master Graves, a considerable accession was made to the inhabitants of Boston. The same ship, with the same commander, had been here before; and then, as now, the time occupied in the voyage was eight weeks. He sailed from Gravesend, and, of his eighty passengers, twenty were for Boston, "and some sixty cattle."

The wages of workmen is this year again made an object of legislation, as also was merchandise. Three shillings a day for a carpenter, and two shillings and sixpence for a laborer, were thought to be "excessive rates," and the trader who charged for his goods double their cost in England was considered exorbitant; therefore the Court ordered that "carpenters, masons, &c.," should take but two shillings a day, and laborers but eighteen pence, and that no commodity should be sold at above four pence in the shilling more than it cost for ready money in England." One of the reasons urged for this order may excite a smile at this day, and amazement a hundred years hence. It was said that by such high wages many could earn enough in four days to keep them a week, consequently they had two days to spend in idleness! That this promoted indulgence in the use of tobacco and liquor, "which was a great waste to the Commonwealth." That, as the course of things had been, corn was now at six shillings the bushel, a cow at twenty pounds, some twenty-four, and some even twenty-six pounds; a mare thirty-five pounds, an ewe-goat from three to four pounds, &c.

There was a custom adopted this year, among the ministers, of meeting at each other's houses for the purpose of discussing questions of moment. These meetings have been considered by some* as the origin of the "Boston Association of Congregational Ministers."

* See Emerson's *Hist. First Church*, 20, 21. for prayer, theological discussion, and social This Association "continues, every second intercourse." — *Hist. Mass.* i. 34. Monday, in the afternoon, to hold a meeting

Some part of the work appointed to be done on the fort in Boston yet remained undone,* owing, it appears, to the neglect of the people of Salem, Newtown, and Saugus, to do the parts allotted to them. The Newtown people had been "warned," but Mr. Dudley "would not suffer them to come, neither did he acquaint the Governor with the cause." But the "cause" was, "that Salem and Saugus had not brought in money for their parts." When this was understood by the Governor, he wrote the Deputy a letter, stating the intent of the Court to be, that the work should be done by those in the Bay, and that the money assessed on the Salem and Saugus men was for another purpose. On receipt of this explanatory letter, Mr. Dudley wrote an answer, and despatched Mr. Haynes and Mr. Hooker with it to the Governor, who were authorized to treat upon the matter. On opening the Deputy's letter, the Governor found it "full of bitterness and resolution not to send till Salem had done its part." Mr. Winthrop returned the letter to Mr. Hooker, saying, "he would not keep such an occasion of provocation by him." A little time before this, Dudley had proposed to buy "a fat hog or two of Winthrop, being somewhat short of provisions." In this case, certainly, the Governor exercised the virtue of overcoming evil with good. He sat down and wrote to Dudley, offering him a hog as a present, and saying he would have sent it before if he had known when it would have been acceptable to him. However *hoggish* Dudley may have felt before the receipt of this letter, there was not much of that feeling left when he had read it; for he immediately returned answer to Winthrop, "that [Winthrop had], in overcoming himself, overcome him;" and though he declined receiving the hog as a present, he would gladly purchase it, "and so very loving concluded." And thus the affair seems, for the present, at least, to have ended.

Dec. 4. The cold seems to have been severe very early this fall. The snow was "knee-deep" on the fourth of December, and vessels were frozen up in the harbors.† At the same time, the small pox was making dreadful ravages among the natives. Sagamore John, Dec. 5. a great friend of the whites, often mentioned before, died on the fifth of December, and his people died so fast, that Mr. Samuel Maverick of Winisemet buried above thirty in one day; for whose labors to alleviate their sufferings, his name "is worthy of a perpetual remembrance. Himself, his wife, and servants, went daily to them, ministered to their necessities, and took home many of their children." The people of the neighboring towns also took many of their children away, but most of them died soon after. Of all those who assisted the

* In September previous the Authorities made a requisition that "every hand, except Magistrates and Ministers, should assist in finishing the fort in Boston." — *Snow*, 63.

† "Mr. Wilson, by leave of the Congregation of Boston, whereof he was Pastor, went to Agawam [Ipswich] to teach the people

of that plantation, because they had yet no minister. Whilst he was there, December 4, there fell such a snow (knee deep) as he could not come back for several days, and a boat which went thither was frozen up in the river." — Winthrop, *Jour.*, i. 118. Such weather is uncommon at this day, so early in December.

Indians in their sickness, but two white families were infected by it. At or about the same time, Sagamore James died, and most of his people also, of the same disease. It extended to the Pascataqua eastward, sweeping almost every native in the way.

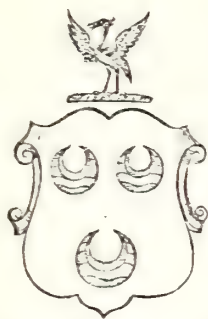
At what place the small pox broke out first, the writers of the time do not state, but it was probably at some point to the westward of Boston, for it is certain that Chikataubat died of this disease about a month before Sagamore John. He had long been acquainted with the English; in 1621 he went to Plymouth, and signed a treaty with the Pilgrims. The territory over which he was Sachem is not distinctly bounded; it extended, probably, from Wessagusset to Neponset. A son of his, named Wampatuck, gave a deed of Braintree to the English in 1665, and a grandson deeded Boston in 1695; but of this hereafter.

How far from the sea-board the pestilence spread, no certain information appears; nor is there much certainty how long it continued. It probably raged as long as there were new subjects for attack. Late in January, one John Seales returned to Boston from "a place twelve miles off," where he had been living with a small company of seven Indians. He reported, that, up to the time of his leaving, four of the seven had died of the disease. This man had run away from his master, with whom he had become dissatisfied, and he was now glad to run away from the Indians. He continued with them, probably, as long as they could be of service to him, but when his services were required for their benefit, the case was altered. Such examples have not been lost from that time to the present.

Some Pequots, who visited Boston several months later, reported that many of that nation had died of the small pox, and about the same time it was reported, that, of the great nation of the Narragansets, seven hundred had died. Also one Hall and two others, who went to Connecticut in the beginning of November, returned to Boston on the twentieth of January following, and reported that the small pox "was gone as far as any Indian plantation was known to the West, and much people dead of it." These men had been on a trading expedition, but the sickness ruined their enterprise. Of the Indian children attempted to be rescued from the malady by the people in and about Boston, all were dead but three before spring. One of the three had the singular name of *Know God*; which Winthrop says was given him because the Indians made such constant use of this phrase when accosted, "Me know God." This was a kind of countersign, which doubtless grew out of the constant importunity of their white brethren, inquiring "if they knew God?"

CHAPTER XIX.

Murder of Capt. Stone and others. — Market Day appointed. — First Tavern, and Store. — Thursday Lecture begun. — Lecture against Veils. — Cross cut out of the Colors. — Survey of the Town ordered. — Representatives first Chosen. — Great increase of Inhabitants. — First Election Sermon. — John Humfrey. — Mr. Andrew's Gift. — Enemies to the Colony in England. — The Patent demanded. — Emigrant Ships stopped at London. — Earl of Warwick. — Preparations for a Fort on Castle Island. — Some propose to remove to Connecticut. — First Entries on the Records of Boston. — Description of the first Book. — Origin of Select Men. — Various early Regulations. — The Triangular Warehouse. — Arrival of Eminent Men. — Opposition to the Removal to Connecticut.



THE year now commenced is one of thrilling interest in the history of New England, and to the people of Boston especially; as the centre of all undertakings, the fountain head of counsel and direction in the affairs of the country. This year was committed, or the knowledge of certain murders first reached Boston, which finally brought on the war with the Pequots, and which eventuated in their destruction, as a nation, or tribe of importance.

Captain John Stone, who had created some disturbance in Boston, the particulars of which have been detailed, sailed soon after to the eastward. At Agamenticus he was joined by Captain Walter Norton;* thence, in the autumn of 1633, he proceeded southward on his way to Virginia, and does not appear to have been heard from until the following winter. Then news was brought to Plymouth, that he had been murdered by the Pequots, as he was in a course of trade with them in the mouth of the Connecticut River. No steps, however, appear to have been immediately taken to investigate the affair, nor does it appear that any of the murdered men belonged to Boston, or any part of the Bay, as the settlements around the inner harbor were then termed.

Meanwhile the business of Boston progressed, and a regular market was judged to be necessary. Accordingly the Court passed an order for the erection of a Market,† and for its being kept on Thursdays, on which days the public Lecture was held. At the same time a tavern was opened by Samuel Cole, and John Coggan opened a shop of merchandise. This was the first tavern and first shop opened in Boston. Hitherto every house was a house of entertainment, as well as a shop or store for the sale of merchandise. It was a long time, however, before stores became generally separated from houses of residence.

* Of the Christian name of Capt. Norton, there may be a question; but from some circumstances I am of the opinion that it is as I have given it in the text — Walter. As will be seen in our list of Freeman, *Gen. Reg.*, vol. iii., p. 90, Capt. Walter Norton is among those recorded 19 Oct., 1630. He probably went with others, not long after, to Pascataqua.

† "Erection of a mercate" is the language of Winthrop as rendered by his Editor. The true meaning I have no doubt is the "establishment" of a Market; for it is not very probable that a *building* for a market was contemplated at this early day. As will be seen from the records hereafter, reference is made to the "Market Place."

The Thursday Lecture,* which had its beginning in Boston, soon after the arrival of Mr. Cotton,† has, with some intermissions, been kept up until the present generation.‡ It was an excellent institution, and early exercised a good influence. Many of the discourses at this lecture were printed during the last century, and constitute a valuable portion of its literary history.§ At these lectures subjects were sometimes discussed which were of too secular a nature, as was then thought, for the pulpit on Sundays. Thus, Mr. Cotton took occasion at one of these early lectures to discuss the propriety of women's wearing veils. Mr. Mar. 7. Endicott being present, he spoke in opposition to Mr. Cotton's views; and, "after some debate, the Governor, perceiving it to grow to some earnestness, interposed, and so it break off." What effect, if any, the lecture had to bring the veil into disuse here at that time, no mention is made. But about this time, whether before or after, is not quite certain, but probably before, Mr. Cotton lectured at Salem on the same grave question, with great effect. His arguments against veils were so conclusive to the females of the congregation, that, though they all wore them in the forenoon, in the afternoon they all came without them. This may have taken Governor Endicott by surprise, and he may have come up to Boston to counteract this wholesale, and, as he believed, unscriptural denunciation of a necessary appendage to the attire of all modest women, especially, as Mr. Williams and Mr. Skelton had proved conclusively from Scripture, that it ought to be worn in public assemblies.|| For females to wear veils, they maintained, was no badge of superstition, while the Cross in the King's colors was evidently of that character; or so Mr. Endicott considered it, and he forthwith proceeded to cut it out. Roger Williams is accused of agitating this matter, and therefore accountable for the trouble that it occasioned; and as it was done in accordance with his views, it was of course condemned by all those who had denounced him as promulgating heretical doctrines.¶ Upon

* Under date 11 Dec., 1633, Winthrop writes, "The lectures at Boston and Newtown returned again to their former course, because the weather was many times so tedious as people could not travel, &c."

† It may be said rather, that his lectures were renewed on his arrival here, for he had held such lectures before he left England. See *Magnalia*, iii. 18. — At the end of two centuries, the Rev. Mr. N. L. Frothingham preached a sermon which he entitled, "*The Shade of the Past. — For the Celebration of the Close of the Second Century since the Establishment of the Thursday Lecture.*" and the Rev. Mr. R. C. Waterson, on the 14 Dec., 1843, preached "*A Discourse in the First Church on the Occasion of Resuming the Thursday Lecture.*" See *Chr. Examiner*, March, 1834, and Jan. 1844.

‡ "Of late years," says the *Christian Examiner*, "attendance on the Thursday Lecture has dwindled down almost, as it were, to non-attendance, except on the part of the liberal clergy of Boston and its vicinity. The walls of

the Church on that day are almost bare, and consequently, in winter, extremely cold. Some desire its discontinuance; but, while others are attached to it by old associations, and the comforts and facilities of brotherly and ministerial intercourse which it affords, it is not likely that it will soon be given up." Vol. xvi. 129.

§ I have never heard of a complete collection of these, and very much doubt whether one could be easily made. Some thirty, only, extending over just one hundred years, 1714 to 1814, are in my own collection.

|| Dr. Bentley asserts that Mr. Endicott had introduced the practice before the arrival of Mr. Williams, and that the latter supported it more to gratify Mr. Endicott and Mr. Skelton, than that he felt any interest in it himself. But this does not agree exactly with the well-known character of Roger Williams, as we understand it. See Knowles' *Life Williams*, 61.

¶ His cotemporary, Capt. Scottow, says, "This Child of Light walked in darkness about forty years, yet the root of the matter abode

this Mr. Hubbard sarcastically adds, "What that good man would have done with the Cross upon his coin, if he had any left, that bore that sign of superstition, is uncertain." Mr. Endicott cut out the red Cross from



ENDICOTT CUTTING OUT THE CROSS.

an entire conscientious conviction, that it was idolatrous to let it remain; arguing, and truly, that it had been given to the King of England by the Pope; and that it was a relic of Antichrist. Mr. Richard Browne, Ruling Elder of the church of Watertown, complained of the act to the Court of Assistants, as a high-handed proceeding, which might be construed, in England, into one of rebellion. To conclude the account of this matter by anticipating the order of events, it may be briefly stated, that the Court issued an attachment against Ensign Richard Davenport, then the ensign-bearer of Salem, whose Colors had been mutilated, to appear at the next Court.

When that Court came together, which was a year after the Cross was cut out, "Endicott was judged to be guilty of a great offence;" inasmuch as he had, "with rash indiscretion, and by his sole authority," committed an act, "thereby giving occasion to the Court of England to think ill of them;" that, therefore, "he was worthy of admonition, and should be disabled from bearing any public office for one year."

This affair of the Cross would hardly have been noticed, probably, but for the opportunity it afforded the people of Boston to punish those of Salem for their adherence to Roger Williams. And thus early is seen that spirit of dictation, which has ever since been conspicuous in this metropolis; and though it has, in a measure, made it what it is, it also shows, that, what Boston undertakes, Boston will do.

Meanwhile it probably occurred to the Authorities that they might delay further proceeding safely for the present; inasmuch as the same Authorities "being doubtful of the lawful use of the Cross in an Ensign." However, when it was thought the time had arrived in which some excuse should be sent over, and money had been raised to build a fort, to be employed in case excuses failed, the Governor and Assistants met and agreed to write to Mr. Downing, their friend in England, Nov. 27. "of the truth of the matter, under all their hands, that, if occasion were, he might show it in their excuse; for therein they expressed their dislike of the thing, and their purpose to punish the offenders, because the fact, as concerning the manner, was very unlawful." That Winthrop, and perhaps Cotton, were willing to connive at the depredation on St. George's Cross, is very manifest from several circumstances; only one, however, will be mentioned. Winthrop, about the same time,

in him:—Thus the Lord disposed of Satan's A *Narrative of the Planting of the Mas. Col.*, malice, so he was out-shot in his own bow."—*Idc.*, p. 21.

offered as great an insult to the King's Calendar, as Endicott had to his Colors; by utterly rejecting its "heathenish Roman nomenclature;" without even an apology for his conduct.*

Had there been no fear of a Royal Governor, little would probably have been heard about a mutilation of the Colors. For not above two months after this, "all the Ministers except Mr. Ward, of Ipswich, met at Boston, being requested by the Governor and Assistants," to consider what they should do, if a General Governor should be sent over? Also whether it was lawful to carry the Cross in their Banners? It was decided that they ought not to accept a General Governor; and, as to wearing Crosses in their Banners, they were divided, and were obliged to defer the matter to another meeting. At that meeting, which was in the following March, "Mr. Endicott being called to answer," the Court agreed no better than before; only it was agreed that for the present no Colors at all should be used.

April 1. Why the following order was made does not fully appear; it was, that an oath should be administered "to all house-keepers and sojourners, being twenty years of age and not freemen, and for making a survey of the houses and lands of all freemen."

Up to this time all the Freemen in the Province had been, or had the privilege of being, present at the General Courts, and of participating in making the laws by which they were to be governed. They had now become so numerous, that the attendance of all was quite impracticable. This state of things, however, was not contemplated in their Charter, but the propriety of having a less numerous body to transact the general business of the Commonwealth could not reasonably be questioned; though, according to Mr. Hubbard, the measure occasioned considerable disturbance, which, by the wisdom and prudence of "some private gentlemen, the trouble was prevented." Perhaps Mr. Winthrop's agency to bring about the proposed change may have been a reason that he was left out of the government, as he was. It was, however, agreed by concert beforehand, that two deputies from each town should "meet and consider of such matters as they were to take order in at the" next General Court.

May 14. Mr. Hubbard's plausible pretext for Mr. Winthrop's being dropped, is thus expressed:—"The Freemen, that they might not always burthen one person with the yoke of the government, nor suffer their love to overflow in one family, turned their respects into another channel;" and so elected Mr. Dudley Governor, and Mr. Roger Ludlow Deputy Governor. Mr. Haynes was chosen one of the Assistants, and Mr. Coddington Treasurer. At this Court it was determined that there should be four General Courts yearly, and that it should be

* Winthrop's Editor takes rather a strange view of this act. He says it "arose from a weak scruple," &c. He might as well have argued that the Reformation was founded upon "a weak scruple." That the convictions of our fathers were strengthened by time, of the absurdity of following "Romish Superstitions," is a very natural conclusion. That their opinions gained strength in a free wilderness, faster than they would have done under the restraints of arbitrary and sanguinary laws, is quite natural also.

lawful for the Freemen of each Plantation to choose two or three before every General Court to confer of, and to prepare, such business for, the next Court as they judged necessary to be acted upon; and that persons so selected by the Freemen should be fully empowered to act in the General Court for all the Freemen of the Commonwealth, in making laws, granting lands, in short, everything, excepting the election of Magistrates and other officers. Other reasons were given why the people should legislate by their representatives, instead of a general attendance of the whole. By such general attendance they were subjected to a great loss of time; * and, all the men being drawn from the border settlements, would leave them exposed to attack by the Indians.

The inhabitants of Boston and its vicinity had unprecedentedly increased since the emigration of 1630; "near twenty considerable ships every year, since the second," had arrived, "with such a number of passengers, that the inhabitants were forced to look out for new places of settlement, so that, in these four years, "every desirable place fit for plantation on the sea-coast was taken up." The places so occupied and named are recorded in this order by the early historian, Mr. Hubbard:—Salem, Charlestown, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, Watertown, Newtown, Lynn, Ipswich, Newbury, Hingham, Weymouth, "and, last of all, Concord, about twelve miles westward from Watertown, right up into the woods." †

At the late Election Mr. Cotton preached a sermon, ‡ and the practice was continued in succeeding years. They soon became as necessary a part of Election Day as any other of its ceremonies; and this was the first of the series of Election Sermons which, with few exceptions, has been kept up to this day. Whether there would have been a sermon by Mr. Cotton at this time, but for his wish to make known to the Freemen his disapprobation for their turning out the old officers, is not certain; but certain it is, he protested in strong terms "that a Magistrate ought not to be turned into the condition of a private man without just cause;" forgetting, in his warmth, that the Freemen were the

* The election this year occupied three days. — *Winthrop*, i. 132. The principal officers of the Government residing at Newtown, that town now became the seat of Government. But this Election was held in Mr. Cotton's meeting-house in Boston. — *Saunders*.

† *Hist. of New Eng.*, 158. Two of the towns here named were not settled, however, till about a year later, yet there would be enough without them to substantiate the text of *Winthrop's Journal*, i. 128, namely, that two Deputies from each town attended the General Court of 14 May, of this year (1634), though his Commentator thinks that his Author should have written *three*, and not *two*, from each town; because he is of opinion that but *eight* towns sent Deputies; the names of whom he has given as follows from the Colony Records, and I have added the parts in brackets. A membership in the General Court did not then confer the title of Mr.

Mr. [William] Goodwin ⁽¹⁾	Mr. [John] Talcott ⁽¹⁾
Mr. [William] Spencer ⁽¹⁾	Mr. [Robert] Feakes ⁽²⁾
Mr. [Richard] Brown ⁽²⁾	Mr. [George] Alcock ⁽³⁾
Mr. [John] Oldham ⁽²⁾	Mr. Israel Stoughton ⁽⁶⁾
Mr. [Thomas] Beecher ⁽³⁾	William Felpes ⁽⁵⁾
Mr. [Abraham] Palmer ⁽³⁾	George Hull ⁽⁶⁾
Robert Moulton ⁽⁶⁾	Capt. [Nath'l.] Turner ⁽⁷⁾
Mr. [John] Coxwell ⁽⁴⁾	Mr. [Thomas] Willis ⁽⁷⁾
Edmund Quinsey ⁽⁴⁾	Mr. [Edward] Tomlins ⁽⁷⁾
Capt. John Underhill ⁽⁴⁾	Mr. [John] Holgrave ⁽⁴⁾
John Johnson ⁽²⁾	Mr. [Roger] Conant ⁽³⁾
William Heath ⁽⁴⁾	Mr. Francis Weston ⁽³⁾

Thus Agawam, Hingham, Weymouth, Medford, Marblehead, &c., do not appear to be represented. But the Record does not state what towns were represented.

‡ I have been led to suppose that this sermon was preached *after* the Election, and not before it, as some have unhesitatingly stated.

(1) Cambridge.	(5) Roxbury.
(2) Watertown.	(6) Dorchester.
(3) Charlestown.	(7) Lynn (Saugus.)
(4) Boston.	(8) Salem.

judges of what might constitute "a just cause," and that rulers might be changed for very good reasons, without any imputation upon their integrity or ability to perform their office.*

During the month of June this year there arrived at Boston "fourteen great ships, and one at Salem." Among the gentlemen of special note who now arrived was John Humfrey, Esquire, of whom July. mention has before been made.† He was the first Deputy-Governor of the Massachusetts Company, and was hindered from coming over in 1630 by the situation of his private affairs. This hindrance proved a fortunate thing for Boston; for, being a gentleman of high standing at home, he had great weight in counteracting the evil designs of the enemies of the Colony. His wife came with him; another proof of woman's fortitude and voluntary sufferings in a "forlorn wilderness," to encourage and uphold the pioneers of a vast undertaking for the good of posterity. Her sacrifices must have been greater than most others. She came out of the protection of an Earldom to accompany her husband here, with the full knowledge that the same undertaking had cost the life of the Lady Arabella Johnson, her sister, ‡ whom she did not expect to be a partaker of her privations, or a companion in her solitude. Mr. Humfrey had a large grant of land at Lynn, and there he settled soon after his arrival. At the end of about seven years' residence in the country, he returned with his wife to England.

Through Mr. Humfrey's influence, Boston received essential aid by contributions in money and other substantial gifts. One gentleman, Mr. Richard Andrews, § of London, gave sixteen heifers, one of which he directed to be given to each of the ministers, and the rest to the poor. He afterwards made other donations. Mr. Humfrey brought ordnance, muskets, and powder, for the Colony, "bought for the public by moneys given to that end." Mr. Humfrey brought, also, propositions from many of the Nobility to become settlers in New England. These "propositions" amounted to questions of inquiry touching religious privileges.

Some of the ships lost many cattle; but of two that came from Ipswich, with above one hundred and twenty head, seven only were lost. At the same time, one ship only lost passengers. This was the Elizabeth Dorcas; which being "very ill victualled, and being hurt upon a rock at Scilly," which was the occasion of a long passage to

* Curious and interesting statistics about election sermons may be found appended to that of 1849, by Dr. John Pierce of Brookline, which he preached in the 76th year of his age, and which was among the last of the services of a long life. He died the same year.

† See *ante*, p. 52. In some early copies of that part of this work, 1632 was printed as the date of Mr. Humfrey's arrival, which is an error.

‡ Mr. Lewis has drawn a beautiful though

melancholy picture of the situation of the Lady Susan at Lynn, in his history of that ancient town. See p. 115-16, where will be found some account of the family.

§ There was a Thomas Andrews, an Alderman of London, who, in 1648, was appointed one of the Judges at the trial of Charles. Richard Andrews may also have been an alderman. Thomas was Lord Mayor in 1651, not 1551, as printed in Mr. Young's collection of early matters about Massachusetts.

her, and one of extreme sufferings to the passengers, "whereof sixty perished at sea!"

The people of Boston were a good deal alarmed, about this time, from certain information, which they received from England, of movements prejudicial to their liberties. It appeared that a growing jealousy of the importance of the settlements had influenced "the Archbishops and others of the Council" to attempt to put a stop to emigration, and actually sent out warrants to stay the ships then ready to sail. They also commanded Mr. Cradock* to surrender the Patent, he being, or having been, the only legal Governor of the Massachusetts' Company. Mr. Cradock accordingly wrote to the Government here to send home the Charter. Meantime, the masters of the embargoed ships in the Thames, by good and prudent management, succeeded in being allowed to proceed on their voyage, for that time. And thus came Mr. Cradock's order for the return of the Charter, which was accompanied by a copy of the Council's Order† to him. This was a matter for serious consideration, and much of anxiety must have shown itself in the countenances of the Fathers of Boston. But as in other cases, so in this, they displayed the most consummate wisdom. It was in their power to procrastinate; they exercised that power, and thus is opened a portion of the sequel to what has already been premised.‡ Governor Dudley and his Council, "upon long consultation," first, whether they should return any answer to Mr. Cradock at all, and, secondly, if any, what it should be, finally agreed to write him, stating that they could not act in the matter without the authority of the General Court, and that there would be no General Court till next September. Thus, how much is due to the wisdom of the Authorities, and how much to the safety which three thousand miles of ocean afforded, may pretty satisfactorily be settled in the minds of all such as give the subject their attention.

About the same time, the Earl of Warwick, a great friend of New England, wrote an encouraging letter to Mr. Winthrop, in which he congratulated him on the prosperity of the settlement, and offered his services for its advancement.§

July 29. What the preliminary steps had been for erecting a fort on Castle Island does not appear; but now Governor Dudley and his Council repair to that island, with "divers Ministers and others," and there agreed upon erecting two platforms and one small fortification, and the Deputy-Governor, Mr. Ludlow, was appointed to oversee the work.

* He was member of Parliament for London, 1640, and died the same year. — See *Parliamentary Hist. of Eng.*, ix. *32. There was a Matthew Cradock, member of Parliament from Stafford, in the time of Philip and Mary, and was one of the members who "left it in disgust." There served in the same Parliament of 1640, with our Matthew Cradock, "Samuel Vassell."

† To be seen in Hubbard's *Hist. of New England*, 153.

‡ See *ante*, p. 64.

§ Several of the Puritan fathers' books, dedicated to this Earl, are in possession of the writer. He died 19 April, 1658, æ. 71, and was buried in Folstead church, Essex. "He was not content with hearing the long sermons of the Puritan divines, but he would have them repeated at his own house." — *Calamy, Fun. Ser.* in Granger. His residence is said to have been the finest in England.

Sept. 4. The time having arrived for the meeting of the General Court, it accordingly assembled at Newtown. It held a long and excited session; many subjects came up of great moment, among which a removal to Connecticut of an important part of the inhabitants of the Bay was one. This and other questions occupied the Court for a week, and then an adjournment for fourteen days was moved and carried. How much of the time of the Court was taken up in discussing the evils arising from the use of tobacco, "costly apparel, and immodest fashions," does not appear; but "pains and penalties" were prescribed for the special benefit of all such as presumed to indulge in them beyond specific bounds.

Sept. 1. The first book of the Records of Boston begins here; that is to say, what there is left of it, for the number of leaves torn off and lost is not known, nor when they were torn off and lost. The first entries now in being are in the autograph of Governor Winthrop.* It is probable that the first portion of the Records was occupied chiefly in the distribution and allotments of the lands of the peninsula,† and it may be that a list of the names of the residents was contained in the opening pages; but speculations of this nature are of small account. It is sufficient to state, that what now remains appears to be an entire book, ‡ the first entry beginning at the top of the page, and is in these words:—

"Whereas it hath been founde that muche damage hath allreadye happnd by laynge of stones and loges neere the bridge and landinge place, whereby diversst boats have been much brused; for p'vention of such harmes for tyme to come, it is ordered that whosoever shall unlade any stones, lumber, or logges, where the same may not be plainly seene at highe water, shall sett vp a pole or beacon to give notice thereof, upon paine that whosoever shall faile so to doe shall make full recompence for all such damage as shall happen: being only declarative of y^e com. lawe herein." §

Against the above first paragraph in the Records are set in the margin the names of those persons who had the direction of the affairs of the town for the year, but how they were appointed does not appear. It will be seen in process of time, however, that similar officers received the name of Select Men. The following names, occupying the left-hand margin of the original Record, are presumed to have been present

* The first two paragraphs are written with blue ink, which is yet bright.

† It is Mr. Quincy's opinion, that "the assignment of house-lots within the peninsula, and the allotting farms to succeeding emigrants, formed the chief business of the town authorities for nearly half a century."—*Municipal Hist. of Boston*, p. 2. That was, very probably, one of their chief concerns; but they had several others which they thought of equal, if not of greater, moment.

‡ It contains 161 pages, on foolscap paper. The paging and indexing was a comparatively modern labor, and from the pages running reg-

ularly through the book (from 1 to 161) it appears to be complete. The accompanying *fac simile* has been prepared at great cost, and is a faithful representation of half of the first page of the first volume.

§ Upon this last sentence Mr. Quincy remarks, "The persons passing this order, however, seem to have been under some apprehension lest their authority might be questioned."—*Municipal History*, p. 3. And well they might, for it will be remembered that, not many days before, their Charter had been demanded. That the future looked very critical to them is pretty certain.

when it was made; namely, JOHN WINTHROP, WILLIAM CODDINGTON, CAPT. JOHN UNDERHILL, THOMAS OLIVER, THOMAS LEVERETT, GILES FIRMIN, JOHN COGGESHALL, WILLIAM PEIRCE, ROBERT HARDINGE, and WILLIAM BRENTON.* The Record proceeds:—

“It is also ordered, that no person shall leave any fish or garbage neare the said bridge or common landing-place, between the creeks, whereby any annoyance may come to the people that passe that way, vpon payne to forfeit for every such offence five shillings, the same to be levied by distress of the goodes of the offender. And for the better execution of these orders, the aforesaid Giles Firmin is appointed overseer of said landing-place, to give notice to suche strangers and others as come hither with boats, and to take knowledge of all offences committed, and to levye the penalties which shall be forfeited. And if, after notice shall be given by the said overseer to any person that shall have any timber, logges, or stones, being without such pole or beacon, the said offender shall (after making recompence to the person dammified, if any damage happen) forfeit to the towne, for every daye the same offence shall continue, five shillings, to be levied by distresse.”†

These extracts are supposed‡ to establish the fact, that a narrow point or tongue of land projected into the harbor between Mill Creek and the Town Dock, and that upon and around this the principal business of Boston was at first done. The Triangular Warehouse, till



THE TRIANGULAR WAREHOUSE.

1824 an object of antiquarian curiosity, was built upon this point, though not until about sixty years after the period now treated of. It being thus introduced, it may not be improper in this connection to give an account of it.

For many years before the Triangular Warehouse was demolished it was an object of much interest, as a relic of ancient times, and as representing the style of

* There is one name in the MS. not entirely written out. This was crossed out apparently at the time it was written. I presume it was intended for *Edmund Quincy*. This person, whoever he was, may have been appointed one of the Town Officers, but not accepting the office, or otherwise prevented from being present. “Edmond Quinsey” was, at this time, an inhabitant of Boston, had been admitted a freeman 4 March, 1634.

† Nothing of a municipal character would be more natural, in a community associated for mutual benefit, than the choice or appointment of a few of their number to manage the general concerns of the whole. The missing portion of our Records would probably show this to have been among the first proceedings

of the town. The name *select men*, which they eventually received, was easily, naturally, and almost necessarily, acquired; for men selected for any specific object were *select men*. The number of these *select men* may have varied from time to time before the time reached by the Records. There was a Town Meeting on the 8th of the 6th month, at which were chosen Richard Bellingham, Esq., J. Cogan, merchant, in place of Giles Firmin, deceased, and Robert Harding, now in Virginia, to make up the ten to manage the affairs of the town.” Such officers first received the name *Select Men* in the Records in 1642.

‡ See Shaw's *Topog. and Hist. Descript. of Boston*, 73. Mr. Shaw is pretty good authority for facts of this nature, generally.

architecture in an early period of the history of Boston. The researches which have been made into its antiquities have not furnished data to establish the exact time of its foundation, but Mr. Shaw says it was "about the year 1700." In a "ledger-book" of the owners, that writer found some items* relative to the subject, but nothing concerning its time of building; though he says it was built by London merchants for a warehouse, and was subsequently improved for different purposes, both public and private. It stood opposite the Swing Bridge, so well known one hundred years ago, and at the head of the Town Dock, and measured forty-eight feet upon it; on Roebuck passage it measured forty-one feet, and on the back side fifty-five feet. Its foundation was of stone, and its walls of brick. These were of a larger size than the bricks of the country in later times. Its roof was slated. "There were two principal stories, with a good cellar underneath. The lower story appeared to have been arched, with very many doors and windows. On each corner and in the centre of the roof there was a tower, topped with a ball. The centre ball was of wood, the others of stone; all fixed on iron spires, set in lead."† There was a period in its history when it was the central point of the heaviest business done in the town, and here, for a long time, the public scales were kept. But, like every other structure of human art, it was doomed to sink into insignificance, as Time's heavy hand continued its pressure upon it; until its great agent, Improvement, came to its relief, and saved it from the mortification of crumbling to dust with the weight of years.

Sept. 18. In the midst of the stirring affairs which occupied the General Court now in session, there came in the ship Griffin, with about two hundred passengers, and one hundred cattle. Among the passengers were Mr. John Lathrop, Mr. Zachariah Synmes, and Mr. William Hutchinson. Of the trials and misfortunes of the latter gentleman notice will be taken in the order of their occurrence. His wife and several children came with him. He resided in Boston until the *Antinomian* controversy compelled him to remove to Rhode Island, over which colony he was the first Governor. Alford, in Lincolnshire, about twenty miles from Boston, was the place whence this family emigrated. Ann Hutchinson, who gave rise to the "Antinomians and Familists" in New England, was the wife of this William Hutchinson. Her maiden name was Marbury, a daughter of Mr. Edward Marbury,‡ "a godly minister of Lincolnshire," and also of London. These were the ancestors of one of the most distinguished Governors of Massachusetts, Governor Thomas Hutchinson. Mary, the sister of Mr. William Hutchinson, married Mr. John Wheelwright, also involved in the *Antinomian* troubles. Susannah, the mother of Mr. William Hutchin-

* "1714. To Cash for ground rent two years, £2 4s. — To Benjamin Hallowell, 11s. 9½d. — To Cash for a ladder, 17s. — Paid Mr. Manly for repairing the tiles and slates. — Cash for extraordinary charges when the cellar was overflowed, 15s." — *Descript. of Boston*, 73.

† "It was constructed with great strength, and the foundation stood upon a sandy marsh, beneath which there is found a solid blue clay, at about thirteen feet below the level of Ann Street." — *Snow*. ‡ See *Rise, Reign and Ruin of the Antinomians, &c.*, p. 33.

son, probably came with him to Boston. The fame of Cotton, no doubt, had induced them to follow his fortunes into "these goings down of the sun."

Among the acts of the General Court, six hundred pounds was ordered to be raised "towards fortifications and other charges; which were the more hastened," says Winthrop, because, by one of the ships just arrived, there came over a copy of the commission for taking away their Patent.* Thus this act can only be construed as intended to resist the power of England. To return to the Records of the Town:

Dec. 10. "At a generall meeting vpon publick notice. Imp^o. It was ordered that Mr. Willson, the Pastor (in lieu of his land granted him at the North river, by Mestick, wch he should passe ouer to the towne of Boston), should haue so much land at Mount Wooleston at his election. And after so much as shall be his portion of other lands belonging to the towne, to be laid him out so neere his other lands at Mount Wooleston as may be for his most conveniency." †

Dec. 18. At a meeting eight days after, ‡ "vpon publique" notice, it was agreed that "Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Coddington, Mr. Bellingham, § Mr. Cotton, Mr. Ollyver, Mr. Colborne, and William Balstone, shall have power to divide and dispose of all such lands belonging to y^e towne (as are not yet in y^e lawfull possession of any pticular prsons) to the inhabitants of y^e towne, according to y^e orders of Court; leaving such portions in comon for y^e vse of newe comers, and y^e further benefitt of y^e towne, as in their best discretions they shall thinke fitt; the ilands hyred by y^e towne to be also included in this order."

The project of a removal to Connecticut of many distinguished settlers in and about Boston, caused great agitation in the town and

* See *ante*, p. 172.

† It was judged proper to introduce a few of the early entries from the Records, exactly as they are recorded, that the reader may have a just understanding of the manner in which the early public business of Boston was transacted.

‡ Winthrop, in his *Journal*, i. 151, speaks of a Town Meeting on the 11 Dec., "to choose seven men who should divide the town lands among them." From the same source we learn that the seven men were chosen by written ballots; or, to use his words, "by papers." At this meeting they left out Winthrop, Coddington, "and other of the chief men; only they chose one of the Elders and a Deacon, and the rest of the inferior sort." (But the names of the "inferior sort" are not given.) This they did, "as fearing that the richer men would give the poorer sort no great proportions of land, but would rather leave a great part at liberty for new comers and for common, which Mr. Winthrop had oft perswaded them unto, as best for the town." — *Ibid.*, 151-2. However, Mr. Cotton interfered, and influenced the people to reconsider their election of the 11th, and to hold another on the next lecture day, which they did, the

doings of which comprise the next entry on the records, namely, Dec. 18th. The choice made the previous lecture day is not recorded, except by Winthrop in his *Journal*.

§ Some very interesting original letters, by a relative in England, are published in the *New England Hist. and Gen. Reg.* for April, 1853. His name is prominent in our history for a long period, and though the Quakers handle his name without ceremony, if not without mercy, and while it must be confessed they had reason to do so, yet he was not without eminent virtues. A town in the State perpetuates his name. A Henry Belyngham was Proctor of New College, Oxford, 1598. — *Gutch's Apx. to Wood*. A Sir Henry Bellingham was High Sheriff of Yorkshire, 1596. He married a daughter of Francis Boynton (a family traceable to Bartholomew de Bovington, living at the beginning of the 12th century). Our Richard was, no doubt, of the Yorkshire Bellinghams. Much of interest may be found concerning branches of the Bellinghams in Fuller's *Worthies* and Nichols' *Progresses*. Gov. Bellingham died 7 Dec., 1672, in his 81st year. He was the last of the Patentees. — *Int.-leaved A'ck of Judge Sewall*, in the hands of Mr. FREDERIC KIDDER.

vicinity. It was a subject of legislation, and was debated with much earnestness in the session of September, and also at the adjourned meeting, fourteen days later. The chief argument against a removal was, of course, made by those in authority residing in Boston and its immediate neighborhood. They very reasonably argued that, without a division, they were weak, and exposed to invasion; from the French by sea, and the Indians by land. But Mr. Hooker, as head of the Church at Newtown, urged their straitened circumstances for want of land. They had had from Captain Oldham and others glowing accounts of beautiful meadows along the Connecticut, and this was an important consideration, as they had many cattle to be provided for in an approaching winter; and while nothing is said about the meadows hereabout having been taken up and appropriated before their arrival; that Boston had already or might soon exercise an undue influence over the adjacent towns; that the offices had begun to be pretty sharply contested; that so many men of acknowledged ability and capacity, in one small community, afforded but a distant prospect of a just appreciation of them all, and hence the prospect of their being called into exercise being small and remote;—that all these considerations were taken into account may be more than probable.* However, those who advocated a removal were bound to abide the decision of the General Court. They did abide it; and when the day came to take the question, they got a majority of votes for removal.† From the time of this decision until October of the next year, preparations went steadily on for a removal; and, though no doubt some went in the mean time, it was not till the twentieth of October, 1635, that the main body of the settlers, consisting of “about sixty men, ‡ women, and children, with their horses, cattle, and swine,” set off, like the ancient Israelites, for their Land of Promise, upon a journey through a dense wilderness, which occupied them fourteen days in its accomplishment. § Though the loss of so many worthy inhabitants from this

* Hubbard says, “two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of differing influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb.”—*Hist. New Eng.*, 173. “Mr. Cotton had such an insinuating and melting way in his preaching, that he would usually carry his very adversary captive after the triumphant chariot of his rhetoric.”—*Ibid.*, 175.

† While the matter was thus in debate in the General Court, some of Watertown took the opportunity of seizing a brave piece of meadow aimed at by those of Newtown, which, as was reported, proved a bone of contention between them, &c.—Hubbard, *N. Eng.*, 177.

‡ Some idea of the individuals composing this company may be had (that is, the names of the men) from a list of those who owned land in Hartford in 1639, four years after the great emigration. Until this year (1639) no catalogue of the inhabitants appears; then the Town Records of Hartford begin, or then

the owners of lots were entered in a book.—See Dr. Joel Hawes' *Centennial Discourse* at Hartford, 9 Nov., 1834, to which is appended a list of the names here referred to. See also elaborate *Historical Notes on Connecticut*, by Mr. W. S. Porter, 12mo, 1842.

§ “Hearing of a very fertile place,” says Johnson, “upon the river of Connecticut low land, and well stored with meddow,—this people, seeing that tillage went but little on, resolved to remove and breed up store of cattell, which were then at eight and twenty pound a cow, or neare upon. But these men, having their hearts gone from the Lord, soone tooke dislike at every little matter; the plowable plaines were too dry and sandy for them, and the rocky places, although more fruitfull, yet to eat their bread with toile of hand, and how they deemed it insupportable. And they only waited now for a people of stronger faith than themselves were, to purchase their houses and land; accordingly they met with Chap-

then weak and feeble community was heavily felt at the time, it was more than made up, in numbers at least, by immediate arrivals from England, as will be marked in the sequel. Meantime there was little satisfaction in the consideration, that those friends who had thus buried themselves in the wilderness had lost much in security, whatever they might gain in lands and liberty.

CHAPTER XX.

Pequot Messengers visit Boston. — Fail in their Object. — Others arrive, — and are successful. — Their Detail of Stone's Death. — Some Narragansets appear in the Neighborhood. — Pequots fear being intercepted by them. — They conclude a Treaty. — Their Diplomatic Skill. — Not so Treacherous as represented. — Incident in the Life of John Eliot. — Ship *Regard* arrives. — John Mansfield. — Casualty. — Town Meeting Proceedings. — Orders about allotting out the Land. — About Fences and Gates. — School Master. — Regulation about Litigations. — Apprehensions from the French. — *La Tour's* Gasconade. — Severity of the Winter. — Israel Stoughton. — Bullets pass for Money. — Roger Williams. — Election. — Governor Haynes. — Manner of Election. — Captain Hurlstone. — Captain Graves. — Many Ships arrive. — Terrible Storm. — Richard Mather. — Ship *Angel Gabriel* lost. — Another, with many Lives. — Arrival of distinguished Men. — Vane, Peters, Shepard. — Further Trouble about Roger Williams. — His Banishment. — Arrival of Capt. Lyon Gardiner.



THE affair of the murder of Captains Stone, Norton, and others, by the Pequot* Indians, seems not to have occupied much of the attention of the Authorities in Boston since their occurrence until the present time, and would not probably now, had not Oct. *end.* the Pequots themselves moved in it. This they hardly would have done had they been innocent. But being desirous to be thought so by the people here, Sassacus, their chief Sachem, sent a messenger to conciliate them. He brought two bundles of sticks to designate how many beaver and other skins, and

how much wampum, he would pay to have the matter passed over without further notice. After exchanging a few presents with Mr. Ludlow, he was dismissed with this message to his Chief, "that he

men, a people new come, who having bought their possessions, they lighted them away to their new plantation." — *Wonder-working Providence*. 75-6.

* The following are a few of the variations of the spelling of this name: —

PEQUOTS. — *Gookin, Mason, I. Mather, Williams, Winthrop, Johnson, C. Mather.*

PEQUODS. — *Hubbard, Gookin, Winthrop, Hutchinson, Douglass.*

PEQUANTS. — *Wood, Vincent.*

PEQUETS. — *Vincent, Pynchon, Underhill.*

PEQUINS. — *Wentrop, Rees. U. Cols.*

PEQUEATS. — *Underhill.*

PEQUITS. — *Gardener, MS. Letters, Short Story.*

PERODS. — *Winthrop.*

PEQUIDS. — *Stoughton in Winthrop, MS. Letter.*

PECOATS. — *Winslow.*

PECOITS. — *Doc. in Hazard.*

PECOATES. — *Gov. Dudley.*

PEQUTS. — *Roger Williams.*

PAQUOATS. — *Treaty of 1638.*

PEQUOTS. — *MS. of E. Rawson.*

PEQUITT. — *Gookin, Denison.*

PECOTTS. — *Rees. U. Cols.*

PEACOTTS. — *Rees. U. Cols.*

PEQUODS. — *Johnson.*

Other variations might be found, but these will suffice to show even the curious, probably, that the early writers considered the orthography of Indian names as a matter of no consequence. *Pequot* signifies *grey fox*, hence the Grey Fox Indians.

must send persons of greater quality," and then the Governor would treat with them.

Nov. 6. Two other messengers soon appeared. They brought a present of wampum, and, it being lecture day at Boston, the Assistants and Ministers held a sort of Council with the Indians. They were told that the English were willing to be friends with them, but that they must first give up those Indians who had murdered their countrymen. The Pequots seem to have been well prepared to defend their cause, and to justify what had been done by their people. They said that their Sachem, who was alive when the Englishmen were killed, was dead; that he had been killed by the Dutch; and as to the men engaged in the murder, they had all died of the small pox but two. These two, if worthy of death, they said they would move their Sachem to have them delivered up; but "they had no authority to do it." Respecting the killing of the Englishmen, it was done in self-defence; or this was the sum of the argument of the Pequot messengers. They said that Captain Stone and his men took two Indians, and, binding them hand and foot, made them show him up the river; that they were watched by nine Indians, and when they came on shore, and were asleep, they killed them; that then going towards the pinnace, it suddenly blew up. "This," says Winthrop, "was related with such confidence and gravity, as, having no means to contradict it, we inclined to believe it." However, Governor Dudley not being present, nothing was decided.

Nov. 9. Within a day or two, it appears that the Indians had an interview with Governor Dudley and his Council, and a treaty was concluded.* In the mean time, news reached Boston that two or three hundred Indians of the Narraganset tribe were lying about Neponset, and were waiting to intercept the Pequot ambassadors. This created a great sensation. The soldiers seized their arms and rendezvoused at Roxbury without loss of time. There also assembled the officers of Government, who at once despatched a messenger to the Narragansets, with a request that they would meet them at their camp without delay. The Indians attended the summons immediately. The English were somewhat surprised when they found that instead of three hundred, no more than two Chiefs and about twenty others were all that were in the company; and, that, instead of a hostile expedition, they were upon a hunting excursion only. The English, not fully understanding their design, probably, began to treat for the privilege of a safe return of the Pequots. They were told that these Indians had promised them a large amount of wampum, in a treaty just concluded, and that, if they would not molest the Pequots, they should have a part of it,—when they got it. The Narragansets were a magnanimous people, and they very readily agreed to the proposal, "and in all things showed themselves very ready to gratify the English, and departed well satisfied," and the Pequots returned in safety. Thus affairs with the Indians remained for the present.

* Particulars in THE BOOK OF THE INDIANS, Book ii. 166-7.

But it afterwards appeared that the Pequots had got both the Dutchmen and Narragansets against them, and they had concluded to make some sacrifices to secure the friendship of the English. This was the key to their solicitude to adjust the affair of Captain Stone's death. Whoever in after times shall have the curiosity to investigate the political history of the Pequots, cannot fail to come to the conclusion, that if they had learned diplomacy in the schools of Europe, they could not have managed this matter with better success, thus far.

The Pequots were accused of treachery in their proceedings; but it would not be difficult to soften this charge into one merely of retaliation. Circumstances have a thousand times occurred, in which individuals as well as nations have mistook the one for the other. The Pequots had "treacherously" killed some Indians who came to the Dutch settlement on the Connecticut to trade. Is there any proof that this was not an act of retaliation? The Dutchmen had killed Totobam,* the Pequot Chief. Is there satisfactory proof that this was not an act of treachery on the part of the former? Mere assertion on the part of a historian will not settle cases like these.

A circumstance, amusing if not instructive to the present generation, grew out of the treaty with the Pequots. Mr. Eliot, of Roxbury, took occasion in a sermon to censure the Ministers, who had participated in making the treaty, for doing so without the advice of the people. Perhaps Mr. Eliot had not been consulted; however, the people began to reiterate Mr. Eliot's sentiments, which, coming to the ears of the Authorities, order was taken that "he should be dealt with." Accordingly Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker and Mr. Weld were appointed "to deal with him," which they proceeded to do; the result was, he was brought to see his error, and did "acknowledge, that for a peace only, the Magistrates might conclude *plebe inconsulto*,† and so promised to express himself in public next Lord's day."

Nov. 13. A ship named the *Regard*, of about two hundred tons, arrived at Boston. She came from Barnstable, and had on board twenty passengers, and about fifty cattle. One passenger is mentioned by name, John Mansfield, "a poor godly man of Exeter," who "being very desirous to come to New England, and not able to transport his family, a Mr. Marshall of that city being troubled in his dreams about the said poor man, could not be quiet till he had given him fifty pounds to enable him to go, and lent him one hundred pounds more." This man was the son of a knight, Sir John Mansfield, "Master of the Minories" and who had been one of Queen Elizabeth's Surveyors. His sister Elizabeth was the wife of Mr. John Wilson, the first Minister of Boston, and Anne, another sister, was the wife of Captain Robert Keane, of Boston.‡

Nov. 21. In one of those severe north-east storms, so common on all the coast of New England, a boat was lost in the harbor, and John

* Broadhead, *Hist. State of N. York*, 234, has his name *Totogyan*.

† That is, without taking advice of the rabble. 156.

‡ Notes to Capt. Keane's Will, by Mr. John Dean, in *N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, vi.

Willys,* "a godly man, one Dorety, an honest man, and two boys" were drowned. Three days after, their boat was found at Muddy River, overturned." They had been to Noddle's Island for wood, with which probably they had overloaded their boat, and attempting to return in the night, "and none of them having any skill or experience," were thus unhappily lost.

Feb. 12. It was ordered, in Town Meeting, that "all the inhabitants shall plant, eyther vpon such ground as is alreadie broken vp or inclosed in y^e Neck,† or else vpon ground at Noddles Island, from Mr. Maverakes graunt;" able men to have two acres each, and "able youth one each, to be allotted out by Mr. Hutchinson,‡ Mr. Cogan,§ Mr. Sampford,|| William Cheesbrough¶ and Mr. Brenton,(*) or any three of them." Every man to make his fences sufficient for all his planting ground on the Neck, "vpon paine, y^e if any losse doe come for defect therein," the owner of such fence to make it good, "vnlesse it doe come by vnruely cattell." "All y^e fences bee made sufficient before y^e seventh day of y^e second month, and they to bee looked vnto by our brother Grubb,(†) and brother Hudson,(‡) for y^e New Field; or brother Pennymman,(§) and brother Colborne,(||) for y^e field by him; our brother Penn,(¶) and brother Belcher,[*] for y^e Fort Field."

Mar. 23. "Att" another "gen'all" meeting, it was agreed that overseers of fences should see that "such Styles and Gates as may bee needfull," should be put up: "brother Wilebore,[†] to see to y^e Gate and Style next vnto Roxburie." And "whereas y^e wood vpon y^e Neck of land towards Roxburie,[‡] hath this last winter beene disorderly

* Mr. Jo. Willust, freeman, 6 Nov., 1632.

† By the Neck, as used here, the whole of the Peninsula was meant. More recently, that part only which connects Boston with Roxbury was so denominated. Wood, in his *N. Eng. Prospect*, p. 32, says, "This Necke of land is not above foure miles in compasse," &c. — See *ante*, p. 139-41.

‡ William Hutchinson, freeman, 4 March, 1635. — See *ante*, pp. 175-6.

§ John Coggin, freeman, 5 Nov., 1633. — See *ante*.

|| John Sanford? — John Sampeford, freeman, 3 April, 1632.

¶ William Cheesbrough, freeman, 18 May, 1631. — See *ante*, p. 126.

(*) William Brenton, freeman, 14 May, 1634. He afterwards settled in the Narraganset country, R. I., and was ancestor of the late English admirals of the name. — See Brenton's *Naval Hist.* and O'Byrne's *Naval Biog.*

(†) Thomas Grubb, freeman, 4 March, 1633.

(‡) William Hudson, freeman, 18 May, 1631. Francis, son of William Hudson of Chatham, Co. of Kent, Eng., was one of the first who set foot on the peninsula of Boston. He died 3 Nov., 1700, aged 82. — *Farmer out of Swall.*

(§) James Pennyman, freeman, 6 March, 1632.

(||) Mr. William Colbron, freeman, 19 Oct., 1630.

(¶) James Pen, freeman, 19 Oct., 1630.

[*] Mr. Edward Belchar, freeman, 18 May, 1631.

[†] Samuel Wilboare, freeman, 4 March, 1634. — This name has undergone various changes of orthography; some families adopting one spelling, and some another. It is sometimes written Wildbore, Wilbur, Wilbore, &c.

[‡] Thus the question, whether wood formerly grew here is clearly set at rest by this record. It is difficult to account for the passage in the *New Eng. Prospect*, by that accurate observer, its Author, which is in these words: — "Boston is two miles north-east from Roxberry; this situation is very pleasant, being a peninsula, hem'd in on the south side with the Bay of Roxberry, on the north side with Charles River, the Marshes on the backside, being not halfe a quarter of a mile over; so that a little fencing will secure their cattle from the wolues. Their greatest wants be wood, and meadow ground, which never were in that place; being constrained to fetch their building timber, and fire-wood from the islands in boates, and their hay in loyers: It being a Necke, and bare of wood: they are not troubled with three great annoyances; of wolues, rattle-snakes, and musketoes. These that live here upon their cattle, must be constrained to take farmes in the countrey, or else they can-

cutt vp and wasted, whereby many of y^e poore inhabitants are disappointed of releife," therefore it is agreed "y^t Mr. Treasurer Bellingham and Mr. William Hutchinson, wth the three deacon's shall consider whoe have beene faultie herein, and sett downe what restitution of wood vnto the poore such shall make."

The business of the meeting being retarded probably, by persons attending to and discussing their private affairs, caused the following order to be passed, namely, "y^t whosoever at any publique meeting shall fall into pryvate conference to y^e hindrance of y^e publique businesses, shall forfeit for enery such offence twelue pence, to bee paid into y^e Cunstable's hand for publique vse." At the same meeting, the Record reads, "It is gen^{lly} agreed y^t noe wood shalbe felled at any of the islands nor elsewhere, vntill they bee lotted out, but att Muddy Ryver, Dorchester Necke or Noddles Island; y^t all y^e wood as yet left vpon y^e Necke of land towards Roxburie, shall bee gathered vp and layd or heaped in pyles" before the seventh of April next.

April 13. The Town ordered that all the "drye cattle put vnto our brother Cheesbrough for keeping att Pullin Point Necke vntill the first of y^e ninth month, shalbe at the rate of five shillings a head vnto him. Likewise it was then gen^{lly} agreed vpon, y^t o^r brother Philemon Pormont* shalbe intreated to become schoolmaster for the teaching and nourtering of children wth vs." At the same time Richard Fairbanke† was ordered to be "intreated to take the cowes to keeping of, vpon y^e Neck," but if he declined, another brother, "Thomas Aug. 8. Wardall‡ to be intreated therevnto;" and "Nicholas Willys was chosen Cunstable."

Nov. 30. It was ordered that "new-comers" could not have allotments of land unless they were "likely to be received members of the congregation;" that none should be allowed to sell their houses or lots to "new-comers," without the consent of those appointed allotters; that those who have lands allotted "should build thereon before the first of the first month, called March," or the "Allotters to dispose of y^m" to others. That "Mr. William Hutchinson, Mr. William Colborne and Mr. William Brenton shall sett pryces vpon all cattell, comodities, victualls, and laboorer's and workmen's wages, and y^t noe other prises or rates shalbe given or taken."

To prevent hasty litigation this order was thus early made: "Noe inhabitants among vs shall sue one another at y^e lawe before y^t Mr. Henry Waue § [Vane], and y^e twoe elders, Mr. Thomas Ollyver and Thomas Leverett have had y^e hearing and desyding of y^e cause, if they

not subsist; the place being too small to containe many, and fittest for such as can trade into England, for such commodities as the countrey wants, being the chiefe place for shipping and merchandise." These observations were made in 1634. — See *Wood*, p. 32-3.

* Philemon Portuorte, freeman, 6 May, 1635. — Some account of his family may be

seen in *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 400. — See also *Farmer's Register*.

† Richard Fairebanks, freeman, 14 May, 1634.

‡ Thomas Wardall, freeman, 4 March, 1635.

§ Presumed to be no other than Henry Vane, Esq., though he had landed in Boston only the October before.

cann." Mr. William Colborne, Mr. William Aspinwall,* Mr. John Sampford, William Balstone,† and Richard Wright,‡ were Dec. 14. directed to bound out lands at Mount Wollaston for Mr. William Coddington and Edmund Quinsey; also a farm "sufficient for Mr. Cotton, at Muddy River; Mr. Colburn one at the same place "neare unto and about his house w^h he hath there built;" the two elders, "Mr. Thomas Ollyver and Thomas Leveritt," also to have their farms laid out at the same place.

Notwithstanding the anticipated troubles recently from the French had pretty nearly subsided, such was the state of feeling between England and France, that no permanent hopes could be entertained anywhere, that new troubles might not, at any moment, arise. Of this the Jan. 15. people of Boston had a new proof early this year; a slight collision having occurred at the eastward between the French and some of the Plymouth men, in which two of the latter had been captured, with their effects. Soon after, Mr. Allerton went to demand their liberation; but the French officer in command, Monsieur La Tour, refused to deliver the men or goods, and, in a sort of gasconade, bid Allerton tell the English on the coast, that all the country from Cape Sable to Cape Cod belonged to the King of France; and that if they persisted to trade east of Pemaquid, he would make prize of them; and when Mr. Allerton desired to see his Commission for all that, he replied, "That his sword was Commission sufficient;" when that failed, he said, it was time enough to produce his Commission. This being now reported at Boston, which, added to their fears for the loss of their Charter, gave, for a time, a chill to the prospects of the community. The Plymouth people, not long after, attempted to enlist the Authorities in the Bay to join them, and to send a force sufficient to dispossess the French; but the Bay people declined.

Jan. 31. The winter, which had now fully set in, was exceedingly severe; "three men had their boat frozen up at Bird Island,§ as they were coming from Deer Island, so as they were compelled to lodge there all night; and the next morning they came over the ice to Noddle's Island, and thence to Molten's Point,|| in Charlestown, and thence over the ice by Mr. Hoffe's to Boston." At the same time six persons were kept a week on Governor's Island, at the end of which they got to Mattapan Point with their boat. For nearly the same space of time the ice was not broken between Governor's Island and Boston, neither could boats pass to Charlestown for two or three days together.

* Mr. William Aspinwall, freeman, 3 April, 1632. below high-water mark in 1775, and how long before that, is not certain.

† William Balstone, freeman, 18 May, 1631. || So named from Robert Moulton, probably, an early settler of Charlestown; freeman, 18 May, 1631. He was a shipwright. Among those who petitioned in favor of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright, was Robert Moulton. He was then (1636) of Salem.

‡ Richard Wright, freeman, 14 May, 1632.

§ A lodging on Bird Island, even a hundred years ago, would not have been a very comfortable one probably. Its head had sunk

Feb. 15. Nearly a month later ice continued in the harbor, in passing upon which, from Boston to Winesmet, a young man, servant to Mr. Richard Bellingham, fell through and was drowned.

Mar. 4. At a General Court at Newtown,* Captain Israel Stoughton was censured for promulgating certain opinions against the authority of magistrates. An order was passed that brass farthings should no longer be received as farthings, and that, instead thereof, musket bullets should be used. At this Court Mr. Hooker preached a discourse.

April. 25. Just before Governor Dudley's term of service expired, he and his Assistants summoned Roger Williams before them to answer to the charge concerning oaths. He had maintained that to administer an oath to a wicked person, or "an unregenerate man," was in itself a wicked act, inasmuch as it caused such person "to take the name of God in vain. After being heard before all the Ministers, he was very clearly confuted. Mr. Endicott was at first of the same opinion, but he gave place to the truth."

May 6. At the General Court of election now convened at Newtown, John Haynes, Esquire, was chosen Governor, Richard Bellingham, Esquire, Deputy Governor, and Mr. Hough and Mr. Dummer, Assistants. Mr. Endicott was left out of office, on account, apparently, of the affair of the colors; but the expediency of his holding office pending the uncertainty attending the demand of the Charter, may have had a place with the reasons unassigned for his retirement. Mr. Ludlow had given some offence, by electioneering too strenuously, and being a little too dictatorial in arrangement for the election. Some thought he was somewhat impatient to be Governor.

The manner of proceeding to choose the officers at this Election is thus clearly described by the Ex-Governor:—"The Governor and Deputy were elected by papers, wherein their names were written; but their Assistants were chosen by papers without names, namely, the Governor propounded one to the people; then they all went out, and came in at one door, and every man delivered a paper into a hat. Such as gave their vote for the party named, gave in a paper with some figures or scroll in it; others gave in a blank."

After the election, Mr. Haynes made an address to the people, in which he stated that he knew the burthen upon them by way of taxes had been very great, especially upon the poorer sort; that, therefore, to do all he could to lighten those burthens, he should administer the government free of any charge.†

About this time Mr. Winthrop received a visit from his old friend, Captain Nicholas Hurlstone. He had been living in St. Christophers

* The members from Boston at this Court were Mr. Richard Bellingham, Mr. Edward Gibbons, Mr. John Coggeshall, and Mr. William Colburn.

† Out of a rate of £600, ordered to be raised last year, Boston, Dorchester, and Newtown, were each assessed £80; this year these towns were assessed only £27 6s. 8d. each, the whole amount to be raised being £200. Thus, up to this time, Dorchester and Newtown were considered equal, in wealth at least, to Boston.

about five years, to which place he probably went immediately after he landed the colonists here from the Ambrose in 1630. Now he came as a merchant, in a Dutch ship which arrived at Marblehead. He gave his host an account of that island, which he recorded in his journal.* The people there, he said, were very wicked, though they had three English churches in the place.

June 4. A few days later came another of the old captains, Captain Graves, in the James, who had come every year for the last seven years; and the same day arrived two Dutch ships. They brought twenty-seven Flanders mares, three horses, sixty-three heifers, and eighty-eight sheep.† They were five and a half weeks from the Texel,‡ “and lost not one beast or sheep.” And, only three days after, “there came in seven other ships, and one to Salem, and four more to the mouth of the Bay, with store of passengers and cattle.”

Great inconvenience had been experienced, on arrivals of vessels, “by people’s running to the ships, and the excessive prices of commodities;” to prevent which it was ordered that one in each town should buy for the whole; but this, says, Winthrop, took no good effect.

June 24. The enterprise which brought people to Boston carried them away from it in every direction, thus early, and on every kind of business; some far into the wilderness to trade with the Indians, some to Cape Cod to catch whales for their oil, and now a company goes with Captain Hodges, in the Rebecca, and Captain Graves, in the James, to the Isle Sable, to catch “sea-horses.” But from this last expedition they returned with only partial success. While they were at that island a most terrible storm visited the coast of New England, doing immense damage, in which many lives were lost; but it did not extend so far east as Cape Sable, though it was felt “a great way south.” The ship James, of Bristol, Captain Taylor, had a most narrow escape at the Isle of Shoals. After losing three anchors, she was saved by a momentary veering of the wind. She had on board “one hundred passengers, honest people of Yorkshire,” among whom was Mr. Richard Mather, § the ancestor of the noted divines of that name, with his family, long famous in Boston; also Mr. Matthew Mitchell, Mr. Daniel Maud, Nathaniel Wales, Barnabas Fower, Thomas Armitage, and George Kenrick. At the same time sailed from Bristol the Angel Gabriel, which, in the same storm, was driven from her anchors at Pemaquid and lost. She was a strong ship and well furnished, with some fifteen pieces of ordnance. In the

* That the Captain Hurlston here mentioned is the same who, in 1630, commanded the Ambrose is to me very probable. Hence the paragraph in the text.

† The mares were priced, each, £34; heifers, £12; sheep, 50s.

‡ Winthrop has it *Tessell*. I have substituted a place better known, at least.

§ A journal kept by Mr. Mather of this voyage has been neatly and in a convenient form published by Mr. David Clapp, Boston, 12mo, 1850. The original is in possession of the Dorchester Antiquarian Society. Of the descendants of Richard Mather, a pretty full account will be found in the *New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vol. vi. p. 20-2.

same tempest a bark of Mr. Allerton's was cast away upon Cape Ann, by which disaster twenty-one persons perished, seven of whom were the family of Mr. John Avery, including himself. Mr. Anthony Thacher and his wife were the only persons saved out of all that were on board, and their preservation was, at the time, viewed as a Remarkable Providence; they having been cast ashore in a surprising manner, and kept from starving by some necessities as surprisingly cast on shore also.

A nephew of Anthony Thacher, then a young man, left the vessel at Ipswich, influenced, it is said, by some melancholy forebodings in his mind respecting the voyage by water, and so escaped the disaster which fell so heavily upon almost all the rest. And thus was another progenitor* of a numerous and distinguished family remarkably preserved.

Sept. 1. At the Quarterly General Court† appeared the first Grand Jury of the country, "who presented above one hundred offences; and, among others, some of the magistrates." At the same Court, Captain Trask, one of its members, was directed to apprehend "divers lewd servants," who had stolen and run away with a boat and other things. He pursued them to the Isle of Shoals, and thence to Pascataqua where, in the night, he took them by surprise; and, bringing them to Boston, they were, at the next Court, "severely whipped, and ordered to pay all charges."

Oct. 6. There was now a large addition made to the distinguished individuals lately arrived. In "two great ships, the Defence and the Abigail," came to Boston Mr. Wilson, the Pastor, Mr. Thomas Shepard, Mr. John Jones, Mr. Hugh Peters, John Winthrop, junior, Henry Vane, Esquire,‡ besides others who equally deserve particular mention.

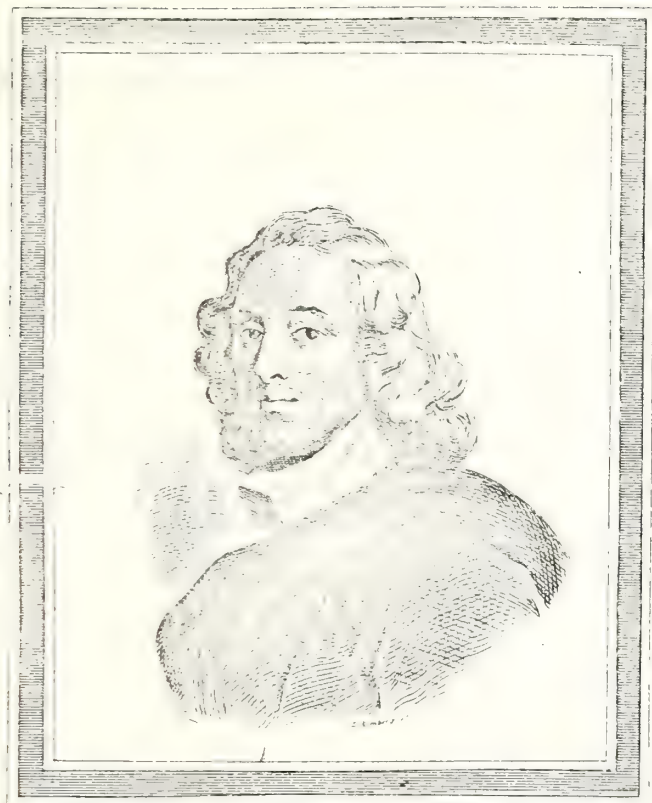
October. The Church of Boston had all along been in trouble about the "heresy" of Roger Williams, and now, at the General Court, "he was again convented," at which "all the ministers in the Bay were desired to be present." He was accused of writing letters "full of antichristian pollution." He now not only justified the letters, but all the opinions advanced in them also. To induce him to retract, it was proposed to postpone proceedings for a month, and at the end of that time to have further "conference or a disputation;" but he asked for no delay, and desired to dispute then. "So Mr. Hooker was appointed to dispute with him, but could not reduce him from any of his

* The preservation of John Howland, of the Mayflower, is of deep interest. See the *N. E. Hist. and G. Reg.*, vol. ii. 186-8. There is, in Mr. Buckingham's *N. Eng. Mag.* for July, 1834, an interesting pedigree of the Thacher family, by a distinguished descendant and friend of the writer, the late Dr. James Thacher, of Plymouth. There is also extant, and which the writer has seen, an extensive MS. memoir of the family, recently in possession of a gentleman of Saco, Me.

† The Boston members of this Court were

William Hutchinson, William Colburn, and William Brenton. From Dorchester, Nathaniel Duncan, Capt. John Mason, William Gallard. Four from Salem; Capt. Trask, John Woodbury, Jacob Barney, and John Spencer.

‡ See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 121, &c., in which I have attempted to do something like justice to the memory of this distinguished man. Winthrop mentions his arrival, and, in a separate paragraph, speaks of him with the greatest respect.—*Journal*, i. 170.



Sir Henry Vane.

FIFTH GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

Born 1612—died 1662

errors. So, the next morning, the Court sentenced him to depart out of its jurisdiction within six weeks; all the ministers, save one, approving the sentence."*

It was specially enjoined upon Mr. Williams "not to exercise his gifts" meanwhile; and that, if he obeyed the injunction, he might be allowed to continue till spring. It does not appear, however, that he made any promises of obedience; and, within a few weeks, the news was current at Boston that he was entertaining company at his house, and did preach to them, and thereby did "go about to draw others to his opinions." Therefore the Authorities ordered him to be taken into custody, and that, by a ship then lying at Nantasket ready for sea, he should be sent into England. A warrant was sent to him at Salem, by virtue of which he was to be brought to Boston, and there put on board the ship. But the officer charged with that duty found Mr. Williams sick, and unable to leave his house without evident hazard of his life. This was his excuse for not obeying the mandate; which excuse was brought to Boston by "divers of Salem." Whereupon Captain Underhill was despatched in a pinnace to apprehend and convey him on board the ship. But, on the arrival of the Captain at his house, he found that Mr. Williams had been gone three days, and whither no one could (or would) tell. And thus escaped the founder of Rhode Island from the hands raised against him, under a mistaken sense of duty, and was wending his way through an almost trackless wilderness, amidst the snows and frosts of midwinter, or encountering the more perilous journey in an open boat, following the indentations of the icy and savage coast, southward, for that safety of person and freedom of conscience which he knew God had vouchsafed to all men.

Nov. 3. John Winthrop, junior, who had recently returned from England, sent out a bark of thirty tons and about twenty men, to take possession of the mouth of Connecticut river; for which object he had made preparations in England, and had procured a Patent of territory thereabouts, and a commission to be its Governor; and, by the Nov. 23. end of the month, Captain Lyon Gardiner arrived at Boston in a small vessel, in which were twelve men and two women. Their destination was also the mouth of the Connecticut. Gardiner was an expert engineer, and had served in that capacity in the Low Countries. He had been engaged to go there and construct a fortification, and "to command it," by the Lords Say and Brook, Sir Arthur Heslerigge,† Sir Matthew Boynton,‡ and others, under the im-

* Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 170-1. His Editor, though usually free with his conjectures, does not adventure one as to who it was that would not endorse the sentence of banishment against Mr. Williams. Was it Cotton?

† He was eldest son of Sir Thomas Heslerigge, of Noseley, in Leicestershire; being so disgusted with the arbitrary government of Charles I., that he determined to quit his country and come to New England. In Parliament he was among the most prominent

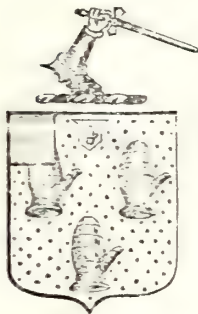
opposers of that ill-advised and headstrong Monarch, and was the member who preferred the bill of attainder against Wentworth, Earl of Strafford. In the Civil War which followed, he was the first "to draw the sword, and throw the sheath away." At the Restoration he was thrown into the Tower, where he died of a fever, 8 Jan., 1661.—See Grainger, and Grey's *Notes to Hudibras*.

‡ In Gardiner's own account of his coming over, and of his employers, he wrote this

mediate direction of Governor John Winthrop, junior.* The Authorities of Boston improved the opportunity of his being here, to engage him to undertake the completion of the fortification on Fort Hill.

CHAPTER XXI.

Town's Proceedings. — Lands laid out to the Inhabitants at Mount Wollaston at Muddy River. — Ferry to Charlestown and Winesimmet. — Lieut. Gardiner employed on the Fort. — Grand Jurors. — Watch ordered. — Overseers of Town Concerns chosen. — Orders concerning Fences, Hogs, entertaining of Strangers. — Members to the General Court. — Magistrates for Life. — Fire. — Ship Charity arrives. — Benevolent Act of Hugh Peters. — Ship St. Patrick. — Difficulty with the Officer of the Castle. — Other Troubles about the Fort. — Colors restored. — Vane elected Governor. — Internal Town Regulations. — Lands allotted to Owen Rowe at Mount Wollaston. — Water Bailiffs appointed. — Constable. — Houses not allowed to be built near Streets. — Hogreeves.



Jan. 4. AT a Town Meeting, six hundred acres of land were ordered to be laid out for "Mr. Atherton Haulgh," † beyond "Mount Woollystone, betweene Monottycott ryver" and Weymouth bounds; and if it did not contain a "meete" proportion of meadow, he was to have "it in y^e little meaddow at y^e vpper end of y^e fresh brooke, called y^e Stand." It was, at the same time, ordered "y^e hereafter none shall fell any wood or timber at Muddy Ryver or any other place but vpon their own allotments."

Thomas Marshall "was chosen by generall consent for y^e keeping of a Ferry from y^e Mylne Point ‡ vnto Charlestowne, and to Wynnyseemitt, and to take for his ferrying vnto Charlestowne, as y^e ferryman there hath, and vnto Wynnyseemitt, for a single pson sixpence, and for two sixpence; and for every one above y^e number of two, two pence a piece."

name Bonnington, but I have no doubt the true name was as I have given it, and that he was of the famous Yorkshire family of that name. He was son of Francis, grandson of Thomas Boynton, and was born about 1591; married a daughter of Thomas Lord Fairfax; knighted 1618; high sheriff of Yorkshire, 1628, 1643; Governor of Scarborough Castle; died 1646. — See Poulson's *Hist. Holderness*, and Nichol's *Progresses of James I.*, where he is called "one of those the Rebels chiefly trusted in Yorkshire." Gardiner's work, here referred to, is printed, but not edited, in *Colls. Mass. Hist. Soc.* There is a sort of introduction to it. His name is spelled *Gardener*. There is a pedigree of his descendants extant.

* Winthrop says, i. 173, that Gardiner came in a "Norsey" bark. This word "Norsey" sadly puzzled his editor, he "never having seen it before." He therefore con-

cludes that the bark came down from among the Norwegians! Now, though she may not have come from Noseley, where one of her owners lived, it would be quite as easy to derive the name given by Winthrop from Noseley, in the county of Leicester, as it would be to derive it from the Black Sea, though its name were expressed in French.

† The same persons designated before under the names *Hough*, *Hoffe*, *Haugh*, &c. There may be male descendants of Atherton Hough under different names at this day. The name does not appear in the first Boston Directory.

‡ Windmill Point. In the early records of other towns *milne* is often written for *mill*, but I do not find it so spelled in any of the old dictionaries to which I have recurred. The location of the "Milne Point" is sufficiently indicated by the extract from the Records.

To improve the important services of Captain Gardiner, before his departure for Connecticut, the town "agreed y^t, for y^e raysing of a new worke of fortification vpon y^e ffort hill, about y^t wh^{ch} is there already begune, the whole towne would bestowe fourteene dayes' worke" a man. For this end Mr. Deputie, Mr. Henry Vane, Mr. John Winthrop, sen^r., Mr. William Coddington, Mr. John Winthrop, iu^r., Captain John Vnderhill, and Mr. William Brenton," were chosen Commissioners. They were directed to "sett downe how many dayes worke would be equall for each man to doe, and what money* such should contribute, beside their worke, as were of greater abilities and had fewer servants, that therewith provisions of tooles and other necessaryes might bee made, and some recompence given to such of y^e poorer sort as should be found to bee overburdened with their fourteene dayes' worke; and Mr. John Cogan is chosen treasurer, and Mr. William Dyer, clarke, for y^e furtherance of this worke;" which "worke is to be gone in hand with soe soone as y^e weather will pmitt, in regard y^t y^e ingeene, Mr. Lyon Garner, who doth soe freely offer his help therevnto, hath but a short time of stay."

Feb. 19. The town chose Mr. John Cogan and William "Aspinnell" as Grand Jurors, and Richard Fairbanks, William Hudson and James Pennyman to serve as "pettie" Jury. A week later there was a

Feb. 27. Town Meeting "vpon pryvate warning," at which it was agreed "y^t there shalbe a Watch taken vp and gone around with from the first of the second month next, for y^e summertime from sunne sett, an houre after y^e beating of y^e drumbe, vpon penaltie, for every one wanting therein, twelve pence for every night."

Mar. 14. There was another "gen^lall meeting vpon priuate warning," in which Thomas Oliver, Thomas Leveritt, William Hutchinson, William Colborne, John Coggeshall, John Sampford, Richard Tuttell, William Aspenall, William Brenton, William Balston, Jacob Ellyot and James Penne, were authorized to be overseers "from this day to oversee and looke vnto and sett order for all the allottments within vs, and for all comers in vnto vs, as also for all other y^e occasions and businesses" of the Town, excepting matters of Election and the General Court.

Mar. 21. As several persons who had had lands lotted out to them had not improved them according to the prescribed conditions, it was now ordered in Town Meeting, that the lots laid out to them were free to be otherwise disposed of. Their names were "Mr. Atherton Haulghe, Zachie Bosworth, Richard Truestayles, Richard Oakes, Nathaniell Woodward, Thomas Meakins y^e elder, Thomas Meakins y^e younger, Mr. Greene, Mr. Mullyns, Richard Walker, John Palmer, James Johnson, Richard Brackett, Thomas Blott, Richard Tuttell,

* In the margin of the Town Records are VANE, WINTHROP, sen., CODDINGTON, WINTHROP, jun., KAYNE, HUTCHINSON, COGAN, LEV- and against each is set £5; viz., BELLINGHAM, ERETT, and HARDING.

Barnabie Darryfall, Thomas Savage, [John] Bushnell,* Mr. Woodward, Mr. Stanley, Robert Houlton, Anthony Harker, [George] Grigges y^e carpenter, and Richard Wrighte." Some of these persons had, perhaps, gone to Connecticut, some to other places, and some had failed to build on their lots from other circumstances.

At this meeting provision was made to have "sufficient fences to y^e Cornefielde, before y^e fourteenth of y^e next second month;" that, for every defective rod then found, five shillings penalty: "The feild towards Rocksberry to be looked out by Jacob Ellyott and Jonathan Negroose; the Fort Feild, by James Penn and Richard Gridley; the Mylne Feild, by John Button and Edward Bendall; and the New Feild, by John Audley and Thomas Faireweather."

If hogs were found running at large after a certain day, John Sampson and William Balstone were ordered to seize them, and they were declared forfeited by their owners. If any inhabitants entertained May 9. strangers over fourteen days, without leave "from those y^e are appointed to order the Towne's businesses," they were liable to be "dealt with" by those "Overseers," as they thought advisable.

May 13. Twelve days before the meeting of the General Court, there was a Town Meeting, at which Mr. William Hutchinson, Mr. John Coggeshall, and Mr. William Brenton were chosen "for Deputyes or Committees for the service" of that Court.† A few weeks before,

April 7. "at a General Court, it was ordered, that a certain number of Magistrates should be chosen for life;" and at the General Election, three persons were actually chosen to be Magistrates during their lives. These were Winthrop, Dudley and Vane. It does not appear that the people approved of such a disposal or assumption of offices, and they were soon abandoned; for they very justly reasoned, that by such a course of proceeding, all offices might be disposed of, and nothing left for their choice.

The Town had been free from accidental fires for some time past, but about this time the house of Mr. John Benjamin was burnt down, subjecting him to a loss of one hundred pounds in goods.‡

April 12. The ship Charity, of Dartmouth, came near being cast away as she sailed into the harbor with a heavy north-west wind. She was of one hundred and twenty tons burthen, and brought a timely supply of provisions, which were at this time much needed. To prevent speculators oppressing the poor, by buying up the provisions, and holding them at extravagant prices, Mr. Peters § bought up the whole

* A John Bushnell appears afterwards at Saybrook, Ct. He is probably the same person in Boston in 1636. — See *N. E. H. Gen. Reg.*, iv. 19.

† This is the first mention in the Town Records of the choice of Representatives, or "Deputyes," as they are called, for the General Court. It is not unworthy of note, that at this time London sent but four members to Parliament; only one more than Boston sent to the General Court.

‡ This fire is recorded by Winthrop, *Jour-nal*, i. 185, but he does not state where Benjamin lived. He was admitted freeman, 6 Nov., 1632, and is said to have lived at Watertown. He may have gone there after this, though I do not find his name in the list of the early settlers of that town, as published by Rev. Dr. Francis. Mr. HAMLEN finds Joseph Benjamin among the inhabitants of Barnstable, 1662-6. — See *N. E. H. Gen. Reg.*, ii. 64-5.

§ This distinguished man, I presume, wrote

cargo; by which operation, "he saved the Country two hundred pounds."* It was then distributed "to all the towns, as each town needed." He had been laboring for some time to induce the people to establish a sort of magazine, by buying up necessary articles when they were cheap, which should be well husbanded and dealt out when they were scarce, at reasonable rates; but it does not appear to have been brought about, notwithstanding he had set this distinguished example.

May 15. Considerable uneasiness was felt in the town, about a month later, which happened on the arrival of the Ship St. Patrick, Captain Palmer. All ships were to observe certain regulations on passing the fort at Castle Island, but since the trouble about the Colors, or rather the Red Cross in it, the Fort presented the awkward appearance of a captured garrison; no Flag to signify its real character. Under these circumstances, however, the St. Patrick was brought too, and, by Lieutenant Morris, the officer of the Fort, made to strike her Colors. Captain Palmer complained to the Authorities; alleging the conduct of the commander of the Fort to be a flagrant insult both to his Flag and Country. Now the St. Patrick belonged to Sir Thomas Wentworth, who, up to this time, was claimed as a friend to New England;† and, therefore, it was neither wise nor just to give, unnecessarily, any offence on such occasions. They, therefore, ordered the officer of the Fort before them, and in the presence of the Master of the ship proclaimed that their officer had no authority to do as he had done; and he was ordered to make such atonement for his conduct as Captain Palmer should demand. The Captain was very lenient, requiring only an acknowledgment of his error, on board his ship, "that so all the ship's company might receive satisfaction;" this was submitted to, and thus all parties became quieted. But within a few days another circumstance occurred respecting the Fort, with a somewhat different result. One Thomas Millerd or Miller, mate of the ship Hector, then lying in the harbor, being probably emboldened by the proceedings against the officer of the Fort, or from some other cause not reported, pronounced all the people here traitors and rebels, because they had discarded the King's Colors. On complaint being made to Captain Ferne, the Master of the Hector, Millerd was brought before the Court, and there made to acknowledge his offence, and to sign a paper to that effect. He was then discharged.

These occurrences gave the Authorities considerable concern, lest reports should be carried to England that they had rebelled here, in

his name *Peter*, but usage has added an *s* to it. His brother Thomas, who was also for a time in New England, wrote his name *Peters*. — See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, ii. 58—64.

* Mr. Peters had in several ways shown his benevolence to the country. By his influence with a gentleman of Saugus, he gave £300 to the colony. With Mr. Weld, he procured, at another time, £500 in London; and in 1641, they procured of Mr. Robert Houghton, of

Southwark, "the King's brewer, and divers others," £500. Mr. Houghton and Mr. William Hiccock had before, with some others, at the "motion of Capt. Underhill," given ten barrels of powder.

† Wentworth (afterwards Earl of Strafford) was at this time "Lord Deputy of Ireland," in which country he boasted he had made his Master "as absolute as any Prince in the world." The St. Patrick was, perhaps, an Irish ship.

fact, and were playing false, and that their contempt of the English Flag was evidence of the allegation. Therefore, to counteract such representations, Mr. Vane, now * Governor, called the Captains of the ships† together, and desired to know how they felt towards the Government and people here, and if they were offended at what had happened, and if so, what they required in satisfaction. They frankly told the Governor, that if they should be questioned, on their return to England, in regard to "what Colors they saw here," a statement of the bare facts in relation to it might result to their disadvantage. Therefore, they would recommend that the King's Colors might be set up on the Fort. The Governor and his Advisers seem to have come pretty well over to the same conclusion, but there was a difficulty in the way,—"they had no King's Colors;" by which confession of theirs it is pretty clear that others, besides Mr. Endicott, had been making war on St. George's Crosses. To remedy this difficulty, two of the ship-masters offered to present them with Colors. But so fearful were these conscientious people lest they should tolerate a symbol of idolatry, that they declined receiving the Colors thus offered, until they had first taken the advice of Mr. Cotton in regard to it. It was finally concluded, that although they were of the decided opinion that the Cross in the Ensign was idolatrous, and, therefore, ought not to be in it; nevertheless, as the Fort was the King's, and maintained in his name, his Colors might be used there. So the Governor accepted the Colors of Captain Palmer, and promised they should be set up on the Fort at Castle Island. Accordingly the Governor, with the consent of Mr. Dudley, directed Lieutenant Morris,‡ by warrant, to "spread" the King's Colors there, which was accordingly done.

May 25. While these events were passing in Boston, the General Election of officers for the present year took place, which resulted in the choice of Henry Vane, Esquire, for Governor, and John Winthrop, Esquire, Deputy Governor. To show their respect for the new Governor, all the Masters of ships in the harbor (and "there were fifteen great ships"), gave him a salute with their ordnance.§ The next week he invited all the Captains on shore, and gave them a dinner. After dinner, he proposed the following regulations to be observed by ships on their arrival at Boston:—First, that all ships should come to an

* By carrying on the narrative of the transactions which grew out of the indignity offered to the St. Patrick, the order of time is, of course, necessarily anticipated. As will be seen presently, the event here detailed took place after Mr. Vane was elected Governor.

† There were ten in the harbor at this time. There were fifteen but a few days before, as will be seen.

‡ This person appears to have been the commander of the fort, and the same who was Ensign to Captain Underhill, and who, according to *Winthrop*, i. 127. "taking some distaste to his office, requested the Magistrates,

that he might be discharged of it, and so was, whereby he gave offence to the Congregation of Boston; so as, being questioned, and convinced of sin in forsaking his calling, he did acknowledge his fault; and, at the request of the people, was by the magistrates chosen Lieutenant to the same Company; for he was a very stout man, and an experienced soldier."

§ The language of Winthrop is, in noticing this election, "The ships congratulated his election with a volley of great shot, because he was son and heir to a Privy Counsellor in England."—*Journal*, i. 187.

anchor before reaching the fort, or to send their boats with an officer who should satisfy the commander of it that they were friends; second, that before any goods were offered for sale, an invoice should be delivered to the Governor, who should have the privilege of purchasing; third, sailors not to be allowed to remain on shore after sunset, "except upon necessary business." To all which, the Captains of the fifteen ships "willingly condescended unto."

Ships this season had made quick passages across the ocean; "divers, both out of the Downs and from Holland, came in five weeks;" and Mr. Ball's ship, which sailed hence on the sixteenth of January last, made the English coast in eighteen days.

June 6. Meanwhile, the internal concerns of the town are not neglected. In a regular meeting of those with whom all matters, except elections, had been entrusted,* it was agreed that there should be "a sufficient foot-way made from William Colborne's field end, unto Samuel Wylebore's field end, next Roxbury, by the surveyors of high-ways, before the end of the next month." At this meeting it appeared that Richard Fairbanks had sold two houses, "in Sudbury End," that were William Balstone's, to two strangers, contrary to a former order, and, therefore, the sale was declared void; and for which he was fined ten pounds. Also that "Isaacke Cullymore, carpenter," had sold his house to a stranger, and he was fined ten pounds.

June 20. At a meeting "it was agreed that, Mr. Owyn Roe, of London, having a house and townes lott amongst vs, and certaine cattell, shall have layd out for him two hundred acres att Mount Woollystons, for the present releife of his cattell, and for him to inioy when as he shalbecome an inhabitant amongst vs, and not otherwise." But Mr. Rowe never came to New England; though, as late as the eighteenth of February of this year, in a letter to Mr. Winthrop, he said his heart was with the people here; that he had given up his business, and as soon as he could get in his debts and settle his affairs, he intended to come; for he desired to see the glory of the place, "and to behold the bewttye of God in these gowenings [gowings-in] of his in his tempel." This he wrote in answer to one from Mr. Winthrop, dated on the tenth of the preceding December. In the same letter, Mr. Rowe requested that "Mr. Ransford" might be accommodated with a farm, on which the stock of cattle he had sent over might be preserved; for he had lost near five hundred pounds, "as Mr. Wilson could certifie."† He was one of the early members of the Massachusetts Company, and had also been an early benefactor to the colony, as Winthrop shows. The troubles which led to the "Civil War," diverted him from becoming a resident of Boston, in all probability, for he was employed in the military service in that contest; and when the King was brought to

* Namely, "Thomas Oliver, Thomas Lev- Richard Tuttell, John Sampford, and James eritt, William Hutchinson, Willyam Coul- Penne."
borne, John Coggeshall, William Aspenall, † See Hutchinson's *Coll. of Orig. Papers*, 59.

trial, he was one of the Judges in that "High Court of Justice," and among those who signed the warrant for his execution.*

Aug. 3. Mr. Samuel Maverick, who had been in Virginia about a year, returned to Boston with two vessels. He brought with him some fourteen heifers, and about eighty goats; of the latter, he lost twenty on his voyage. He gave an account of great sufferings in that colony; that above eighteen hundred people had died there within the year, and chiefly of famine; and that corn was at twenty shillings the bushel.

Aug. 15. The regulators of the town's affairs appointed John Sampford and William Hudson, "Waterbalies, to see y^e noe annoying things, eyther by fish, wood or stone, be left about y^e sea shore," contrary to an order made the first of September, 1634. And on the

Aug. 22. twenty-second of the same month, at a General Town Meeting, Mr. William Hutchinson, Mr. John Coggeshall, and Mr. William Brenton, were chosen for "Deputyes or Comittyes for the service of this next General Court." And "att this assembly, Mr. John Newgate is chosen for one of y^e Constables within this towne, for one whole year."

Sept. 16. At the general meeting of the town now held, ten men were selected for the "same businesses and occasions," and with the same powers as their predecessors had for the management of the town's affairs.† They were chosen for six months only. At a meeting

Sept. 26. ten days later, "it was founde y^e William Hudson hath sould an housplott and garden vnto one William Mawer, a strainger, wth out" consent, and was fined twenty shillings. Also, "William Aspenall hath sold a housplott and a garden vnto one Mr. Tinge,"‡ and is fined five pounds. "Mr. Samuel Cole" was charged with selling a lot to one Mr. Greenfield, and is let off with a small fine.

Oct. 4. It was ordered in town meeting that "no house at all" should be built near to any of the streets or lanes, unless by consent and advice "of y^e Overseers of y^e Townes occasions." This regulation was declared to be to prevent disorderly building, "to y^e inconvenience of streetes and laynes." For non-observance of which a fine not exceeding ten shillings was to be imposed. At the next meeting, it was ordered

* The fac simile of his autograph, here presented, is copied from a beautiful engraving of the "Death Warrant," accompanied by the names of those Judges who signed it. Copies of this curious instrument are common, but generally of wretched execution. I am indebted to Mr. JOHN DEAN for the liberty to make a tracing for the subject of this note, from the copy which he possesses.

Owen Rowe

† As some new names appear, they are all given:—"Thomas Olyver, Thomas Leveritt, William Hutchinson, Robert Keayne, John Newgate, William Coulborne, John Coggeshall, John Sampford, William Brenton, and William Balstone;" all *mistered* in the records, except Thomas Leveritt, which omission was of course accidental.

‡ His Christian name was probably William. He had a brother Edward here in 1638, who came over in the same ship with Mr. John Josselyn. These names will be often met with in the progress of the History. William and Edward Tyng were brothers. The former died 18 Jan., 1653.

Oct. 17. that all the timber in the market place, not taken away before the first of next month, should be forfeited. William Brenton and John Sampford were appointed to look to the matter; which, if they neglected to do, the Town would not neglect to look to them for a fine of ten shillings, as the record says.

It was further ordered, at this meeting, that "John Gallop shall remove his payles at his yarde ende within fourteen dayes, and to raigne them even with the corner of his house, for y^e preserving of y^e way vpon y^e sea bancke; that William* Wilkes, Isaac Cullymore, Henry Lynne, and Mr. Greensmyth,† shall raynge theire payle vpon each of their grounds, streight from y^e corner of William Wilkes his house, or from y^e vpper poast of his garding gap, and to preserve a pathway of a rod breadth betweene payle and payle, betweene this and y^e first of next second moneth; and see to goe all along vnto John Pemberton's house in y^e same range." Also there shall be a street between Henry Lynn and Mr. Samuel Coles' ground, to run up from the water side to the next great cross street, one and a half rods wide. Also another lane to go up from the water by John Gallop's, to the same cross way, a pole in breadth. Also another "layne to be left to goe from y^e water side vp y^e balke, or neare y^e goes vp from y^e end of John Mylams house next William Aspenalls ground, to goe along to y^e mylne cove, a rod and a half broad." Also, "y^e the streete way from y^e gates next James Everills towards y^e mylne, is to runne streight along in an even lyne to John Pemberton's house, and to raynge betweene Thomas Marshalls house and Sergyant Savages house, and to be within y^e streete between payle and payle on eyther syde, two pole" in breadth. Also a lane to run from cove to cove, between Thomas Paynter and Thomas Marshall, one and a half poles wide.

Nov. 1. An order was passed, that for every rod of planting ground not fenced by the first of the next April, ten shillings a rod should be paid, or the ground forfeited. And several persons paid fines‡

Nov. 15. "vpon their houses, selling contrary to a former order." Also Richard Fairbanks was chosen "Hog Reeve."||

Nov. 28. Robert Harding was ordered to remove a "little house in his yard, and take it away from thence, before the first of next May." It was also ordered, that those inhabitants who were in want of wood, might get it at "Deare Island;" that if they left any felled which they did not take away, others were at liberty to take it.

Dec. 3. The town chose John Coggeshall, William Coulborne and William Brenton, to serve as Deputies in the General Court. Eight persons§ were also chosen "to consider of Mount Woolistone businesse,

* Usually written in the records *Willm*.

† At the General Court, 3d August, 1637, "one Greensmyth" was imprisoned for saying, "that all the Elders, except two, did preach a covenant of work." The two ministers were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright. He was fined £40.

‡ They were, William Hudson v., William

Aspenall xxv., and Samuel Cole xx.; all paid into the hands of Mr. Robert Keayne.

|| About three years later he was appointed a sort of Post Master, as will be seen. He was made a freeman 14 May, 1634.

§ Vane, Winthrop, Oliver, Keayne, Newgate, Coulborne, Coggeshall and Brenton, were those made choice of.

and for y^e ripening thereof; how there may bee a Towne and Church there wth y^e consent of this Towne's inhabitants." At the next meeting
 Dec. 12. it was agreed that Edward Belchar, William Talmage, Thomas Snowe, William Deninge and John Arratt [?], servants of William Brenton, should have their "great allotments" at Muddy River; "and also our brother Robert Hull and Thomas Wheeler."* At the
 Dec. 25. next meeting leave was granted Thomas Mount† to fence in a piece of marsh before his house, "for the making of brick, at the pleasure of y^e overseers of y^e Towne."

Before the close of this year, there arrived a ship at Barnstable with eighty heifers, and one from Bristol with passengers; but much of her freight and most of her passengers were sent out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, for his Plantation at Agamentacus.‡ And by the 17th of
 Nov. 17. November, two other ships arrived from London, "full of passengers, men, women and children." One of them had been out twenty-six weeks, and was reduced to great extremity. The passengers, though in a state of starvation, "yet came all safe on shore, and most of them sound, and well liking." Among those who now arrived at Boston, were Mr. Nathaniel Rogers, afterwards of Ipswich, and Mr. Ralph Partridge, afterwards minister of Duxbury.

There was another windmill erected this year at Boston, and one at Charlestown; a water-mill at Salem, one at Ipswich, and one at Newbury.

Cattle, notwithstanding they had been constantly brought in, were at a high price. A good cow was worth about thirty pounds; a pair of bulls or oxen, forty pounds; corn, five shillings a bushel; boards, about ten shillings the hundred feet; carpenters, three shillings a day. ||

* Perhaps the same who, in 1675, fell desperately wounded at Wickabaug Pond, in Philip's war. He survived, but Capt. Edward Hutchinson died of wounds received at the same time.

† The name is written in the margin of the Record, *Munt*.

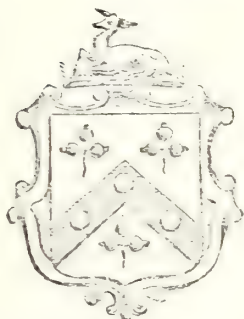
‡ No names of passengers are given, or name

of the ship. This is often the case in Gov. Winthrop's Journal; an omission seriously felt at this day.

|| The facts in this paragraph I take from Mr. Webster's edition of *Winthrop's Journal*; some of them not being intelligible in Mr. Savage's edition.

CHAPTER XXII.

Pequot Indians. — Their Jealousy of the English. — Its Origin. — They kill Mr. Oldham. — Discovery by Capt. Cullop. — His Desperate Fight near Block Island. — Returns to Boston with a Captive. — Roger Williams. — Miantinimo. — Lieut. Gardiner. — Gov. Vane sends Commissioners to the Narragansets. — Forces sent to Block Island. — They ravage the Country. — Sail to the Pequot Country. — Effect little. — Result unfavorable. — Complained of by Plymouth and Connecticut. — The English in much jeopardy. — Deputation of Narraganset Indians visit Boston. — League between them and the Pequots prevented. — Roger Williams. — Pequots commit more Murders. — Bloody Fight at Saybrook. — Narragansets make War on the Pequots. — They bring Trophies to Boston. — Company under Underhill sent to Saybrook. — Pequots attack Wethersfield. — War declared against them. — March of Capt. Mason. — Blindness of the Pequots. — Mohegans and Narragansets march with the English. — The principal Pequot Fort stormed and taken. — The Army returns to Saybrook.



ALTHOUGH there had been some serious passages between the Pequot Indians and the English hitherto, they did not so materially affect the people of Boston, as to cause any very deep animosity to remain in their minds. The Pequots had committed murders, but the sufferers did not belong to Boston, nor to Massachusetts; nor was it certain that those who were murdered had not brought down vengeance upon their own heads, by their imprudence. Since the outrages here alluded to, the English had increased in numbers, and a few had gone and occupied lands in the immediate neighborhood of those Indians. Suspicious and jealousies are always the offspring of ignorance. The natives could not comprehend much of the system which governed the conduct of their new neighbors, and hence a jealousy of what they could not understand was the natural result; they saw there was a great difference between their own and their neighbors' condition, which they were ready at once to attribute to their superior endowments. This naturally excited envy, and this a desire on the part of the Indians to triumph over them.

The Pequots were similarly situated with respect to their neighbors on the west, — the Dutch, — with whom no good understanding had prevailed for some time. However, it is not at all probable that they contemplated a general war with the white people at any time. They thought they had pacified them about the murder of Captain Stone and his company; and they may have thought that if a few others happened they could as easily be passed over. They had no idea, probably, that by killing a man belonging to Boston, any more trouble would arise than though he belonged to any other place; but here their reasoning, if they reasoned at all, failed them; for Captain Stone belonged to Virginia, and that country was too far off to redress the injury or to inquire into the cause of it.

This was the actual state of things when news came to Boston July. that one of its active business community had been murdered by

the Indians of Block Island. This was Captain John Oldham, who had occupied a conspicuous place during the whole period of the existence of the Colony of Massachusetts; and although he did not reside permanently on the peninsula of Shawmut, yet his principal business was here.

It proved that Captain Oldham was killed by some Narraganset Indians who happened to be at Block Island at the time of his visit. July 20. The discovery of the murder and its perpetrators was accidental, and happened in this way. Captain John Gallop, an intrepid mariner of Boston, being upon a trading expedition, put into Block Island to traffic with the natives. He had with him his son John,* another son not mentioned by name, and a servant, who is described as a "strong, stout fellow." As they approached the island, they discovered a vessel making off from the shore, under suspicious circumstances; for those on board of it managed the sails in an awkward manner. Immediately after, they saw that it was full of Indians.† Though his men numbered but four, including himself,‡ Captain Gallop determined to capture the piratical vessel, as he now conceived her to be such. He therefore fired upon her as soon as he was near enough, and then stood off to ascertain what effect his fire had upon the pirates; for, owing to their numbers, he was afraid to board them at once, as "they stood ready armed, with guns, pikes and swords." To attempt their capture under these circumstances was certainly desperate; but Gallop had the advantage of being able to manœuvre his vessel, while his enemies were such sorry sailors that

* He was killed at the great swamp-fight, in Narraganset, 19 Dec., 1675, being then captain of one of the Connecticut companies. He had a grant of land on Misticke river in 1653, "in consideration and with respect unto the services his father hath done for the country." He married Mrs. Margaret Lake, and left posterity. — See Miss Caulkin's *Hist. New London*, 93, 291-2.

† Fourteen in all, says *Winthrop*, i., 189.

‡ *Winthrop* says, "one man more and two little boys." The "little boys" were doubtless the sons of the Captain. How old they were at this time does not appear; but John, jun., had a daughter married in 1672. Rev. Mr. Cobbet, in his *Narrative*, says he had his account from him. — See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii., 211-12. From the part they acted in this tragedy they could not have been very young. Mr. Cobbet relates, that Gallop, on finding the seine in the enemy's vessel, was about to "take it with him to catch basse withal, and then perceived a dead body under it with the head cut off;" that when he entered the vessel, "he bid his two sons follow him, and stand by him with their guns ready charged, which they did; and he, taking the bloody head and washing it, knew it to be Mr. Oldham's, and said, 'Ah! brother Oldham, is it thee? I am resolved to avenge thy

blood!' And then, taking his dagger to the scuttle-hole, in which the Indians were quogged, as thick as they could stand, head by head, he jobbed his dagger very often with all his strength upon them. Upon which one Indian first got out and begged quarter for his life, and he would tell how many were in the hold, and who they were, and what they had done; they granted him that quarter," &c., as in the text. "Presently after, another very proper fellow got out, and got to them, and desired like quarter for his life; but they considering if they spared and bound him also in their hold, they might in the night unbind each other and do them mischief, being but four persons, and much tired; whereupon, without further debate, they chopped off his head, and heaved his carcas overboard; upon which the other Indian confessed to them, that he was their Sachem whom they had killed; and that it was he who had stirred up the Block Islanders to take that English vessel and cram the men in it. Now the wind waxing higher and contrary, they could not tow the other vessel any further, cut the rope and let her drive, and hastened to Saybrook fort with their captive Indian; whereupon that just war was commenced against the bloody Pequots and their associates."

they appear to have had little or no control over their craft. Gallop, therefore, having drawn off to a fair distance, made all sail, with the prow of his vessel aimed directly against the quarter of the enemy. There being a good breeze, he struck her with such force that she was almost overset by the collision; and this so frightened the Indians, that six of them jumped into the sea and were drowned; yet the English captain did not dare to board her, but stood off again to prepare for another broadside of the same kind. His success increased. The next time he drove the fluke of his anchor through the bows of the pirate, and remained fast to her. In the mean time he raked her fore-and-aft with his small shot, till every Indian had hid himself below. The English might now have boarded her, but the Captain concluded to continue his successful broadsides, as his anchor had broken its hold, and his bark was drifting from his antagonist. As soon as the Indians saw him hauling off, four or five more of them leaped overboard and were drowned. Seeing this, Gallop came alongside and boarded them. The Indians, by this time, if not before, being satisfied that all was lost, one came out of the hold and surrendered; and being bound, was put into the hold. Then another came up, and he was bound likewise; but not daring to put him into the hold with the other, fearing one might unloose the other, they threw him bound into the sea. There were still two left in the hold, and these defended themselves so bravely with swords, that Gallop resolved to secure them there, and to sail away with his prize. He therefore made her fast to his own vessel and proceeded on with her in tow; but in the night the wind came on to blow, and he was forced to cut her adrift, and thus he lost her. He soon after arrived at Saybrook with the Indian captive, and in due time returned with him to Boston.

When Captain Gallop got possession of the enemy's vessel, he found the body of Captain Oldham under an old seine, yet warm; and though the head was dissevered and disfigured, he knew him well, and exclaimed, "Ah, brother Oldham! is it thee? I am resolved to avenge thy death!" Thus being sure that he had engaged the murderers of his friend, his naturally strong arm was doubly nerved by the justice of his cause.

July 20. There were with Mr. Oldham two boys and two Narraganset Indians, and there was a suspicion that the latter were accessory to Captain Oldham's death. However this may be, neither of the four in company with him were killed. Mr. Roger Williams, recently driven from Salem to escape persecution, being situated in the vicinity of the Narragansets, learned at once all the particulars relative to Mr. Oldham's death, and communicated it by letter to Governor Vane, at Boston. He also sent for and obtained the two boys that were with Captain Oldham when he was killed, and they were, soon after, by Miantonimo sent to Boston. The messengers who brought Mr. Williams' letter to the Governor, were the same who were with Mr. Oldham when he was killed; and whether they were implicated in that murder

or not, they did not very satisfactorily acquit themselves before the Governor and Council at Boston; and had they not been charged with messages from Canonicus, they would no doubt have been dealt with as enemies. The Indian captured by Captain Gallop, had, on his examination, accused these Indians as having been concerned in Captain Oldham's death, and this was the grounds of suspicion against them.

Some of the people began to be clamorous because the Government had not moved at once to revenge the death of Mr. Oldham; meanwhile, the great Narraganset Sachems, Canonicus and Miantonimo, were exerting themselves to find out the murderers, and the latter had actually gone against Block Island with two hundred men, in less than one week after the murder was committed. Among those disposed to complain against the Government for delaying to do "justice" upon the Indians, was Lieutenant Gardiner, of the fort at Saybrook. He tauntingly said, that not only himself, but "many more with him wondered that the Bay did not better revenge the murdering of Mr. Oldham, an honest man of their own, seeing they were at such cost for a Virginian."

Notwithstanding, Governor Vane acted with prudence; he used all means at his command to learn the actual state of the case. On the Aug. 8. eighth of August he sent a deputation into the Narraganset country to hold a personal conference with Canonicus,* who, it was well known, was a just man, and a friend to the English. The embassy consisted of Lieutenant Edward Gibbons† of Boston, and Mr. John Higginson of Salem.‡ Kutshamokin, a chief of the Massachusetts Indians, accompanied them as interpreter. From this negotiation they Aug. 13. returned on the thirteenth of the same month, having been "very well accepted, and good success in their business. They observed in the Sachem much state, great command over his men, and much wisdom in his answers and the carriage of the whole treaty; clearing himself and his neighbors of the murder, and offering assistance for revenge of it, yet upon very safe and wary conditions."

It was pretty soon settled, by advice of the Magistrates and Minis-

* A man, says Johnson, "then well stricken in years," had therefore "caused his nephew, Miantinomo, to take the government upon him, who was a very stern man, and of very great stature; of a cruel nature, causing all his nobility, and such as were his attendance, to tremble at his speech. The people under his government were very numerous, besides the Niantick Indians, whose Prince was of neare alliance unto him. They were able to set forth, as was then supposed, 30,000 [3000] fighting men."—*Won. Work. Prov.*, Book ii., chap. 6.

† Mr. Gibbons was in New England when Governor Endicott arrived, and rendered much service in organizing his Government at Salem. What time he came over does not appear, but he was at Mount Wollaston for a time, and probably came over with the founder of that colony. Joshua Scottow says, that, on asso-

ciating with the people of Salem, a "saving work" was commenced upon him, and he "afterwards was the chieftane and flower of New England's militia, and an eminent instrument both in church and commonwealth; he being the younger brother of the house of an honorable extract."—*His Narrative*, p. 10. Captain Johnson says, (in 1644), "He is a man of a resolute spirit, bold as a lion, a Major-General, very forward to promote all military matters; his forts all well contrived, and batteries strong and in good repair, his artillery well mounted and cleanly kept."—*Won. Work. Prov.*, 191.

‡ In Johnson's *W. W. Providence*, Book ii., chap. 6, will be found a most excellent description of the proceedings at the council with the Indians in their country. No one can read it without believing Johnson was himself on the spot.

ters, that the Block Island Indians should be chastised, and that an expedition for the purpose should forthwith be dispatched to that Island. Such was the state of the public mind, that men enough volunteered for the service as soon as they were wanted. It was decided that the expedition should consist of ninety men; that the former Governor, John Endicott, Esq., should have the chief command, as General; that the whole should be divided into four companies, under the immediate charge of Capt. John Underhill, Capt. Nathaniel Turner, Ens. William Jennison,* and Ens. Richard Davenport, of Salem.

General Endicott's instructions were to put to death the men of Block Island, but to spare the women and children and bring them away.† This was to revenge the death of Captain Oldham. When this part of their commission should be executed, they were to proceed against the Pequots on the Main, and to demand of them the murderers of Captain Stone and others, a thousand fathom of wampum for damages, and some of their children as hostages. If they refused to comply, force was to be employed against them.

Aug. 31. Thus appointed, the expedition sailed from Boston, and on the last of August arrived at Block Island. Owing to the surf, a landing was effected with difficulty. About sixty Indians rushed to the shore to encounter them; all "able, fighting men, as straight as arrows." They began the attack with fury, says Captain Underhill, "as though they had meant to have made an end of us all in a moment. They shot one young man in the neck, through a collar, for stiffness as if it had been an oaken board, and entered his flesh a good depth.‡ Myself received an arrow through my coat-sleeve, a second against my helmet on the forehead; so as if God in his providence had not moved the heart of my wife to persuade me to carry it along with me (which I was unwilling to do), I had been slain."

Having effected a landing, the Indians at once dispersed and hid

* Winthrop, whom I follow here, does not give *Jennison's* Christian name. He was among the first freemen of the colony, and was entitled to the distinction of Mr. He settled in Watertown, and held important offices there. In 1633 he went to Bermuda, where he had formerly resided. He went in a vessel named the *Thunder*, as pilot. She had been sent there to procure provisions; but not being able to obtain any, "for the weavills had taken the corn before they came there," they proceeded to Virginia. At that colony they obtained corn and goats, and returned to Boston June 1st, 1634. Mr. Jennison related that there had been a great change in Bermuda since he lived there: "divers lewd persons being become good Christians." That there were three ministers, "who had lately, by fasting and prayer, dispossessed one possessed with a devil." Upon this "miracle" Mr. Savage has an amusing note. — *Journal*, i. 134.

† These were indeed sanguinary orders, but they were in strict accordance with the usages of those times. It strikes the writer that it would be extremely unjust to charge Governor Vane with originating them, as is not very faintly hinted in a note to their record in Winthrop's *Journal*. If by such insinuation others were supposed to be held less blameless, the satisfaction gained can be but momentary. The reader having conned the note referred to on page 192, let him read in connection Winthrop's text, six pages forward, page 199.

‡ In October of this year the General Court granted George Munnings £5, for the loss of an eye, "in the voyage to Block Island." — *Savage's Note in Winthrop*, i. 195. Among those made freemen, 4 March, 1635, is George Munnings. He died at Boston, 24 August, 1658. He had a son George. Perhaps with some the name may have slid into *Manning*.

themselves as well as they could.* In the course of two days, however, they found and killed "some fourteen," destroyed large fields of corn, burnt up all the wigwams they could find, and then reëmbarked, to see what could be effected among the Pequots. The expedition touched at Saybrook. Captain Gardiner was displeased at an attempt upon those Indians. He believed the Narragansets only were to be chastised, and he said to General Endicott, "you come hither to raise these wasps about my ears, and then you will take wing and flee away." The Authorities both of Connecticut† and Plymouth‡ thought the expedition an unadvised one also.§

Sept. 7. From Saybrook Endicott proceeded to Pequot river, now called the Thames. He landed on both sides of the river, had several parleys with small parties of the Indians, but could get no satisfaction whatever. He therefore destroyed everything he could find of a destructible character, and succeeded in killing two Indians.|| Two days were employed in this work, and he then embarked for Boston, where the "fleet" arrived on the fourteenth of September, not Sept. 14. having lost a man, and but two wounded.

The expedition had on the whole a bad effect. The ability of the Indians to make atonement for offences was not then well understood by the English. It is evident, from the light since thrown upon the condition of the Indians of that day, that they could not comprehend the justice of the English in demanding satisfaction for wrongs committed by straggling Indians, even though they were of the same tribe with those of whom the demand was made. Hence for the aggrieved to retaliate was only to put themselves in the same barbarous circumstances with the murderers. It is not at all likely that the principal part of the inhabitants of Block Island had anything to do with the murder of Captain Oldham; and yet it was out of their power, if they would, to deliver up those who were actually concerned in it. Nor is it probable that there was any contrived plan beforehand to murder him, and hence but

* Block Island was then described as being ten miles long, four broad, full of small hills, and all overgrown with brushwood of oak; no good timber. There were two plantations, three miles apart, and about 60 wigwams; some very large and fair; and above 200 acres of corn; some gathered in heaps and some standing. The Indians called it Manisses, which may admit of the interpretation of the "Island of the Little God." It was afterwards owned by Boston men.

† See Trumbull, *Hist. Connecticut*, i. 77.

‡ Mr. Winslow wrote to Deputy Gov. Winthrop to that effect, as appears from the *Journal* of the latter, p. 199, in which he justifies the action, and says "he took it ill" that Gov. Winslow should accuse "us that we had occasioned a war by provoking the Pequots;" and he answered him that, "as much had been done in the expedition as could be expected, considering they fled and could not be followed by the men in armor. That they

went not to make war, but to do justice; and having killed thirteen of them for four or five of ours, which they had murdered, &c., we were not much behind them."

§ Capt. Johnson calls it a "bootelesse voyage," which he says, "encouraged the Indians very much, and made them boast that they had deluded the English, "and withall, they blasphemed the Lord, saying 'Englishman's God all one flye, and Englishman all one squawe.'" — *Wond. Work. Prov.*, iii.

|| "They obtained some little speech with a great number of them at a distance, but after they understood what was propounded to them, first cunningly getting behind a hill, they presently ran away into the woods and swamps, where there was no pursuing them: however, one discharging a gun among them, as they were taking their flight, stayed the course of one, which was all that could be done against them for that time." — *Hubbard, Ind. Wars*, 120.

few could be accessory to it. There may have been a quarrel, or, more probably, a few wicked roving Indians, meeting with him accidentally, thought it a good opportunity to possess themselves of his goods and money; for he had a considerable amount of the latter with him.

The Connecticut and Plymouth people were right in their conjecture about the mischief that might be expected to ensue from so indecisive a blow as that aimed at the Pequots was. For the expedition had scarce left their shores before they besieged the fort at Saybrook in considerable numbers, and cut off many that ventured abroad. Among these was a Mr. Samuel Butterfield,* "a godly young man," † whom they took prisoner and roasted alive.

Complaints were soon as loud against the war as they had been for it, and great fears began to be entertained that the Pequots would overcome the Narragansets by negotiation, and cause them to unite against the Settlers. No times could be more critical for the English than those which were now veiled in the future. Boston, although at considerable distance from both the Narragansets and Pequots, trembled for its own safety. Connecticut had just began to be settled; scarcely one hundred and fifty Englishmen could be found in it. Roger Williams, with about half a dozen men, had just made a beginning at Providence. Hence there was no barrier between the hostile Indians and Boston. Mr. Williams was fully aware of the actual state of things. He saw that if these two powerful nations of Indians were united, the English must, in all probability, be swept from the country; and though he did not, perhaps, fear for his own personal safety, for wherever he went he was greatly beloved by the Indians, yet he labored night and day for the good of the whole. His value to the community from which he had been forced to fly, soon became very apparent. He kept the people of Boston constantly advised of the plans of the Indians.

Oct. 21. Governor Vane having meanwhile invited Miantonimo to visit Boston, he came here soon after. There came with him another Sachem, two sons of Canonicus, and about twenty men. The Governor

* I learn his Christian name from Niles' *Indian and French Wars*, in which is given a very different account of the affair in which he was killed, from our other authors. How that author got his information does not appear. This work of the Rev. Mr. Niles lay in manuscript from 1762, the time of the author's death, till 1834; about this latter year, I called the attention of the Publishing Committee of the Mass. Hist. Soc., in whose keeping it was, to some circumstances connected with it, and they began to print it in a volume of their *Colls.* Why it was cut off in the middle of a sentence, perhaps they could have explained. Certain it is they promised to print the rest of it. That promise has not been performed, though almost *twenty years* have expired since it was made, and some of those who made it are yet living.

† Winthrop, i. 118. — He was son-in-law of "Old Mr. Michell." Gardiner does not men-

tion Butterfield by name, but says the man taken was a brother of "Mr. Mitchell, the minister of Cambridge." By which, it must be understood, "minister of Cambridge" when Gardiner wrote (1658). "Old Mr. Michell" here mentioned, was Mr. Matthew Mitchell, who came over with Mr. Richard Mather in 1635, as recorded *ante*, p. 185. Mather, *Magnalia*, B. iv., 167, has, by one of his vain pedantic flourishes, misled others besides FARMER, in regard to the Christian name of the father of Jonathan Mitchell, of Cambridge. Butterfield had probably married a sister of Mr. Mitchell, which explains what Gardiner says, and likewise what Mather says. "Old Mr. Michell," the father-in-law of Butterfield, was with him when he fell into the hands of the Indians, but he himself escaped. Three were killed on the spot, one had five arrows shot into him, and yet recovered.

being notified by Kutshamokin of their coming, the day before they arrived, sent twenty musketeers to Roxbury, who escorted them into town about twelve o'clock. Preparations had been made to enter into a treaty, and the most of the Magistrates and Ministers were assembled to give counsel and advice in the proceedings. It being dinner time, the Sachems and their Council dined by themselves in the same room with the Governor, but the Chief's attendants were dined at the inn of Mr. Cole.* After dinner Miantonimo was requested to propound terms on which he would enter into a treaty, which he did, and then they Oct. 22. adjourned till the next day. Accordingly they went in the morning, and a treaty was drawn up, and signed by the Governor and the Indians. The English confessed that they did not think the Indians quite understood it, though Kutshamokin interpreted it to them as well as he could; therefore they agreed to send a copy of it to Mr. Williams, with a request that he would explain it to them.† This being finished, Miantonimo was escorted out of town after dinner, and dismissed with a volley of shot.

Treaties thus made could at best afford but faint hopes of security under their provisions, whatever they might be. And in the present state of existing relations, distrust continued, and reasonable fears were entertained that possibly the Pequots might succeed in winning over the Narragansets to their interest; and it will ever remain a question whether they would not have succeeded, had it not been for the interposition of Roger Williams. He received pressing letters from the Governor and others of Boston, urging him to prevent a peace, if possible, between the Narragansets and Pequots. Thus importuned he renewed his exertions, though at the utmost peril of his life. "The Lord helped me," he says, "immediately to put my life into my hand, and scarce acquainting my wife, to ship myself, all alone, in a poor canoe, and to cut through a stormy wind with great seas, every minute in hazard of life, to the Sachem's house. Three days and three nights my business forced me to lodge and mix with the bloody Pequot ambassadors, whose hands and arms, me thought, wreaked with the blood of my countrymen, and from whom I could not but nightly look for their bloody knives at my own throat also; when God wonderfully preserved me, and helped me to break in pieces the Pequot's negotiations and designs."

From this time until the Pequots were subdued, there was not even a wavering among the Narragansets, and they served the English faithfully throughout the war; notwithstanding the Pequots used the most powerful of human arguments to bring them to see what they conceived to be their vital interests; namely, their own preservation.‡ And so confi-

* See *ante*, p. 166.

† The Treaty may be seen in Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 199.

‡ Captain Johnson was not probably aware of the labors of Mr. Williams in preventing the league, and attributes the ruling motive of the Narragansets to an ancient hatred they cher-

ished towards the Pequots, and Mr. Hubbard, as usual, improves upon Johnson's ideas, in the following passages: "Machiavel himself," he says, "if he had sat in council with them, could not have insinuated stronger reasons to have persuaded them to a peace." — *Narrative*, 121, ed. 4to, London, 1677.

dent were the Pequots that they should enlist the Narragansets against the Settlers, that they continued their depredations, wherever they found an opportunity. About the time Miantonimo was making

Oct. 25. a treaty at Boston, they took and murdered Mr. John Tilly* in a manner too revolting to be related.† Tilly went from Boston, or some place about the "Bay," in a small bark for the Trading House at Suckiag (Hartford), and as he was coming down the river, he carelessly went on shore, and thus fell into the cruel hands of the Pequots. When he arrived at Saybrook on his way out, Captain Gardiner cautioned him against the danger to which he would be exposed in his passages; but "Mr. Tille" took it ill of him, because the Captain would exercise some authority over all such as went up the river. But Tilly being "a stout man," had great confidence in himself, and that confidence cost him his life, and the country the services of a brave and active man. He was killed on a point of land within view of the fort,

Feb. 22. which Gardiner named Tilly's Folly. Notwithstanding great watchfulness was observed at Saybrook all winter, yet there happened a desperate and bloody fight but a short distance from it. Captain Gardiner with ten men was ambushed while performing some necessary labor, and escaped only by cutting their way through a great body of Indians with their swords; several were killed and others badly wounded, among whom was Captain Gardiner himself.‡

About the same time Governor Vane wrote to Gardiner, requesting his opinion as to the best means of quelling the Pequots. With his answer Gardiner sent a man's rib-bone half shot through with an arrow. The Pequots thought they had killed Gardiner in the late fight, and a swarm of near three hundred of them immediately after beleaguered the fort; but on finding out their mistake they fell back to their old modes of operation. Pretty soon, however, the Narragansets began the war upon them, as they had agreed to do, and they drew off alto-

Mar. 21. gether from Saybrook to oppose them. Having had some success against the Pequots, Miantonimo sent twenty-six of his men to Boston with a present of twenty-six fathoms of wampum, and a

* The residence of Tilly is not pointed out. There was a John Tilly early at Dorchester. There were Hugh and John "Tille" about the north side of the Bay, some time before Boston was settled. — See *ante*, p. 57. Whether that John Tille were the same with him killed by the Pequots, is not quite certain. There were Edward and John Tilly of the Mayflower; they were both dead before the end of March, 1620-1, but they both had families; and there were Tillies in several places in the Colony of Plymouth about the time of the Pequot war.

† Some further particulars may be read in the *Book of the Indians*, 169, 11th edition. — See also *Winthrop*, i. 200; *Gardiner*, (in *Mass. H. C.*, vol. 23, p. 147); *Underhill* (in *idem*, 26, p. 15.)

‡ It seems, from Gardiner's own account of the affair, that some of the Boston people had spoken lightly of the ability of the Indians to

do execution with their arrows. He says he "found one of the dead men with an arrow shot entirely through him, except half a rib on the opposite side of his body, from that in which the arrow entered. This he preserved, and also the rib, intending to send it to Boston, to let the Authorities know there, that Indian arrows were not to be spoken so lightly of as some had done." Dr. I. Mather says, there were about 70 Indians who fought Gardiner, and that they killed four of his men; that a fifth was sorely wounded, but recovered, and lived to cut off the head of the very Indian who wounded him, the next year. — *Relation*, 45. About 300 Pequots came a few days after and challenged the English to come out and fight, mocking them by imitating the cries of those they had tortured; but a discharge of grape-shot caused them to make a sudden adjournment. — *Ibid.* 46.

Pequot's band to show that he had kept his word by fighting the enemies of the English. In return presents were made to four of the chief of the deputation, which consisted of a coat for each, worth fourteen shillings apiece.

April 10. Owing partly to the complaints from Connecticut, the Authorities at Boston concluded to send twenty men to Saybrook. They were now dispatched for that place, under the command of Captain Underhill, but at the charge of Connecticut.

April 23. Governor Haynes had, on the third of April, left Boston for Connecticut, his future residence. On his arrival at Saybrook he wrote back* "that the Pekods had been up the river at Wethersfield, and had killed six men, being at their work, and twenty cows and a mare, and had killed three women, and carried away two maids."† The "maids" were not long after liberated through the exertions of the Dutch; the Governor of whom, Wouter Von Twitter, Esq., at New Amsterdam, ordered his men to rescue them at all hazards, even to the breaking of the Peace with the Indians. A Dutch sloop was sent into the mouth of the Thames for the purpose, but the Pequots would hear to no terms of ransom, and stratagem alone succeeded. Several Pequots, having been seduced on board the vessel, were seized and held till the captive girls were produced.

May 1. The feeble settlements on the Connecticut held a General Court at Hartford, and resolved "on an offensive warr against the Pequott." Ninety men were immediately assembled and put under the command of Capt. John Mason. This was almost the entire strength of the Colony; but they had secured the interest of the Mohegans, who to the number of about eighty warriors marched with them against their own countrymen.

A glance now at the state of the country shows that the Pequots had rushed headlong to the very brink of destruction. They had done all they could to irritate their adversary, and had effected nothing by way of alliance with other tribes. They now stood single-handed against four nations, as it were, two of their own countrymen, and two of the English.

May 10. In less than ten days, Mason had collected his forces together, and in three frail barks fell down the river to Saybrook; and here, with Captains Gardiner and Underhill, future proceedings were

* To whom the letter was directed, *Winthrop*, my authority, does not say. During the administration of Gov. Vane, *Winthrop* often speaks of the Government as "we;" and now, "we received a letter." It was probably directed to Mr. Vane.

† "Sequin, a head man of the River Indians, gave lands on the river to the English, that he might sit down by them and be protected. But when he came to Wethersfield [then called Watertown] and set up his wigwam, the people drove him away by force. Resenting the wrong, but wanting strength to

revenge it, he secretly drew in the Pequots, who came up the river, and killed six men," &c.—*Lothrop's Cent. Ser. at W. Springfield*, 1796, p. 23-4. *Winthrop*, i. 260. See also Mr. Goodwin's *Geneal. of the Foote Fam. Int.* p. xxi-ii., in which are found the names of two of the men that were killed, namely, Abraham and John Finch, but the names of the others do not appear; one of the girls taken was a daughter of William Swaine.—Other facts of great interest may be seen in Gardiner's, Underhill's, Vincent's, Hubbard's and Mather's histories.

arranged. The few sick and feeble men were sent home, and their places supplied from the men at the fort, and to Mason's "Army" Underhill and his twenty men were added.

May 21. The Pequots had watched narrowly all the movements thus far, and well knew themselves were the object of them; but this morning, May the twenty-first, when they saw the transports sail out of the mouth of the Connecticut, they supposed that they were upon some other design. They watched them closely, however, by runners from hill to hill and from point to point on the coast, until they saw the vessels sail by the mouth of their river, since called the Thames. They then confidently believed that they had nothing further to fear from them; for they most naturally concluded, that, if they were to be attacked, the march would be by land directly across the country from Saybrook; and this, indeed, was the very order of the Council of War at Hartford. But, as in the sequel will be seen, this breach of orders, if it did not prove the salvation of the "Army," proved the destruction of the Pequots.

Thus completely deluded, the short-sighted Pequots set up joyous shouts, as though they had gained a victory; and they sent runners about the country to call their people together, that they might have a season of rejoicing.

Meanwhile, Mason proceeded on his voyage for Narraganset Bay, which he was two days in performing. Owing to a strong north-west wind, he could not land his men till the evening of the twenty-third of May. He then proceeded directly to the residence of Miantonimo, who received him respectfully, and showed a willingness to assist him; but he expressed astonishment that the English should presume to go against Sassacus with such a small number of men.

May 24. Proceeding on their march, the English were joined by about four hundred Narragansets, and, after a fatiguing travel of about twenty miles, reached the fort of the Nianticks, on the borders of the territories of the Pequots. Twelve miles further brought them

May 25. to a fording place in Paucatuck river, and at night they encamped in hearing of the nearest Pequot fort. This was the fort at Mistick. Here a great number was assembled, and this was the very night they had set to celebrate their deliverance from invasion. Accordingly, until near midnight, they were distinctly heard, giving unrestrained utterance to their joy, in boisterous festivity. Having wearied themselves, and in the fatal confidence that no enemy was near, they all fell into a sound sleep at a late hour of the night; and thus were found an easy prey by their more wily adversary.

May 26. By the light of a splendid moon, the little Army was formed for the march about one o'clock in the morning. The Indians had ceased their shouts of joy, and were, many of them, in their last sleep, as it proved. Moving on, the Indian guides soon brought the English by intricate paths to the foot of the "great hill" on which the fort was. Here, halting his men, Captain Mason inquired of Uncas,

the leader of the Mohegans, where the Indians, his allies, were, for they were not to be seen; and was told they were fallen in the rear, and were "exceedingly afraid." The English were prepared for this, although during the march the Indians had boasted of the great things they would do to the enemy, and how many they would kill; and at the same time "sneered at the Englishman's courage, and said he durst not look a Pequot in the face." Yet now nearly half of the Narragansets had deserted and run away. The most of the rest would have followed, Mason says, had he not promised them that they need not come within shot of the fort, and that they might surround it at a distance, to seize fugitives.

The fort to be attacked had two entrances, at opposite points, and covered a space of twenty acres, which space was so thick set with wigwams, "that the English wanted foot room to grapple with their adversaries;" and the entrances were blocked up with boughs or bushes. Mason, having divided his force, led up the first division in person, the other was led by Captain Underhill. One marched against the western entrance, the other against the eastern. At a few rods' distance, a dog barked, and an Indian, who happened to be outside of the fort, discovered the English when they were about to discharge their guns upon it. He had only time to cry, Englishmen! Englishmen! and that in his own tongue,—*Owanux! Owanux!* when the work of death begun. "Every man," says Underhill, "being bereaved of pity, fell upon the work without compassion, considering the blood they had shed of our native countrymen—having slain, first and last, about thirty persons."



STORMING OF THE PEQUOT FORT.

In attempting to force an entrance, "one Master Hedge was shot through both arms, and more wounded. Captain Mason and myself," says Underhill, "entering into the wigwams, he was shot, and received many arrows against his head-piece. Myself received a shot

in the hip, through a sufficient buff coat, which, if I had not been supplied with, the arrow would have pierced through me. Another I received between neck and shoulders." The odds was too great. The English seeing they would be beat out of the fort, Mason with his

own hands set fire to the wigwams,* which in a moment enveloped the whole in flames.† This decided the day. The English with their Indian friends surrounded the burning fort, and shot down those that attempted to escape.‡

Thus, in "about one hour's space," was the power of the Pequots almost annihilated. Between six hundred and seven hundred perished by the sword or the flames; seven only escaping, and seven were taken prisoners. But two of the assailants were killed; one of Mason's company, and one of Underhill's, and twenty wounded.

The vessels which had brought the troops to Narraganset, were ordered to proceed to Pequot to receive them again when they had finished the work for which they came. They arrived within a few hours of the time, and thus Captain Underhill and the Narragansets returned in them to Saybrook, and Captain Mason and his men proceeded to the same place by land, destroying whatever they met with belonging to the Pequots in their march.

As the English were upon their march, after they had destroyed the fort at Mistick, a great body of Pequots from another fort pursued them; frantic with rage for the loss of so many friends, they rushed upon them repeatedly, with the utmost fury; but the troops, facing about, fired their muskets in their faces, by which movements they were as often put to flight. In this retreat of a few miles, one hundred more of the Pequots were supposed to have been killed.

On Captain Mason's return to Hartford there was a day of rejoicing, and he was hailed as a great conqueror.

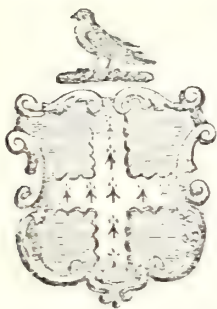
* "So entering one of their wigwams," says Arthur Smith, was so wounded he could not move out of the place, but who was happily rescued from the flames by Lieut. Thomas Bull." — *Mather's Relation*, 32.

† Their wigwams were substantial, and covered with mats of grass, which being very dry, and the fire being set on the "windward side, did swiftly overrun the whole fort," out of which the English then retreated, "only one,

‡ Winthrop records the Fight under 25 May, and adds, "Presently came news [to Boston] from Narraganset, that all the English, and 200 of the Indians [friends] were cut off in their retreat;" and that three days later "this was confirmed by a Post from Plimouth, with such probable circumstances, as it was generally believed." — *Journal*, i. 225.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Pequot War continued. — Negotiations with Plymouth. — Letter of Edward Winslow upon the Subject. — Winslow comes to Boston. — States the Reasons why Plymouth should not engage in the War. — Election. — Great Excitement. — Seat of Government removed from Boston to Newtown. — Preparations for the War. — March of Capt. Patrick. — Other Forces raised. — Thanksgiving. — March of Capt. Stoughton. — Letter of John Humfrey. — Stoughton arrives at Pequot. — Pursues the Indians. — His Dispatches. — Surprises a large Number. — Puts many of them to Death. — Some protected by the Nianticks, whose Chief is cited to Boston. — Appears and gives Satisfaction. — Death of Pequot Chiefs, Sassacus, Mononotto. — Swamp Fight. — Many Prisoners taken. — Stoughton proceeds to Block Island. — Close of the War.



April 1. ABOUT the first of April, Mr. Winthrop wrote to the Governor of Plymouth for advice respecting proceedings against the Pequots, and probably hinting something about the propriety of that Colony's taking a part in the war, by furnishing men or means, or both. This letter was answered on April 17. the seventeenth following, by Mr. Winslow, by direction of the Governor. In this he says, "Concerning your present busnies, we conceive it will be simply necessary for you to proceed in the

war begun with the Pequots, otherwise, the natives we feare will grow into a stronger confederacy, to the further prejudice of the whole English. We are very glad to heare that the Munheges are fallen from the Pequots, and brought to a professed war with them, knowing their inveterate hatred; and, desire it may be nourished by all good meanes." — "But there is one thing of ill consequence, which we heare from Connecticut, viz., that there are some English there that furnish the enemy by way of trade, having made a league with them. If you inquire of Mr. Jessop* who came in the barke with Mr. Harding, you may receive particular information thereabout. That this will be ill taken I doubt not, yet durst doe no other than inform you. Yet, let me commend one thing to your consideracon; how dangerous a thing it may prove, if the Dutch, who seek it, and they, should close by reason of the Pequots' necessity. I speak not this as desiring the benefit of their trade, for we are weary of the worke, as we are dealt withall."†

* John Jessop, of Connecticut, had an interest in the affairs of Captain Oldham. There was a John Jessop, Deputy to the General Court of Ct., 1664, at which time he represented Westchester. See

Public Recs. of Ct., 12, 425-6, and Bolton's *Hist. Westchester*, i. 259-61.

† Autograph letter of Edward Winslow, never published, in possession of the Author.

Edw: Winslow.
Delim. to R. of C. 2^d Mo. 1637.

Other communications followed. Plymouth had been urged to send some of her Government officers to Boston to negotiate upon the subject of the war. Mr. Winslow excused the Government, in the letter from which the above extract is made, for not having complied with the request, instead of writing; and observed, that if, after the election in the Bay, Mr. Winthrop had any desire to speak with him, he would find him at Goodman Stow's in Roxbury; but no particular time for seeing him is mentioned.

It is evident that the Government of Plymouth had a disinclination to have anything to do in the war; but Mr. Winslow was finally deputed to meet the Authorities at Boston, and to discuss the matter. At May 12. this interview Mr. Winslow said the Pequot war was none of their quarrel; and, in the next place, Boston had refused to lend its aid to Plymouth when they had been solicited to do so on a like occasion. Other objections were stated, all of which were answered, but no conclusion is stated.*

The time for an annual election having arrived, it was held at May 17. Newtown. Great excitement prevailed. There was a large party, which may be denominated the liberal party, at the head of which were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Vane. At the head of the other were Mr. Wilson and Mr. Winthrop. These were very nearly equal, and this occasioned the anxiety, and "there was danger," says Winthrop, "of a tumult that day; for those of that side [the liberal party] that grew into fierce speeches, and some laid hands on others." Winthrop and his party, however, prevailed, being himself elected Governor, Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, Mr. Endicott a standing Counsellor, and Mr. Israel Stoughton and Mr. Richard Saltonstall Assistants. Mr. Shepard preached the Election Sermon.

It had been a custom of some two years' standing, established by the General Court, that at the Court of Election the Governor should be attended by six men, selected by himself, whose duty it was to carry halberds and swords on that day, as a sort of body-guard to the Governor and the other members of the Court. These six men were denominated the Serjeants, and they attended on Mr. Vane to the place of

* It appears, however, by a letter (a) from the Court of Plymouth, that that Colony finally agreed to furnish forty men, &c. But it was the 5th of June before they made that "solemn act of court," and gave notice that they had done so; and then they were not wanted. Mr. Hubbard must have been ignorant of what had hitherto passed between Boston and Plymouth in respect to this war, or he would hardly have said in his *Narrative* (121), that when Plymouth was applied to "she appeared very cordially willing" to engage in it; and that before their quota of men "could be dis-

patched away, news was brought that the enemy was wholly routed; so as their journey was stopped, and their good will accepted for the deed, as if they really had been there to have borne their part in the service; their non-appearance in time and place being not to be imputed to any backwardness in their minds." This, from anything to be gathered from the same author to the contrary, looks like setting up a strong defence for a party which had not been accused, but possibly might be very liable to be. The same day that the Court of Plymouth decided to enter into the war, the letter of Mr. Winslow, before mentioned, was dated, namely, June 5th, and at the same time a trusty Indian runner arrived at Plymouth from Nemasket, with the news of the overthrow of the Pequots at Mistick.

(a) See Mr. Winslow's letter (in *Hutchinson's Col.* 60-1). It is exceeding strange that Hutchinson should print this letter antedated a year. He has done the same by one of Captain Stoughton's, *ib.* 61-2.

election this year ; but when they saw that he had lost his election, they laid down their halberds and went home, leaving the new Governor to appoint others or go without any. "And," says Winthrop, "whereas they had been wont to attend the former Governor to and from the meetings on the Lord's days, they gave over now, so as the new Governor was fain to use his own servants to carry two halberds before him ; whereas the former Governor had never less than four." *

May 18. Boston had omitted to choose its Representatives till after the General Election, and thereupon the Town chose "Mr. Henry Vane, Mr. William Coddington and Mr. Atherton Haulgh ;" but they were refused seats as members, by the majority of the court,

May 19. and were sent home again, and an order to the Town for a new election. The next day the voters assembled and chose the same gentlemen.†

The people of Boston were not without almost daily advices of what was passing in and about Connecticut river, and though the late exciting election had diverted them somewhat from immediate action in the war, yet, within a week after that matter was settled, a company of

May 22. forty men was put under the command of Capt. Daniel Patrick, of Watertown. These were hastened away, because intelligence had just been received from Miantonimo, that the Pequots, seeing they could not escape from a war, had sent away their women and children "to an island." This was only a rumor probably, though it may have been true to some extent ; for there were some hundreds of "women, children and old men" that perished in the fort at Mistic.

May 24. While Mason lay with his forces at Narraganset, he received a letter from Captain Patrick, stating that he was arrived at Roger Williams' plantation, and should join him with his force as soon as possible. But Mason and Underhill concluded it unsafe to delay, as there was a communication between the Narraganset women and the Pequots, and hence there was great danger that their design might be discovered and frustrated ; therefore they marched without delay to attack the Pequots, the result of which has just been recounted. In the mean time Patrick arrived at Narraganset in time to embark in the same vessels which had brought Mason, and returned in them to the mouth of the

* "The former Governor and Mr. Coddington, being discontented that the people had left them out of all public service, gave further proof of it in the congregation, for they refused to sit in the Magistrates' seat, where Mr. Vane had always sitten from his first arrival, and went and sate with the deacons, although the Governor sent to desire them to come in to him. And upon the general Fast, they went from Boston to keep the day at the Mount with Mr. Wheelwright." — Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 224. The only question, or at least the first question to be settled, in considering the result of the election, is, whether it was really done by a majority of the legal voters, or whether certain manoeu-

vres, practised by Mr. Wilson and the old Governor, had not an undue effect in bringing it about. I offer no opinion upon it, but merely state the facts as they are. A knowledge of subsequent proceedings is necessary to form a judgment. — See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.*, ii., 133, &c.

† Winthrop says, *Journal*, i., 220, "The Court being grieved (at the first choice) found means to send them home again, for that two of the freemen of Boston had no notice of the election. So they went all home, and the next morning they returned the same gentlemen ; and the court not finding how they might reject them, they were admitted." — See, also, *Town Records*.

Thames. Thence he marched with Mason from Pequot to Saybrook.* Both Underhill and Mason seem to have had a dislike of Patrick.†

It had been agreed at Boston, before the march of Captain Patrick, that two hundred men should be raised by Massachusetts to assist Connecticut in carrying on the war. But before the remaining one hundred and sixty‡ could be got ready, news was brought of the fall of Mistick. It was therefore thought needless to send so large a force. But some of the people began to murmur against a reduction of the original number,§ and sent a deputation to remonstrate with the Governor, accompanied by three ministers. "The Governor took it ill." However, "it was thought fit to send about forty || men more, which was yielded, rather to satisfy the people, than for any need that appeared." Yet it was generally believed that the Pequots were still formidable. The much-dreaded Sassacus had not been killed or taken, and he held a strong fort at a few miles from that destroyed at Mistick. Therefore vigorous efforts were considered to be yet necessary.

June 15. There was a day of thanksgiving kept throughout Massachusetts, and about the same time Capt. Israel Stoughton, of Dorchester, sailed from Boston for the Pequot country. He was Commander-in-chief of the expedition. Capt. William Traske, of Salem, led the Essex men, and Richard Davenport was his Lieutenant. Mr. Wilson, of Boston, went as Chaplain.¶

Notwithstanding the principal power of the Pequots was broken, the stern cry of vengeance was continued, and Captain Stoughton embarked with one hundred and twenty men for the Pequot country. Amidst the preparations to crush those Indians, no voice of compassion is heard for even such of them, as, from their age or other circumstances, could merit no retributive scourge from the hand of a foe. All seemed of one opinion, namely, that the "sins of the fathers should be visited upon their children," in the most literal sense of the language of inspiration.

There is, indeed, a solitary letter in existence, in which the writer

* Compare Mather's *Relation*, Hubbard, *Underhill and Mason's Histories*, by which the author has been able to show the Proceedings of Patrick, hitherto unexplained.

† "And although Captain Mason told him he did not delight in his company, yet he would and did march along with him." — Mason in *I. Mather*, 35.

‡ The 160 men were thus assessed on the towns: —

Boston,	26	Roxbury,	10
Salem,	18	Newtown,	9
Ipswich,	17	Newbury,	8
Saugus,	16	Hingham,	6
Watertown,	14	Weymouth,	5
Dorchester,	13	Medford,	3
Charlestown,	12	Marblehead,	3

160

§ And Mr. Winslow, writing by authority of the Court of Plymouth, 5 June, says, "Let

not this [the news of the fall of Mistick] discourage the sending of your 160 men, but take such revenge as may be a service to after times," &c. — Hutchinson, *Coll. Orig. Papers*, 61.

|| From what will elsewhere appear, what Winthrop means by this is, that the intended 160 men were to be reduced forty; for Mason says, that 120 arrived in the Connecticut, under Stoughton, to join in prosecuting the war. — See Mason in *Hist. Colls. Mass.*, 18 vol., p. 145. Same in *I. Mather's Relation*, 36.

¶ Lots were cast to determine which should go, Mr. Wilson or Mr. Eliot, and the lot fell to the former. — *Col. Recs.* "I think I have heard that reverend man of God, Mr. Wilson, say, that he was, before he went out, as certain that God would give the English the victory as if he had seen it already obtained." — *I. Mather, Relation*, 54.

June 7. ventures to suggest to the Magistrates of Boston, in the time of their energetic preparations to send out Captain Stoughton, whether it would not be better to make peace with the Pequots, who probably now would be glad of almost any terms; even to the "delivering up of these men or their heads, who had wrought and brought so much misery upon themselves and theirs; or, if not so, whether, if they gave good assurance by hostages, the blood shed by them might not seem to be sufficiently expiated;"* with much more upon the subject of the war, in the same benevolent strain. But it had no visible effect.

June 26. By an order of the General Court of Connecticut it appears that the squadron under Stoughton had arrived in the mouth of the river before the twenty-sixth of June; † as on this day Mr. Haynes and Mr. Ludlowe were directed to repair thither to treat with Captain Stoughton about prosecuting the war.

Meanwhile Sassacus and another distinguished Chief, Mononotto, with the greater part of the remaining Pequots, had fled westward along the coast, and Captain Mason being joined with the Massachusetts forces, with about forty men, pursued on after them. But the aspect of the war was now changed. The enemy at once became wanderers in strange places, with extremely precarious means of subsistence; "owing to their children and want of provisions," their flight was slow, and they became an easy prey wherever they could be found. Their own countrymen were cruel enemies to them, who were as much to be avoided as the now desperate and exulting Englishmen. Stoughton made several dispatches to the Government, of his operations, but very few of them are preserved. From one, ‡ hitherto unpublished, received at Boston

July 6. on the sixth of July, it appears he was then lying with his forces in "Pequid" river, and Captain Mason had joined him with thirty men. Mr. Haynes and Mr. Ludlow were also with them. He said "there was yet good tuff work to be done, and how deere it would cost was unknown; for Sasaco^s was resolved to sell his life as deere as he could," and so was "Momowattuck, another great chief." A third great Chief § had been delivered into their hands, but him they detained to be "serviceable to them," though they would not promise him his life. Forty-eight other prisoners, by a pinnace, "being Giggles," || were shipped for Boston, where they arrived at the date above mentioned. Stoughton's dispatch came with them. He further says, "we

* Autograph letter of the Hon. JOHN HUMFREY, dated June 7th, 1637, never published, here truly represented. the text. Captain Stoughton's autograph is in possession of the author.

† Mason says Stoughton arrived there in "about a fortnight after his soldiers returned home from Mistick fight." They probably "returned home by the first of June." — See Mason in *I. Mather*, 36.

‡ There is no date to this, but it is marked as having been received, 5: 6. Few names are contained in the letter. — "Steward Calacot, Liftenant Darnport [Davenport], Sosomon" (a Dorchester Indian, an interpreter, of whom hereafter), are all, except those mentioned in

§ He was sent out as a spy afterwards, of whose adventures there is a curious account in Hubbard, *Nar.*, 128.

|| This name, I question not, should be *Giggles*. There was a Thomas Giggles, of Boston, at a later date. — See Caulkins' *Hist. N. London*, 244.

J. Stoughton.

heare of a great number [of Pequots] vp y^e country among y^e Neepe-netts." He then proceeds to say, "we have settled on a place for our randavooze, y^e best we could for y^e present; vpon y^e mouth of Pequid riuier, on y^e Naanticot side, where we have 100 acres of corne, if not two or three hundred men at hand, and a curio^s spring of water within o^r pallazado, and may, by great guns; comand y^e riuier." "We shall y^e next weake joyne in seeing w^t we can do against Sasaco^s, and another great Sagamo^r, Momowattuck."

Steughton had before, probably in a letter to Winthrop, detailed the manner in which the Indian prisoners, now received, came into his hands; he "having pursued the Pequots beyond Connecticut, and missing, returned to Pequot river, where they were advertised that one hundred of them were newly come back to a place some twelve miles off. So they marched thither by night and surprised them all." * They "put to death twenty-two men, and reserved two Sachems, hoping by them to get Sasacus, which they promised. All the rest were women and children, of whom they gave the Narragansets thirty, our Massachusetts Indians three, and the rest sent hither. These were disposed of to particular persons in the country. Some of them ran away, and were brought again by the Indians, our neighbors, and these we branded on the shoulder." †

Several of the Pequots had fled down into the Niantick country, where Ninigret ‡ was Sachem. This Chief was desirous to shield them from destruction, and at the same time to be at peace with the English.

July 12. He therefore came to Boston with seventeen of his men, bringing a present of ten fathoms of wampum. The Authorities refused to treat with him unless he would now agree to give up the Pequots.

He at first declined the proposition,

July 13. but the next day he submitted to it. His present was

then received, but he was referred to the Commanders of the army at Pequot to treat further; for which purpose instructions were sent to



NINIGRET.

* "Being first trepanned by the Narragansetts, under pretence of securing them, by which means," the "Massachusetts forces had an easie conquest over them. The men among them, to the number of thirty, were turned presently into Charon's ferry-boat, under command of Skipper Gallop, who dispatched them a little without the harbor."—Hubbard, *Nar.* 127. This exploit was before the arrival of

the Connecticut men, and Mason passes lightly over it in his history. A little jealousy is observable among the Connecticut people. They were fearful lest Massachusetts should get too large a share of the glory of the war.

† Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 231-2. See also Hubbard's *Nar.*, 127.

‡ This Chief had the address to save himself and his people generally, from the destruc-

them by Ninigret. Then "he was lovingly dismissed, with some small things given him." *

Meanwhile Sassacus, with twenty or thirty of his people, fled to the Mohawks, who soon after murdered him and all his followers, "being lured thereunto by the Narhagansets, as was confidently affirmed and believed." †

Being joined with the Connecticut forces, Captain Stoughton sailed for Quinnipiak, afterwards named New Haven. They were three days in reaching that point. While the vessels sailed along the coast, a party of the English proceeded by land, accompanied by the Mohegans under Uncas. At a point of land now in the town of Guilford, they captured a small party of Pequots who had retreated there to elude their pursuers. One of them proved to be Mononotto, the last great Chief of the Pequots. He was at once put to death, his head cut off and set upon a tree, and the name of Sachem's Head given to the point, by which it has ever since been known. The wife of Mononotto was taken prisoner. As it was known that through her means the lives of the two captive girls of Wethersfield were preserved, she and her children were spared, "and in special recommended" to Governor Winthrop, of Boston, "who," on her arrival here, "taking notice of her modest countenance and behavior, gave special charge concerning her." ‡

July 13. Animated by success, the English, by the aid of their Indian allies, were able to scour the country far and wide. At length, coming "to a small Indian town seated by the side of a hideous swamp, into which they all slipt, as well Pequots as natives of the place. § Before our men could make a shot upon them, Mr. Ludlow and Captain Mason, with half a score of their men, happened to discover this crew. Captain Patrick and Captain Traske, with about one hundred of the Massachusetts men, came in upon them." Order was given to surround the swamp, but Lieutenant Davenport, rushing into the swamp with some twelve others, came near being cut off. He was "sorely wounded," as were two Ipswich men, John Wedgewood and Thomas Sherman. They were rescued at great peril by Serjeant Riggs of Roxbury. It being near night, the swamp was partially surrounded to prevent the escape of any; but early the next morning about thirty of the "lustiest of the enemy" broke through where Captain Patrick's company were stationed, and escaped to the

tion which fell successively upon the other tribes. He was alive till after Philip's war. For nearly all the facts which have been preserved about him, see the *Book of the Indians*, Book ii., 131, 146, and 153, edition 1851. For some signal service which he performed for Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, that gentleman caused his portrait to be painted: from a copy of which, in the possession of the late GRANVILLE TEMPLE WINTHROP, Esq., the accompanying engraving is made.

* Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 232.

† Hubbard, *Narrative*, 128.

‡ *Ibid.*, 131.

§ Hubbard, *Narrative*, 129. The "hideous swamp" mentioned by Hubbard was a beautiful field when Dr. Dwight wrote his poem, "Greenfield Hill," and probably long before. It lies in the town of Fairfield, on the borders of Long Island Sound, about three miles from Greenfield Hill. — See *Green. Hill, a Poem*, INTROD.

woods. Some of them, however, lost their lives in the attempt; "the rest were left to the mercy of the conquerors, of which many were killed in the swamp, like sullen dogs, that would rather, in their self-willedness and madness, sit still to be shot through or cut in pieces, than receive their lives for the asking at the hands of those into whose power they were now fallen. Some that are yet living [1677], and worthy of credit, do affirm that in the morning, entering into the swamp, they saw several heaps of them sitting close together, upon whom they discharged their pieces, laden with ten or twelve pistol bullets at a time, putting the muzzles of their pieces under the boughs within a few yards of them; so as, besides those that were found dead (near twenty), it was judged that many more were killed and sunk into the mire, and never were minded more by friend or foe." * "To this issue," says the same author, "was the Pequod war brought." Some two or three hundred prisoners were taken from the swamp. These were divided among the allies. Of those brought to Boston, fifteen of the boys and two women were sent for Bermudas to be sold for slaves; but they were carried to the Island of Providence, in the West Indies.†

August. In the beginning of August Captain Stoughton proceeded to

Block Island. After killing "one or two" of the Indians, he got a parley with them, who finally agreed to submit to the English, to pay a hundred fathom of wampum, and to deliver up any that could be found that had had any hand in Captain Oldham's death.

Aug. 5. Mr. Wilson returned to Boston from the army. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Stone came with him.‡ They took Providence in their way, doubtless to have an interview with Mr. Williams. The same day arrived also Mr. Ludlow, Mr. Pynchon, and about twelve others. They "came the ordinary way by land, and brought with them a part of the skin and lock of hair of Sasacus and his brother, and five other Pequod Sachems, who, being fled to the Mohawks for shelter, with their wampum, being to the value of five hundred pounds," were put to death, as before mentioned. "So that now there had been slain and taken between eight and nine hundred. Whereupon letters were sent to Mr. Stoughton and the rest to call them all home." §

Such is the almost possibly briefest, and, at the same time, connected history of the Pequod war, that the nature of the subject seemed to allow; nor can it by any construction be deemed foreign to the history of Boston. Boston counsel directed it; one of its principal Captains led Boston men to storm the stronghold at Mistick; and Boston men kept the field as long as an enemy was to be feared.

* Hubbard, 130-2.

† See Winthrop, i.

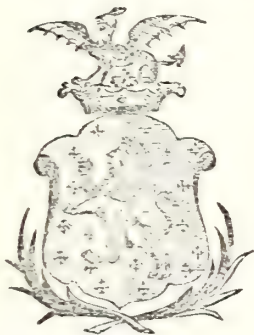
‡ These came, probably, to attend the ec-

clesiastical synod which was to meet on the 30th of the month. See next Chapter.

§ Winthrop, *ut supra*, i. 235.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Religious Controversy. — Persecutions. — The Persecuted found other Colonies. — Grounds of the Difficulties. — Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. — Mr. John Wheelwright. — Cotton and Vane favor Mr. Wheelwright. — Fast Sermon of the latter. — Called to an Account for Opinions advanced in it. — It is pronounced Seditious. — Ordered to appear for further Trial. — A Synod called to decide what Errors existed. — Mr. Wheelwright tried and banished. — Boston remonstrates. — Remonstrants proceeded against. — Some expelled the Court. — Case of Aspinwall, Coggeshall, Baulston, and others. — Mrs. Hutchinson. — Parentage and Character. — Trial and Banishment. — Killed by the Indians. — Remonstrants disarmed. — Case of Captain Underhill. — Governor Winthrop censured. — State of the Boston Church.



WHILE the whole of New England was distracted by a war with the Indians, Boston was more distracted, if possible, with religious dissensions, in which parents were set against children, children against parents, brother against brother, as is always the case in religious as well as political controversies.

The dissension of which notice is now to be taken was far more detrimental to the prosperity of Boston than any other, from the day of its settlement to the time of the Revolutionary War. Other places, though benefitted by Boston's misfortune, were not so in a corresponding degree. The Dutch of New York offered the persecuted of Boston the free enjoyment of their religion, which some gladly embraced by settling in that Colony. Rhode Island was settled by Boston people, and Mr. John Wheelwright led a colony hence to New Hampshire, and founded Exeter.*

The grounds of these distractions may be thus briefly stated.† It was maintained by those called *Antinomians*,‡ or *Familists*,§ that the

* It may not be amiss to state in this connection, in answer to the remark of Dr. Eliot, "It has always seemed very strange that Mr. Wheelwright did not go with his friends to Rhode Island, instead of removing to New Hampshire," that the Doctor did not seem to be aware that Mr. Wheelwright had large possessions in the last-named Colony. It may be due to the subject to remark, also, in reference to a supposed discovery some years since made, namely, that Mr. Wheelwright made no purchase of lands in N. Hampshire in 1629, as set forth in history, and that a certain deed, purporting to be of such purchase, was a forgery. No argument in favor of the genuineness of said deed will be here offered. I shall only observe, that if the deed in question be a forgery, then a large number of other papers, going to show, incidentally, that there was such a deed or purchase, all written before 1637, and which I myself have seen, are forgeries also.

† From Welde's Preface to Winthrop's *Short Story*. Should any one doubt to whom

belongs the chief authorship of the work here cited, let him read Cotton's *Way of the Churches Cleared*, page 56, and elsewhere; but the most conclusive evidence will be found, merely by comparing Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 261, with the *Short Story*, 45-47. Two men, without close conference, could not have written things so exactly coinciding, being word for word in many places.

‡ "A sect of people that hold the keeping of Moses' law to be unprofitable, and that there is no sin in children. They began to appear somewhat above 100 years ago [about 1606], and had one John Islebius, a German, for their ringleader." — *Phillip's New World of Words*, 6th ed., by J. K.

§ This was a distinct sect from the Antinomians originally, though they are usually coupled in our books as though they were one and the same. The Familists had their beginning with one Henry Nicholas, before the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. He called his followers the "Family of Love," and hence their appellation. — Camden's *Eliz.*, 248.

Law, and the preaching of it, is of no use at all to drive a man to Christ; that a man is justified without faith from eternity; that he is united to Christ by the Spirit, without any act of his; that the graces of saints and hypocrites may be the same; that the whole letter of the Bible is a covenant of works; that no Christian must be pressed to duties of holiness; and so on, to the number of twenty-nine heads, or "dangerous opinions." After Mr. Welde had enumerated these in his Preface, he says they were only "some of them, to give but a taste, for afterwards you shall see a litter of fourscore and eleven of their brats hung up against the sun, besides many new ones of Mistress Hutchinson's; all which they hatched and dandled."

It has been the custom of writers to speak of Mrs. Hutchinson as the origin of the Antinomian troubles; but that is not the true state of the case.* The difficulties with Roger Williams were of the same character, and of a higher date.† It is, however, true that Mrs. Hutchinson had some advantages for gaining proselytes that those who preceded her had not, and abilities of the most superior cast for improving them.

The community that expects to rid itself of all impurities, and to arrive at perfection, must expect its members which constitute it will live forever, and to admit none to be of its number from any other community, and no children to be born in it. The Rulers of Boston were doubtless men in advance of the age in which they lived, and they must not be censured for not having the knowledge which had no existence then, saving, perhaps, in the brains of a few theorists. They had to learn that accidents and misfortunes as often happened to those they were assured led blameless lives, as to the more wicked, when equally exposed to them.

It was soon found that not only the immediate family of Mrs. Oct. 25. Hutchinson fell in entirely with her views, but many of the best and most influential men in Boston were of her way of thinking in matters of religion.‡ So completely was she master of her subject, and so irresistibly did she enforce her views, that she carried Cotton captive. Winthrop for a time wavered, but was finally rescued by the interest of Wilson, § and became her bitterest enemy. Her brother-in-law, Mr. Wheelwright, || having come with his family to Boston about

* Winthrop says, *Journal*, i. 200, that Mrs. Hutchinson "brought over with her two dangerous errors, 1. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person; 2. That no sanctification can help to evidence to us our justification. From these two grew many branches."

† It is said, in the Preface to the *Short Story*, that those who held "unsound and loose opinions commonly labor'd to work first upon women, being, as they conceived, the weaker to resist; the more flexible, tender, and ready to yield: and if once they could winde in them, they hoped by them, as by an

Eve, to catch their husbands also;" and that "most of these seducers lived in Boston."

‡ "And indeed it was a wonder upon what a sudden the whole Church of Boston (some few excepted) were become her new converts, and many also out of the Church. She drew, also, some of eminent place and parts to her party." — *Short Story*, 34.

§ The Church of Boston were so displeased with the course of Mr. Wilson, not long after, that when he went into the pulpit near half of the congregation would go out. — *Neal*.

|| He arrived on the 26th of May of this year, in the same ship with Mr. Samuel Whit-

five months previous, was fully of her opinion.* Many of the inhabitants were highly pleased with Mr. Wheelwright's preaching, and an attempt was made to have him settled permanently in Boston as their preacher. It is natural that the old Ministers should not favor this; for, high as they were estimated for learning, talent and piety, it was possible that a brilliant young Minister like Mr. Wheelwright might, in some degree, eclipse them. Mr. Cotton, nevertheless, was in favor of his settling here. It was finally concluded, however, that he should settle in that part of Boston then called Mount Wollaston,† over "a new Church to be gathered there." Winthrop objected to his being settled on the peninsula, on the ground that "he was apt to raise doubtful disputations," and had advanced sentiments similar to those of his sister Hutchinson; yet Winthrop says he himself might agree with him as to the point in dispute, and that "he thought reverently of his godliness, and could be content to live under such a ministry." Winthrop's course, however, in reference to Mr. Wheelwright, offended "divers of the brethren;" and, finding this to be the case, he the next day confessed that he had committed an offence, and proceeded to make a long and tedious explanation, and winds up his account of it by saying: "How this was taken by the Congregation did not appear, for no man spake to it." Probably "no man" understood it. The same kind of metaphysics continues to perplex many even to the present day, or all such as seek to find the meaning of what, in itself, means nothing. Mathematicians never argued more unprofitably about the "indivisibility of matter," or "squaring the circle," than the metaphysicians of that age did about "evidencing justification by sanctification," and similar questions.

ing.—See Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 337. He lived at Belleau, in Lincolnshire, which is only two and a half miles from Alford, the residence of the Hutchinson family, into which he married, as previously mentioned.—See *ante*, p. 175. He had an estate at Mawthorpe, in the parish of Willoughby, in the same county, also near Alford, which, in 1677, he gave to his youngest daughter, Sarah, "in consideration of her marriage to Richard Crispe."—See *Suffolk Deeds*, ix. 215. Mr. Wheelwright and his wife were admitted to the Church in Boston, 12 June, 1636. His autograph, as here represented, is traced from the original in the *Mass. Archives*. In his earlier years he wrote his name *Whelewright*, as the records of Exeter witness.

John Wheelwright
pastor of the church of
Salisbury.

* He had preached against a "covenant of work" before he came to Boston, and had converted Hanserd Knollys to his opinions. After he was silenced he lived for a time privately near London. Knollys heard of him "by some Christians, that he had been instrumental to convert many souls," and set out to visit him. At the same time he learned that Mr. Wheelwright had come into the same neighborhood where he lived, namely, Andover, in Lincolnshire. After he had had an interview with Mr. Wheelwright, he was fully convinced that he was under a covenant of work. But in two or three other interviews he became enlightened, and immediately set out upon enlightening others. This took place not long before Mr. Wheelwright came over in 1636. Knollys followed him to Boston soon after, as will be seen.—See *Life of Knollys, written by himself*, 18-25.

† "He was desired by many to be their teacher with Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, but the Church being so well supplied, the Church by vote, on Oct. 30th, 1636, allowed him to preach to some of their members removed to Braintree," &c.—See *Hancock's Cent. Ser.*, 19.

Governor Vane supported the doctrines maintained by Mr. Wheelwright, and carried on a controversy in writing with Winthrop; and Mrs. Hutchinson held a "double weekly lecture," to which a large number of persons constantly resorted, "to the number of fifty, sixty, or eighty at once." * At these lectures she was able to repeat from memory the sermons that she had heard preached, and as she went along would make her own commentaries upon them. In this manner she brought great numbers to her way of thinking.

As soon as there was an organized opposition to the "new doctrines," measures began to be talked of, by which a stop might be put to them, and the Commonwealth saved from ruin; for it was said that the difference between the doctrines maintained by either party was "as great as between Heaven and Hell." Winthrop's party do not seem to have ever had the remotest idea that they could be wrong, or that the other party could be sincere and honest in their opinions. Charity is not heard of among the oppressors; and when those of the "new doctrines" spoke charitably of them, they were spurned the more. That Mr. Wheelwright and his followers believed sincerely that the other party were "under a covenant of work," is quite as clear now, as that a difference existed between the parties.

Jan. 20. A Fast was kept "in all the Churches," to lament the troubles that seemed to be about to overwhelm the country; among others, danger from the Indians, and the dissensions in the Churches are particularly mentioned. In his Fast sermon Mr. Wheelwright "inveighed against all that walked in a covenant of works, called them antichrists, and," according to Winthrop, "stirred up the people against them with much bitterness and vehemency. For this he was called into the Court, and his sermon being produced, he justified it. Whereupon the Elders of the rest of the Churches were called, and being asked, if in their ministry they did walk in such a way, they all acknowledged they did. So, after much debate, the Court adjudged him guilty of Sedition, and also of Contempt,† for that the Court had appointed the fast as a means of reconciliation of the differences, and that he had purposely set himself to kindle and increase them."

Governor Vane "and some few more," at once protested against the decision of the Court, in which they "wholly justified Mr. Wheel-

* "But the last and worst of all," says Mr. Welde, in a tone of deep lamentation, "which most suddenly diffused the venom of these opinions into the very veins and vitals of the people, was Mistress Hutchinson's double weekly-lecture," &c.

† This much talked of sermon has been preserved (in manuscript). Mr. Savage, in a note to Winthrop, thus remarks upon it:—"I unhesitatingly say, that it was not such as can justify the Court in their sentence for *sedition and contempt*, nor prevent the present age from regarding that proceeding as an example and a warning of the usual tyranny of

ecclesiastical factions." Being descended from one of the chief leaders of the party complained of, namely Mrs. Hutchinson, Mr. Savage excuses himself for not giving a more particular account of her than he has done. I do not object to this, inasmuch as he has defended the other party, Mr. Wheelwright, from whom I am descended, in a very satisfactory manner. All the defence Mrs. Hutchinson requires, I trust I have made for her, and that consists in truly narrating the rise and progress of the unhappy controversy in which she was so large a sharer and sufferer.

wright;" and the Church of Boston tendered a petition in his behalf, and justified his sermon also. Seeing he had so many and such strong friends, the Court concluded to suspend sentence upon him until the next Court; meantime he was "commended to the Church of Boston to take care of him," and ordered to appear at the next Court.

Boston was favorable to the cause of Mr. Wheelwright, and the Court was unwilling to sit where its doings were pretty likely to be condemned by the people.* It was therefore voted that it should be held next at Newtown. Mr. Vane showed his dislike of the proceeding by refusing to put the vote, which was done by Mr. Endicott.

May 17. The result of this day's election has been stated in detailing the progress of the Pequot war, so far as the election of officers was concerned.† So well had the plans of the opposition to the "Antinomians" been concerted, that the result was all they could wish for; yet the Court was not prepared to sentence Mr. Wheelwright, although he appeared as he was ordered to do; so it gave him a respite till the next session, which was to be in August; that in the interim he might "bethink himself and retract his error, otherwise he must expect no favor." To this proposition of clemency, he said, if he were guilty of Sedition he was worthy of death; but if they proceeded against him, he would appeal to the King, and that he had nothing to retract. In the mean time an ecclesiastical Council was convened, to discuss the matter.‡

That an Assembly, or Synod, formed for a specific object, and of materials of one faith, should find much difficulty in agreeing in condemning those of a different faith, is not to be expected. Under these circumstances "an Assembly of the Churches § at New-Town," Aug. 30. drew up a "Catalogue of erroneous opinions," to the number

* "A great part of the body of the people, and I am apt to think, at the first, the majority of the Town of Boston, were of the same side the question with those people who afterwards came here." [To Rhode Island.]—See Callender's *Hist. Disc.*, 26.

† See *ante*, page 211.

‡ "An extraordinary act made by the General Court this session, very much heightened the discontent." Many persons of Mr. Wheelwright's opinions in Boston, were expecting their friends from England; a penalty therefore was laid on all persons against entertaining strangers who came with intent to reside, without special liberty from the Government. "This," says Hutchinson, "was a very severe order, and was so disliked by the people of Boston, that upon the Governor's return from Court, they all refused to go out to meet him, or shew him any respect."—*Hist. Mass.* i. 62-3. "Mr. Cotton was so dissatisfied with this law, that he says [in his *Answer to Bailey*] he intended to have removed out of the jurisdiction to Quianypiac, since called New Haven; but finding the law was not improved to exclude such persons as he feared it would be, he altered his mind."—*Ibid.*, 63. See also Hutchinson's *Coll. of Papers*, 67-100.

It was customary, when the Governor returned from Court, for the inhabitants to turn out and escort him to his house; but when he returned to his house in Boston, from Newtown, after the passage of this law, there was no welcome of the kind from the people.

§ "There were all the Teaching Elders through the country, and some new come out of England, not yet called to any place here, as Mr. Davenport," &c. — Winthrop, *Journal*, i. 237. This "Assembly" was "three weeks together at Cambridge, then called New Town. Mr. Hooker and Mr. Bulkley, alias Buckley, being chosen Moderators or Prolocutors, the Magistrates sitting present all that time, as hearers, and speakers also when they saw fit." — Preface to the *Short Story*. Johnson says that at this "first Synod held in New England, there were present about 25 Reverend and Godly Ministers," who were to "assist in cutting downe those cursed errors." There was that "bright shining light, Mr. Davenport, the cheerful, grave, and gracious soldier of his (the Lord Christ's), Mr. Allen, also Mr. Tompson, Mr. Browne, Mr. Fish, the much honoured Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Hopkins" [both of whom had just come over]. — *Wonder Working Prov.*, 117.

of eighty-two, "as were found brought into New England, and spread under hand there," all of which were found to be heretical.

Oct. 2. Thus fortified by synodical authority, the General Court proceeded to pronounce sentence against the accused, * first calling upon him to state "how his mind stood, whether he would acknowledge his offence or abide the sentence of the Court? His answer was, in effect, that he had committed no Sedition nor Contempt, and had delivered nothing but the truth of Christ." Among a great many other things which the Court urged against him was "the difference which he hath raised amongst men, by a false distinction of a Covenant of Grace, and a Covenant of Works; whereby one party is looked at as friends to Christ, and the other as his enemies," by which "all things are turned upside down amongst us."

The first day of the Court was finished with the record, that Mr. Wheelwright was guilty of "wilfully neglecting all means of light, in that he would not vouchsafe to read a very brief writing, which much concerned him;" and "although the cause was now ready for sentence, yet night being come, the Court arose, and enjoined him to appear the next morning."

Oct. 3. "The next morning he appeared, but long after the hour appointed." When he came, "the Court demanded what he had to allege why sentence should not proceed against him?" He merely asked the Court to point out on what page or leaf of his sermon he had said that of which he was accused.† This the Court evaded by a sort of subterfuge, and sentenced him "*to be disfranchised and banished our Jurisdiction, and to be put in safe custody, except he should give sufficient security to depart before the end of March.*" Upon this he appealed to the King's Majesty; but the Court told him an appeal did not lie in this case," for they had full jurisdiction, as expressed in their Charter. As he declined giving "security for his quiet departure," he was committed to the custody of the Marshal.‡ The next day he was permitted

* "It was conceived by the Magistrates and others of the country, that the means which had been used proving ineffectual, the case was now desperate, and the last remedy was to be applied, and that, without farther delay, lest it should be attempted too late, when fitter opportunity might be offered for their advantage, as they had boasted, and did certainly expect upon the return of some of their chief supporters, who by a special providence were now absent from them." — *Short Story*, 23.

† When he was before the former Court he demanded whether he were sent for as an innocent or as a guilty person? and the Court said "neither, but as suspected only;" then he asked for his accusers; and was answered, "his Sermon, which was there in Court." — *Short Story*, 49.

‡ In its "Brief Apology," printed in the *Short Story*, 48 to 64, the Court says, "Objec-

tion hath been made against its proceedings, as if Mr. Wheelwright had not a lawful trial, as not being put upon a Jury of Freemen; but the answer to this is easie, it being well known to all such as have understanding of matters of this nature, that such Courts as have power to make and abrogate laws, are tyed by no other orders but their own, and to no other rule but truth and justice; and why thrice twelve men, sitting as Judges in a Court, should be more subject to partiality than twelve such called as a jury to the bar, let others judge." — If Henry the VIII. ever promulgated anything more arbitrary than this, the writer is ignorant of it. That such lawgivers should fear the abrogation of their Charter is very reasonable. No one will wonder, if, as Welde says, some of the persecuted did cry out to their oppressors, that "they were blinded in their legal ways, and would stumble and fall, and in the end break

"to go home, upon his promise that if he were not departed out of this Jurisdiction within fourteen days, he would render himself at the house of Mr. Staunton, one of the Magistrates, there to abide as a prisoner, till the Court should dispose of him." *

Such were the proceedings which drove Mr. Wheelwright to leave the jurisdiction of Boston. He was not at a loss probably for a place of refuge. He had a tract of land in New Hampshire, notice of the purchase of which in 1629, has been taken; † to that he removed, and thus became the founder of Exeter. ‡

It might have been hoped, but may not have been expected, that by a disposal of the "leader" of the "heretics," the rest of them would be silenced, or forced to believe against their convictions; but hopes and expectations, under such circumstances, are generally delusive; "for Mr. Wheelwright's party persisted in their opinions, and the principal of them were as busy as before in nourishing contentions." §

Nov. 2. At the same time the dominant party seem to have been equally busy to devise means to rid itself of these also. They were prominent persons, many of them, and had signed a petition || in Mr.

their necks into Hell." — *Preface*. The "Brief Apology" above cited is the same, probably, which Winthrop says the "Magistrates set forth," and afterwards appeared in the "*Short Story*." — See Winthrop *Journal*, i. 221.

* *Short Story*, 29.

† See *ante*, p. 59-60.

‡ "In the "*Short Story*," 45, the writer says this controversy "was the Masterpiece of the old serpent, that the leaders were scattered and the brood broken up. Mr. Wheelwright is gone to Pascal" (*Pascataqua*). &c. Mr. Wheelwright, in his Answer (he writes in the third person), says, "for him to go to Pascal: where is the wonder? I confesse it was marvellous he could get thither, when they expelled him, by reason of the deep snow in which he might have perished." — *Mercurius Americanus*, 24. He no doubt went by water to Pascataqua river. This was in the winter of 1637-8. In about four years he removed to Wells, because his territory had been annexed to Massachusetts. In 1647 he settled in Hampton. He went to England before the restoration, and did not return to New England till after that event. He was intimate with Oliver Cromwell, having been at the same University with him. After his return to N. England he settled at Salisbury, and succeeded the Rev. William Worcester in the ministry there. He died 15 Nov., 1679, "being then the oldest minister in New England." He left a will, dated 25 May, 1679. His posterity are numerous and respectable. His son, grandson, and great-grandson were Counsellors of Massachusetts. — *Eliot, Farmer*. The names of those dismissed from the Boston Church, and who went with Mr. Wheelwright to Exeter, were "Richard Merrys, Richard Bulgar, Philemon Purnot, Isaac Grosse, Chris-

topher Marshall, George Baytes, Thomas Wardell, William Wardell." — *Belknap*, N. H., i. 37. See Hutchinson, *Coll. Papers*, 316. See *ante*, p. 219-20, *note*.

§ Winthrop, i. 244-5.

|| Readers of the History of Boston will not be satisfied with the simple fact that a mere petition in favor of Mr. Wheelwright, had subjected its signers to banishment, without having the document laid before them. I therefore give the substance of it from the "*Short Story*."

"We whose names are underwritten, have diligently observed this Honoured Court's proceedings against our dear and reverend Brother in Christ, Mr. Wheelwright, now under censure of the Court for the truth of Christ, we do humbly beseech this Honourable Court to accept this Remonstrance and Petition of ours, in all due submission tendered to your Worships." The Petitioners then "desire the Court to consider the sincere intention of their Brother," who, they say, by his Sermon on the Fast day, "did, to his best strength, labor to promote" the end for which that Fast was appointed, namely "the publick peace of the Churches; and therefore deserves no such censure" as that bestowed upon him. *Secondly*. As to his "being culpable for Sedition," they could not see how such charge could be sustained, as there was no witness "of any seditious fact." *Thirdly*. His preaching "had not stirred up his hearers to commit any seditious act," "not so much as by accident, and none of them had drawn the sword, as sometimes Peter did, rashly; neither had they rescued their innocent Brother, as sometimes the Israelites did Jonathan, and even they did not seditiously. The Covenant of Free Grace which he held forth, rather taught them to

Wheelwright's favor, which was presented to the same Court* that had declared him guilty of sedition. This Court, therefore, decided to proceed against them, as it "afforded a fair opportunity."

The name of William Aspinwall stood first upon the Petition. The same gentleman being a Member of the General Court, † "it was propounded whether he was fit to be a member;" and being called upon to say "whether he would justify the matter contained in the said writing," "peremptorily affirmed" that he did; whereupon he was presently expelled. Next, Mr. John Coggeshall, though he had not signed the writing, being a Deputy to the Court when it was promulgated, yet he "spoke very boldly to the Court, and told them, that seeing they had put out Mr. Aspinwall they were best make one work of all; that though his hand were not to the Petition, yet he did approve of it; but his hand was to a Protestation which was to the same effect; whereupon he was dismissed," and word sent to Boston to choose two others. Then Mr. Coddington, by an order from the Town, moved that the censure against Mr. Wheelwright might be reversed; of course it did not prevail.

Nov. 6. These proceedings vexed the people of Boston, and they persisted at first in returning Mr. Aspinwall and Mr. Coggeshall to the General Court again. "But Mr. Cotton coming amongst them, and perceiving their rash and contemptuous behaviour, by his wisdom diverted them from that course;" ‡ and they chose "Mr. William Coulborne and John Olyvar."

The Court had Mr. Coggeshall and Mr. Aspinwall before it, soon after, and something of asperity was exhibited on both sides. Then Mr. "William Baulston" and Mr. Edward Hutchinson were called up. Mr. Baulston told the Court, "That he knew if such a petition had been made in any other place in the world, there would have been no fault found with it." Mr. Hutchinson said, "turning himself in a

give patiently their cheeks to the smighters." That, therefore, both Teacher and Hearers "were most free from Sedition." They then called upon the Court in a becoming, though supplicating manner, that it would, "for its own Honour, make it appear wherein the Sedition lay, or else acquit their Brother; for a knowledge of their proceeding would come to all the World." Further, that the Court would remember that "Satan was the ancient enemy to Free Grace;" that Elijah was called the troubler of Israel. 1 Kings 18: 17, 18; Amos was charged for conspiracy, Amos 7: 10. Paul was counted a pestilent fellow, a mover of Sedition, and a Ring-leader of a sect, Acts 24: 5, and Christ himself was charged with being a teacher of new doctrines.—"The danger of meddling against the Prophets" was also suggested, and the danger of giving offence to the followers of Jesus, citing to the Court Zech. 2: 8, and Mat. 18: 6.

Winthrop says that this "Remonstrance" charged "that the Court had condemned the

truth of Christ, with divers other scandalous and seditious speeches." Upon which his Editor remarks:—"Unless my opinions be as much perverted by prejudice as those of the majority of the Court appear to me, this account of the remonstrance is very unjust."—*Journal*, i. 245.

* It will be borne in mind that all kinds of cases were tried in the General Court, and that Attorneys were unknown in it.

† The "Deputies or Committees" for this Court were chosen by the Town October 16th. They were "Mr. William Coddington, Mr. John Coggeshall and Mr. Willm. Aspernell."—*Town Records*. Mr. Aspinwall's autograph at this date is here copied:—

William Aspinwall

‡ Winthrop's *Short Story*, 26, which compare with his *Journal*, i. 246. See also p. 248-9.

scornful manner, that if they took away his estate, they must keep his wife and children." * The Court showed its exasperation by disfranchising both, and fining the first twenty and the other forty pounds. On another day were ordered before the Court Thomas Marshall, William Dynely, William Dyer and Richard Gridly, "four more of the principal stirring men, who had subscribed to the Petition. Thomas Marshall, the ferryman," would acknowledge no fault, and was disfranchised and turned out of his place. Dynely and Dyer "had little to say for themselves, and were disfranchised; likewise Richard Gridly, an honest poor man, but very apt to meddle in publick affairs, beyond his calling or skill."

"All these," says Winthrop, "except Mr. Wheelwright, were but young branches, sprung out of an old root. The Court had now to do with the head of all this faction.† A woman had been the breeder and nourisher of all these distempers, one Mistris Hutchison, the wife of Mr. William Hutchison of Boston, a very honest and peaceable man, of good estate, and the daughter of Mr. Marvary [Marbury] sometimes a preacher in Lincolnshire, after of London; a woman of haughty and fierce carriage, of a nimble wit and active spirit, a very voluble tongue, more bold than a man, though in understanding and judgment inferior to many women. This woman had learned her skill in England, and had discovered some of her opinions in the ship, as she came over, which had caused some jealousy of her, which gave occasion of some delay of her admission, when she first desired fellowship with the Church of Boston, but she cunningly dissembled and coloured her opinions, as she soon got over the block, and was admitted into the church; then she began to go to work, and being a woman very helpful in the time of child-birth, and other occasions of bodily infirmities, and well furnished with means for those purposes, she easily insinuated herself into the affections of many; and the rather, because she was much inquisitive of them about their spiritual estates." ‡

The Court having disposed of several of the men, as is above summarily stated, proceeded to "confute and confound" Mrs. Hutchinson, the account of which occupies many close quarto pages in the "Short

* Ibid. 32. Mr. Wheelwright gives a different coloring to Mr. Hutchinson's manner, in his "Answer" to the "*Short Story*." He says, p. 4, "I wonder Mr. Edward Hutchinson is amongst the crowde, when as he did not use to be factious or opinionate: indeed the genius of that family hath not much inclined to subtilties, scarce any of the Hutchinsons have been sectaries, unlesse à latere, and indirectly, by reason of which, me thinks, he might have been placed more obliquely in this predicament of Familisme, &c., than he is. This man said in the Court (which through Christian libertie he thought he might very well say) that if the Court took away his means, he would not be able to maintain his wife and children." — *Mercurius Americanus*.

What is here said of the Hutchinson family shows the writer to have had such a knowledge of it as Mr. Wheelwright must have had, having married a sister of Mr. Edward Hutchinson.

† And here the author interpolates a quotation from Virgil to give more force to his own forcible language — *Dux femina facti*.

‡ *Short Story*, 33. The above extract is made because it contains nearly all that is known of "the celebrated Mrs. Hutchinson," until her banishment from Boston. Making allowance for the writer's enmity against her, and his deep-seated prejudice, and the whole becomes very important to inquirers into the personal history of these times. Here seems to be a fitting place to introduce a brief

Story." An analysis of the strange notions advanced on both sides might afford entertainment, but perhaps no great instruction, in this age. It is equally unimportant to attempt to show which party had the advantage in the controversy; but for fluency and apt quotations of Scripture, Mrs. Hutchinson certainly seems to have held a decided superiority over the whole Court; and, when it had nothing further to say, Mr. Cotton was called upon "to deliver his judgment" upon the matter at issue. He may have enlightened the parties by what he delivered, though Moderns will not probably be able to discover in what way it was effected.*

pedigree of the Hutchinson family; by the clue may be obtained to many otherwise unexplained circumstances.

The Christian name of the father of WILLIAM HUTCHINSON = SUSANNAH, widow of . . . Hutchinson, was admitted to the 1st Church of Boston, 12 June, 1636. Dismissed with Rev. John Wheelwright and his wife to go to the Falls at Exeter, 3 March, 1639-40. She died at York, Maine, about 1610.

William arrived in Boston in the ship Griffin, 15 Sept. 1634. Joined Ch. 26 Oct. from. 4 March, 1634-5. Rep. Gen. Ct., rem'd to R. I., where he was its 1st Gen. court, Newport, abt. 1642. — See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.* I., 502.

Edward, lived in Boston, unmarried, d. 1607. — See *Mercu. Americanus*, p. 4-5.

Edward, Boston, joined 1st Ch. Oct., 1633, free-man Mar. 1635-4, wife Sarah, children, John, 1634, Ichabod, 1637. Returned to London.

Richard, London; had son Revd. John Wheelwright joined 1st ch. in Bos. 1656, dismissed to go to Exeter, 3 Mar., 1639-40. d. in Boston, 1718, a. 40. 77; w. Mary, da. Henry Shrimpton, d. 13 Feb., 1720-1

1. Katherine = Edward, b. 1608, 1st Ch. Boston, 10 Feb., 1638.

2. Anne, d. of Rev. Edward, b. 1608, 1st Ch. Boston, 10 Feb., 1638.

3. Francis, 1st Ch. of free-men, 1634, fr. 1634-5.

4. Bridget, 1st Ch. of free-men, 1634, fr. 1634-5.

5. Faith, 1st Ch. of free-men, 1634, fr. 1634-5.

6. Susannah, 1st Ch. of free-men, 1634, fr. 1634-5.

7. Zuryell, A. don. Samuel, b. 1636, 1st Ch. of free-men, 1634, fr. 1634-5.

8. Edward, b. 1636, 1st Ch. of free-men, 1634, fr. 1634-5.

Elisha, b. 5 Nov., 1637, d. young.

Elizabeth, b. 10 Nov., 1637, d. young.

Elisha, b. 20 Nov., 1641, d. 19 Dec., 1717.

1. Hannah, da. of Cap. Tho. Hawkins, d. abt. 1676.

2. Elizabeth, da. of Maj. Tho. Clarke, and wid. of Jno. Freake, d. 1712-13.

Anne, b. 19 Nov., 1643; m. 1st, Dyer, 21, Danl. Vernon.

William, b. 13 Jan., 1645-6, died young.

Katherine, b. 14 May, 1648, died young.

Susannah, b. 10 June, 1649, m. Nat. Coddington of Newport.

Mary, b. Elisha, b. Elizabeth, 11 Oct., 1668, d. 1667-8, young.

Hannah, b. 24 Feb., 1669-70, m. John Ruck, Richard-son.

Katherine, b. 24 Feb., 1672-3, d. 3 Dec., 1739, aged 65, leaving a great estate.

Thomas, b. 30 Jan., 1674-5, d. 3 Dec., 1739, aged 65, leaving a great estate.

Sarah, da. Mary, b. 1 Oct., 1670, m. Foster, 1700.

Edward, b. 18 June, 1673, Judge of Probate.

Lydia, b. 16 May, 1681, d. 1739.

Mehitable, b. 6 Feb., 1679-80, sister of Elisha, b. 1681, d. 1739.

Thomas, b. 9 Sept., 1711, H. C. 1727, Gov. & Historian of Mass. m. 16 May, 1744; d. at Brampton, Eng., 1750, a. 63.

Margaret, da. of Wm., and gr. da. of Hon. Peleg Sanford, of Newport, R. I.

Foster, H. C. 1721.

Hannah, m. Rev. Saml. Mather, son of Rev. Cotton Mather, D. D.

Sarah, w. of Rev. Wm. Welsted, He d. 25 April, 1753.

Abigail, w. of John Davenport, son of Addington Davenport, m. 24 August, 1733.

Lydia, w. of Geo. Rogers, merchant, of Boston, son of Nath. Rogers, of Portsmouth, N. H. He died before 20 Feb., 1748.

William, d. 1750, in Eng.

Thomas, d. at Heavtree, near Exeter, Eng., 1811, a. 71.

Elisha, d. at Blurton Parsonage, 1824, a. 80.

A da. d. 1771.

Katherine, b. 13 Feb., 1652-3; m. Henry Bartholomew of Salem.

Benjamin, b. 2 June, 1656; d. before his father.

Hannah, b. 16 May, 1658; m. Peter Walker of Taunton.

Rev. John Hutchinson, of Blurton Parsonage, published the third vol. of his grandfather's History of Mass., 1828.

* "The Court saw now an inevitable necessity to rid her away, except we would be guilty, not only of our own ruin, but also of the Gospel. So, in the end, the sentence of

banishment was pronounced against her, and she was committed to the Marshal till the Court should dispose of her." — *Short Story*, 43.

The trials and troubles which Mrs. Hutchinson met with, together with an over-exertion to fathom unfathomable mysteries, had unhinged her mind, and, in that state, incoherencies and contradictions could not but abound in her conversations. She thus became an object of pity, instead of legal severity.* But it was far otherwise. Governor Winthrop issued a warrant, early in 1638, ordering her "to depart this jurisdiction" without delay. She thought at first to have gone with her brother-in-law to New Hampshire, but her husband and some of his friends having in the mean time purchased lands on Rhode Island, she journeyed thence by land. Here she resided until after the death of her husband, about 1642. In the mean time her family had collected around her, and one or two of her daughters had married. In the summer of the year last named, Mrs. Hutchinson and her family removed into the Dutch territory of New Netherland, and settled near what is since called New Rochelle, a few miles to the eastward of Mr. Throgmorton's settlement, where a small river, separating her lands from the present town of East Chester, still bears the name of Hutchinson's River.† In the Dutch and Indian war, which raged the following year, she, and such of her family as happened to be with her, fell victims to the enraged Indians, who knew no difference, in their revengeful fury, between friend and foe.‡

After the Court had disposed of Mrs. Hutchinson by a sentence of banishment, § Captain Underhill, who had this year done such service

* Writers, even of modern times, have made the same mistake with respect to Mrs. Hutchinson as the Court of 1637 did, in one very important particular; namely, in that they treat her as one perfectly sane. Her mind was completely bewildered; and though she may have been able to attend to the ordinary occupations of life, yet no one, it is believed, can read even what her persecutors have recorded of her sayings, without unhesitatingly coming to the same judgment.

In condemning the proceedings against Mrs. Hutchinson, I am not prepared to go quite as far as Mr. Ellis does in his *Life* of that persecuted woman. There are some palliating circumstances on the side of the Court. And, while I cannot go quite so far as Mr. Ellis, I admire his impartiality, and thank him for the good service he has done in the cause of New England history. His justification of Winthrop, however, will not probably be adopted by future historians. Mr. Winthrop was, no doubt, sincere, and believed he was doing the will of God, for he plainly records his own actions. However much he may have been influenced or spurred on by others, one thing is certain, he seems willing to bear the whole, which is a pretty good evidence of his sincerity.

† See Bolton's *West Chester*, i. 514-15.

‡ For further particulars and authorities, see *BOOK OF THE INDIANS*, 132, *eleventh edition*. The author was misled there, however, as to

the manner by which Mrs. Hutchinson's daughter was liberated. The maids obtained by reprisal were of another family, and their liberation at an earlier date.—See *ante*, p. 206.

§ The proceeding of the Court in passing the sentence of banishment was as follows. The question was put to the Court by Winthrop thus: "If it be the mind of the Court that Mrs. Hutchinson, for these things that appear before us, is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the Court that she shall be banished out of our Liberties, and imprisoned till she be sent away, let them hold up their hands." Hands were all up but three. "Those that are contrary minded, hold up yours." Two only held up their hands, namely, Mr. Coddington and Mr. Colburn. Mr. Jennison declined voting either way, and said he would give his reasons if required by the Court. Then Winthrop proceeded: "Mrs. Hutchinson, 'The sentence of the Court you hear is, that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction, as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the Court shall send you away.'" Mrs. Hutchinson then said: "I desire to know wherefore I am banished." To which Winthrop replied: "Say no more. The Court know wherefore, and is satisfied." She was thereupon put into the custody of Mr. Joseph Welde, of Roxbury, there to wait the further order of the Court. This Mr. Weld was brother of Thomas, who published the *Short Story*.

against the Pequots, was required to show cause why he had put his name to the obnoxious Petition. His defence was similar to that of others, namely, that he could not see wherein offence should be taken at the Petition.* "The Court pittied him much, and were grieved at his obstinacy." So he was disfranchised, and his commission taken from him.† The same sentence was passed upon "five or six more of the principal, whose hands were to the said petition."‡ There were nearly twenty § of those who had signed it, who compromised by a sort of recantation; these, and some others who had been chief stirrers in these contentions, were ordered to be disarmed.

Thus, it would seem, the Government had become very uneasy, and did not consider itself safe while the other party had arms in their possession. This disarming operation was a very serious affair, and much blood has flowed from far less causes. The peaceable manner in which it was submitted to, ought to have convinced the Rulers of the sincerity of the motives of those to whom the indignity was offered. The names of the Boston men thus disarmed are as follows: "Captain John Underhill, Mr. Thomas Oliver, William Hutchinson,^(c) || William Aspinwall,^(c) Samuel Cole, William Dyer,^(c) Edward Rainsford, John Button, John Sanford,^(c) Richard Cooke, Richard Fairbanks, Thomas Marshall, Oliver Mellows, Samuel Wilbore,^(c) John Oliver, Hugh Gunnison, John Biggs, Richard Gridley, Edward Bates, William Dinely, William Litherland, Mathewe Iyans, Henry Elkins, Zaccheus Bosworth, Robert Rice, William Townsend, Robert Hull, William Pell, Richard Hutchinson, James Johnson, Thomas Savage,^(c) John Davy, George Burden, John Odlin, Gamaliel Wayte, Edward Hutchinson,^(c) William Wilson, Isaack Grosse, Richard Carder,^(c) Robert Hardings, Richard Wayte, John Porter,^(c) Jacob Eliot, James Penniman, Thomas Wardell, William Wardell, Thomas Matson, William Baulston,^(c) John Compton, Mr. Parker, William Freeborne,^(c) Henry Bull,^(c) John Walker,^(c) William Salter, Edward Bendall, Thomas Wheeler, Mr. Clarke,^(c) Mr. John Coggeshall.^(c)" ¶

* "He urged the libertie allowed to soldiers, instanced in the freedome of speech he had to Count Nassau."—Wheelwright's *Mercurius Americanus*, p. 4. There is a copy of this curious book in H. Col. Library. Mr. Ellis thinks our Mr. John Wheelwright could not have written it, while I must profess the opposite opinion, namely, that he could, and very probably did, write it. It is true there is the circumstance that it is "by John Wheelwright, junior," in its title-page, but its dedication is signed I. W., and the Preface by "John Wheelwright." Why "junior" is used in one case, and not in the others, I shall not undertake to explain.

† *Short Story*, 43-4.

‡ *Winthrop*, i. 247.

§ This is Winthrop's statement, but Savage says he does not find but *ten* names on the Court records of that session. He therefore thinks "the Governour" may have "enlarged

the number of the converts."—*Winthrop*, i. 247.

|| The ^(c) designates those who fled to Rhode Island, and they constituted the Colony of the Island. There were two others in the company which "incorporated themselves a Body Politick," namely, Philip Sherman and Edward Hutchinson, jun., being in number eighteen; every one of Boston, except Sherman, who was among the disarmed, and lived in Roxbury. This little Colony was organized on the 7th of March, 1637-8, and chose for their Governor Mr. William Hutchinson, who had hitherto been one of the most prominent men in the town affairs of Boston.—See *Calendar's Hist. Disc.*, p. 30. Their enemies in the Bay said, sneeringly, that they had gone to the "Island of Errors."—See *Short Story* (*Preface*).

¶ These were not all who signed in favor of Mr. Wheelwright; a few, who were not so

Nov. 30. All these were ordered to deliver their arms "at Mr. Cane's [Keayne's] house at Boston, before the thirtieth of November, under penalty of ten pounds "for every default to be made thereof." The order extended to "guns, pistols, swords, powder, shot and match;" and that none of those men above named should buy or borrow any guns, swords, pistols, powder, shot or match; otherwise they would be subjected to the same penalty.*

The Church of Boston were highly offended at the course taken by Governor Winthrop, in thus carrying the warfare with an exterminating hand, until the homes of many of their most beloved friends had been made desolate; and there was danger that serious trouble might in consequence ensue. It was proposed to call him to account for what he had done; and, had he not been a most skilful manager, and possessed of a mind of singular flexibility, he would hardly have escaped universal censure. And, although he finally gained Mr. Cotton over to his measures, yet so strong was the Church of Boston attached to Mr. Wheelwright and his doctrines, that a vote for his expulsion from it could never be obtained, and he was in due time regularly dismissed from it, as has been before stated.

From the following very sensible remark of Mr. Callender,† one hundred years after these troubles, few will dissent probably at this day. "Mr. Wheelwright was banished for what was then called sedition, by the same rule which will make every dissent from, or opposition to, a majority, in any religious affairs, to be sedition, and an iniquity to be punished by the Judge. The minor part must always be seditious, if it be sedition to defend their own religious opinions, and endeavor to confute the contrary."

strong in the faith, and having "repented of their sin," were not disarmed; as William Larnet, Ralph Mousall, Ezekiel Richardson, Richard Sprague, Edward Caring, Thomas Ewar, Benjamin Hubbard, William Baker, Edward Mellows, and William Frothingham. And Mr. Ellis, who has taken much pains in this matter in his *Life of Mrs. Hutchinson*, and to good purpose, very justly remarks, that "even with these additional names we have not all the adherents of Mrs. Hutchinson and Mr. Wheelwright." He then adds: Mr. Philémon Pormont, the first schoolmaster of Boston, accompanied Mr. Wheelwright to Exeter in 1638. The Rev. Daniel Maud went to Dover. He was also a schoolmaster here. These are at the head of the catalogue of the Masters of the Boston Latin School.

* It may be well to append here a list of the members which composed the memorable Court of Nov. 1637. Concerning which Court Mr. Backus remarks, "It was customary to elect their deputies twice a year, namely, in the spring and fall; but to choose them twice in one fall was an unprecedented act, of which, I believe, no parallel can be found from the foundation of the country to this day."—*Hist. of New Eng.*, i., 84. This remark is in con-

nection with an account of the dissolution of the Court, which met in September preceding; which Court, after Mr. Wheelwright was ordered to appear at the next Court, was "dissolved," because, as Mr. Backus says, a vote could not be obtained in this Court to execute the decrees of the Synod.—*Ibid.* These were the members for November:—Boston, Wm. Coddington, Wm. Culborne; Roxbury, Joseph Welde, George Alcock, Wm. Parks; Dorchester, Nathl. Duncan, Richard Callicott, John Glover; Weymouth, Thos. White, Richard Adams; Concord, Simon Willard, Thos. Underwood; Sagus, Saml. Ward; Watertown, Richd. Brown, Capt. Wm. Jennison, Thos. Mayhew; Cambridge, Joseph Cooke, Richd. Jackson, John Bridge; Charlestown, Capt. Robt. Sedgwick, Lt. Ralph Sprague, Ens. Abraham Palmer; Lynn, Lt. Daniel Howe, Timothy Tomlins; Salem, Wm. Hathorne, Townsend Bishop, Edwd. Batter; Ipswich, Capt. Danl. Dennison, Wm. Bartholomew; Newbury, Lt. Edwd. Woodman, John Woodbridge. In all, 31. Gov. and Deputy, Winthrop and Dudley; Assistants, Endicott, Humsfrey, Bellingham, Harlakenden, Stoughton, Bradstreet, Nowell.

† *Century Sermon*, 27.

CHAPTER XXV.

Gibbon's Voyage. — Arrival of Ships. — Davenport, Eaton, Hopkins, Lord Ley. — Governor Vane returns to England. — The People show him great Respect. — Governor Winthrop and Lord Ley. — Other Arrivals. — Execution of Murderers. — Allotments of Lands. — Women forbidden to hold Meetings for expounding Scripture. — An Indian Deputation. — Accident at Spectacle Island. — Ammunition removed from Boston. — Origin of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company. — Tribute received from the Indians of Block Island. — Mr. Davenport and others proceed to settle New Haven. — A Fast. — Mohegan Indian Deputation. — Mr. Coddington removes to Rhode Island. — Sickness of the Governor. — Arrival of many Ships and Passengers. — Mr. John Joselyn. — His Account of Boston. — Captain Underhill banished. — Extravagance in Dress a cause of Trouble. — An Execution. — A Fast.



CAPTAIN Edward Gibbons returned to Boston. He had been gone so long upon a voyage to Bermuda, that he was supposed to have been lost. His vessel was a June. pinnace of thirty tons. Among the commodities which he brought home was an alligator, probably the first ever seen here. The Captain made a present of it to the Governor.

June 20. Three ships arrived from Ipswich, having in them three hundred and sixty passengers. As one of the ships passed the Castle, she was carelessly fired into by the gunner, by which an honest

passenger was killed.* Within a week after, three other ships came in from London. In one of them, named the Hector, came June 26. Mr. John Davenport, Mr. Theophilus Eaton, Mr. Edward Hopkins, son-in-law of Mr. Eaton, and Lord James Ley, a young man about nineteen years of age, who had come to see the country.†

Aug. 3. The time having now arrived which Mr. Vane had set for his departure for England, the people assembled to show him respect upon the occasion. The ship in which he was to sail was riding at Long Island, in the harbor. Many accompanied him in boats to the ship with their arms, and saluted his departure with “divers volleys,”

* Winthrop, i. 227.

† For an exceedingly interesting account of this young man, I must refer the reader to Mr. W. T. Harris' edition of Hubbard's *New England*, p. 695, &c. Though his name stands out in bold relief on the pages of history afterwards, I cannot forbear extracting a few words of what the noble historian Clarendon says of him. He observes: “The Earl of Marlborough [that being Lord Ley's title] was a man of wonderful parts in all kinds of learning, which he took more delight in than his title: and, having no great estate descended to him, he brought down his mind to his fortune, and lived very retired, but with more reputation

than any fortune could have given him.” Such is the character of that modest young gentleman, who came so early to Boston, drawn by the hand of a master. But his end, however glorious it was then considered, was one to be lamented with myriads of others. It was his fate to be sacrificed on the altar of blind ambition. He became an eminent naval commander, and perished in that almost unparalleled battle off Lowestoft, on the 3d of June, 1665, in which it is said the Dutch lost 4000 men. Then also perished the Earls of Falmouth and Portland, Lord Muskerry, Admiral Lawson. The Duke of York led the English, and Admiral Opdam the Dutch.

while others on the shore gave him five discharges from a piece of artillery, "and he had five more at the Castle." Mr. Winthrop did not honor his departure with his presence, though "he left order with the Captain [of the Castle] for their honorable dismissal." * Lord Ley went with Mr. Vane for England. Of this young nobleman Governor Winthrop became jealous soon after his arrival, occasioned by his preferring the society of Mr. Vane and his friends to his. The time of his arrival was unfortunate, as then the agitation was extremely great, occasioned by the proceedings against Mr. Wheelwright and others, as has before been narrated. It was usual for distinguished strangers to be entertained at the Governor's house; and no doubt Lord Ley would have been entertained there on his first coming to Boston, but Mr. Winthrop was then on a journey to Lynn and Salem, and did not return to Boston till two days after. In the mean time his Lordship was entertained at Mr. Cole's inn,† and this Mr. Cole was one of Mr. Wheelwright's friends. On the Governor's return to town, however, Lord Ley politely called upon him, and "the Governor offered him lodging, &c.; but he refused, saying he came not to be troublesome to any, and the house where he was was so well governed that he could be as private there as elsewhere." ‡

July. An incident occurred a few days after, which shows the feeling between the late Governor and Mr. Winthrop, which caused the latter to make an entry in his journal, which is as follows: "The differences grew so much here," referring to the religious troubles, "as tended fast to a separation; so as Mr. Vane, being, among others, invited by the Governor to accompany the Lord Ley at dinner, not only refused to come, alleging by letter that his conscience withheld him, but also, at the same hour, he went over to Noddle's Island to dine with Mr. Maverick, and carried the Lord Ley with him." §

July 12. There now "came over a brother of Mrs. Hutchinson, and some other of Mr. Wheelwright's friends;" but Governor Winthrop would not allow of their "sitting down" in Boston, excepting

* Governor Vane, while in Boston, resided but a few rods from where I now write. On his arrival he went to the house of Mr. Cotton, in which, or an addition which he made to it, he continued to reside during his stay here. When he went away, he gave that addition to Mr. Cotton. The house, or the body of it, was standing within the memory of the writer, though with its exterior much modernized. It stood on the westerly side of what is now Tremont-street, a few rods to the south-west of the passage thence to Pemberton Square. To those who remember the venerable mansion of Lieutenant-governor Phillips, it will be easy to fix the spot in their imaginations, as it was next, north-easterly, to that.

Governor Vane came no more to New England, and henceforth he becomes a prominent

character in English history. Joining the Parliament against the King, he was, with many others, declared a traitor at the Restoration, and executed on Tower Hill, June 14th, 1662, aged about 50 years, and all his estates were confiscated. These, however, were restored to his family by the restored King, he fearing its popularity might cause him trouble. Sir Henry Vane left ten children, four sons and six daughters. The family is now represented by his lineal descendant, HENRY VANE DUKE OF CLEVELAND.

† This inn stood "on the west side of Merchants' Row, midway from State street to Faneuil Hall." — *Hist. Ancient and Hon. Art. Co.*, p. 45, 2d ed.

‡ *Winthrop*, i. 230-1.

§ *Ibid.* 232.

upon a trial of four months, to see which party in the controversy they would join.* This gave much offence to their friends.

The business of allotting out the lands to the inhabitants was a great and important concern of the Town.† Captain John Underhill had one hundred acres at Muddy River. Mr. John Oliver had "his great allotment" of forty acres at Pullen Point. Mr. William Hutchinson had six hundred acres between Dorchester bounds and Mount Wollaston. Mr. Isaac Grosse to have a great allotment at Muddy River, and "brother Hugh Gunnyson" at the Mount "for three heads." Mr. William Brenton, in lieu of his land at Hog Island, "to have twenty acres more added to his at Pullen Point Neck." Mr. Edward Gibbon eighty acres at Pullen Point, "if there to be had." John Oliver fifty acres there, "and y^e rather in regard of his father's resigning his right at Hog Island to y^e Towne."

Jan. 22. ——— Bushnall, widow, George Harwood and John Lowe, the wheelwright, to have lots and gardens, "vpon y^e vsuall condition of inoffensive carryage." Thomas Aleock, "a great lot" at

Feb. 2. Muddy River. Mr. John Wheelwright two hundred and fifty at Mount Wollaston, "where may be most convenient, without preiudice to setting vp a Towne there," to be laid out by "Mr. Coddington and Mr. brother Wright." "Willyam Wardall, Willyam Coale, and Sampson Shelton," two acres each there for present planting. The same to Nicholas Needham. "Brother Thomas Savage seaven acres of the Marsh" at Muddy River, to keep his five cattle on. Thomas Joyes had leave to buy a piece of ground of "brother Robert Turner, provided his carryage was inoffensive."

Mar. 6. "Thomas Scottoe y^e sonne of our sister Thomasine Scottoe," has leave to build a house on his mother's ground. William Balstone to have the "remayning swampe on y^e backside of Mr. Coddington's swampe, vnto y^e widdow Purton's Corner payle, leaving out two rodde and a half, for eyther of y^e high ways y^e are aganst it; y^e one being y^e way to y^e milne, and y^e other to y^e Cove next vnto Mr. Coddington's."

Mar. 20. The men chosen for the "Townes occasions as formerly hath been," at this time were "Mr. Thomas Olyvar, Thomas Leveritt, Mr. Willyam Hutchinson, Mr. Willyam Coulbourne, Mr. John Coggeshall, Mr. Robert Harding, Mr. John Sanford, Mr. William Brenton, Mr. Willyam Balstone, James Penne and Jacob Ellyot, for these next six monethes."‡ Thomas Grubbe and Jonathan Nemoose were

* Winthrop does not tell who they were, or where they went to.

† Those chosen at this time by the town to assign the lots to the settlers were "Thomas Olyvar, Thomas Leveritt, William Hutchinson, Robert Keayne, John Coggeshall, William Brenton, John Sanford and William Balstone." — *Town Records*, p. 11.

‡ The next election of officers for the "Towne's occasions" was on the 16th Oct. following, when the same gentlemen were chosen, excepting William Brenton, instead

of whom William Aspinwall came in. As before, they were chosen for six months, or "vntill new ones be made choise of. Their charges at their meetings to be borne by the Towne in generall."

April 3. — Alexander Winchester to have a garden plot next Wm. Dyneley's and William Wilson's gardens, on the condition that he build a house on it "when it shall come to lye in a streete-way." Those authorized to lay out lands for Mr. Wheelwright at Mount Wollaston, reported that they had laid out for him

chosen surveyors for the Highways towards Roxbury, and Thomas Marshall and John Button for the part towards the mill.*

Aug. 31. A union of the Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth and Connecticut was first talked of at Boston this year, but as Plymouth could not attend it was deferred.†

Sept. 28. Two men were hanged here for murder, — John Williams and William Schooler. The murders were both of an aggravated character, but that in a special manner by Schooler, of a helpless female. Though he was convicted upon circumstantial evidence, and died protesting his innocence, posterity will hardly reverse the decision.‡

Meetings of women, for “expounding scripture in a prophetic way,” as “some sixty or more” now did, was by the Authorities “agreed to be disorderly and without rule.”§

Nov. 9. Miantonimo came to Boston, agreeably to former treaty stipulations, and preferred a complaint against the Niantick Sachem and another Chief. The government gave him liberty to “right himself,” and in return he “acknowledged that all the Pequod country and Block Island belonged to Massachusetts.

Jan. 13. About thirty persons of Boston having gone to Spectacle Island for wood, “the town being in great want,” there came

40 acres “in the Snake Marsh,” south-east of Mr. Wm. Coddington, 5 acres for his house lot and 205 at the end of it. Stephen Kinsley, laborer, to have a house plot next Alex^r Winchester.

April 17. — “All the field fences and gates to be made up; Sergeant Hutchinson and Richard Gridley to look after the Fort Field; John Button, James Everil and Isaac Grosse, the Mill Field; Wm. Coulborne and Jacob Ellyott the field next Roxbury. Richard Sherman’s wife to have a house plot next Stephen Kinsley’s or Mr. Daniel Mawd’s garden. Also, Mr. Daniel Mawd, schoolmaster, to have a garden plot next said Kinsley’s on condition of building as above. Edmund [Edward?] Hutchinson to have a garden at the south end of Mr. Robert Keayne’s great garden.”

May 13. — Richard Fairbank to be Pound Keeper “for the residue of this our half year time.”

June 2. — James Penniman to have the Hilsteade and marsh under it at Charles River, he giving 7 acres at Mount Wollaston for five. Thomas Flint, 24 acres of Marsh at Muddy River.

June 12. — George Woodward, “sope boylar,” for “vnlawfull entry upon some of the Towne’s ground, and for digging holes and annoying the High Way with fish,” is fined iij lb. vijs. viij d. Mr. William Peirce to have one hundred acres at Pullen Point neck. Mr. Edward Gibbon four-score acres; John Olyvar 50; Mr. William Brenton 60; Edward Bayts 14, all at the same place. George Ruggle a house lot near the new mill.

* The lists of Town officers will hereafter be given, but not generally in the text. The allotments of lands, though of exceeding great

interest, must be introduced in a condensed form.

† July 1. — Ralph Hudson to have a garden at the end of Thomas Meekin’s garden; Samuel Willbore a garden at the side of Barnabie Dorryfalls house and garden.

August 7. — Richd. Fairbanke, allowed to sell his shop to — Saunders, “a bookebynder;” probably the first in the Town.

August 28. — Richd. Hull, carpenter, may sell his house and ground near John Galloppe to Philip Sherman of Roxbury.

Sept. 25. — Thomas Makepeace to have a house lot; Edward Denny a house lot and gardenstead towards the new mill; Richd. Wayte “the like thereabout;” Robert Gilham, mariner, may buy a house lot where he can; Henry Webbe may buy the house where he now lives; James Penne, a garden towards the new mill, “to lay to the house that was widdowe Shelley’s; Valentine Hill a garden there also; Wm. Cheesbrough 2½ rods square, of the marsh next Mr. Bellingham’s, to build on; John Lowe, wheelwright, the same, next to bro. Cheesbrough.”

Oct. 30. — John Hansett has granted a great lot at the Mount “for 3 heads.”

Dec. 4. — John Bibbles has a house lot next Richd. Woodhouse.

Dec. 18. — John and Robert Woodward, the sons of Nathaniel W., allowed house lots. Edward Bendall to “keepe a sufficient ferryboate to carry to Noddle’s Island, and to the shippe ryding before the Towne; taking for a single person ij d., and for two 3 d.”

† See Winthrop, i., 241-3.

§ The Authorities were probably apprehensive that another Mrs. Hutchinson might rise up among them. — See *Ibid.*, 240.

on such severe weather, that in two days the bay was all frozen up except a little channel. In this twelve of the men succeeded in reaching Governor's Island, but seven others in a small skiff were carried into the outer Bay. Falling among Bruster's Rocks, they were kept two days without food or fire. The wind then abated, so that they were able to recover Pullen Point, where they found shelter in a little house of Mr. Aspinwall. Three of them got to Boston the next day, on the ice, with their feet and hands frozen. The rest reached Spectacle Island. One man died, and several lost their fingers and toes.*

Jan. 16. The same causes which led to the disarming of certain residents of Boston, now operated probably to cause the powder and arms belonging to "the country," to be removed from Boston to Roxbury and Newtown.†

Feb. An association of Boston men requested to be incorporated into a military Company. They were allowed to be a Company, but subordinate to all authority. This was the origin of the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company," which, with various changes of name and regulations, continues to this time. The associates were at first denied part of what they asked for; having, it may be inferred, requested to be made independent of the civil authority. However,

* Jan. 8. — John Martyn, shipcarpenter, allowed a house lot; Thomas Pettit, having served bro. Olyver Mellowes three years and a half, to have a house lot toward the new mill. Erasmus Bullocke, "having been this 5 years in Towne," the same. At the same time, the following persons had their lots bounded at Muddy River: — Edward Browne, Rich^d Bulgar, Benj^t Ward, John Cramme, Rob^t Houlton, Jarrat Bourne, John Bigge, W^m Beamsly, Thomasyne Scottua, widow, Alex^r Becke, Raphe Route, laborer, Robert Reade, Mathew Ines, Jn. Pemmerton, Anthony Harker, Geo. Griggs, James Fitch, Richard Fitch, Edward Jackson, Anne Ormesby, widow, Nath^l Woodward the elder, James Johnson, Nath^l Heaton, Elizabeth Purton, widow, W^m Salter, W^m Wilson, W^m Townsend, W^m Dyneley, Rich^d Tappin, Francis Bushnall, Henry Elkyn, Rich^d Fairbancke, John Mylam, Rob^t Walker, James Davisse, William Pell, Rob^t Reynolds, John Cranwell, Geo. Baytes, Philemon Pormont, Rob^t Meare, Edw^d Bendall, Tho^s Wardall, Mr. W^m Blackstone, Rob^t Tytus, W^m Courser, Alex^r Winchester, Henry Burchall, Rob^t Turner, W^m Denning, Joseph Arratt, John Arratt, Capt. John Underhill, W^m Talmage, Tho^s Snow, Isaac Grosse, s^r, W^m Coulborne, Mr. John Cotton, Mr. Tho^s Leveritt, Mr. Tho^s Oliver.

Those who had "great allotments at Rumley Marsh and Pullen Point," now had their bounds described: — Mr. Henry Vane, Esq., Mr. John Winthrop the elder, James Penn, Mr. John Newgate, Mr. John Sanford, Thomas Marshall, Thomas Matson, Benj^t Gillam, John Gallopp, Mr. Bob^t Keine, Mr. John Coggeshall, Mr. John Cogan, Mr. Rob^t Harding, Nicholas Willys, John Odlin, W^m Stidson, Edw^d Bayts, Thomas Matson, Mr. Edw^d Gib-

ones, Mr. Rich^d Tuttell, Mr. — Glover, Mr. W^m Dyar, Mr. Samuel Cole, Mr. W^m Brenton, Mr. W^m Aspinwall, Tho^s Buttalph, Elias Mavericke, Raph Hudson, Tho^s Fayweather, W^m Peirce.

† Jan. 29. — These are named as having lots at Mount Wollaston: — Isaacke Cullymore, for four heads, Francis East, for two heads, Francis Ellyott, for four heads, Rich^d Wayte, for five heads, Mr. Henry Webb, for ten heads, Samuel Wayte for four heads, George Hunne, for five heads.

Feb. 12. — Mr. John Clarke, for ten heads; John Love, for a house lot at Muddy River; Abel Porter, same at the Mount, "having served our bro. Tho^s Grubbe foure yeares;" Richard Award, same (place not mentioned) condition, inoffensive carriage; Tho^s Scottoe, a great lot at Muddy River, for three heads; W^m Mawer, lot at the Mount, for nine heads; Henry Gray, tailor, house lot on east side Samuel Wilbore — condition as above; James Hawkins, for four heads at the Mount; Thomas Hawkins for four; Martha Mushnall, for five; Edw^d Dennys, for three, all at the same place; Isaac Perry, a house lot near Rob^t Walkins, at Muddy River, for three heads; Tho^s Bell, at the Mount, for three; John Jackson, carpenter, for three; John Crabtree, for two; Silvester Saunders, at Muddy R., for two; Samuel Howard, tailor, at the Mount, for three; Geo. Burdon, for 5; W^m Wardall, for 3; William Browne, for three; Edw^d Hutchinson, the younger, for six head, all at the Mount; Rob^t Scott for 12; Anthony Stannyon, for 11; John Lowe, for 4; Steven Kinsley, for 9; Mathew Chafey, for 4, all at the Mount also; Raph Mason, for 6, at Muddy River.

Mar. 17. "the Military Company of Boston" had the liberty soon after a Captain out of them," and Robert Keayne received the appointment of Captain. The Court was jealous of some of those which composed the Company, because they had been followers of Mr. Wheelwright and Mrs. Hutchinson; but, with Keayne for their Captain, not much was to be apprehended from them, as he had been appointed keeper of the arms taken from that faction.

The Court ordered that "Robert Keayne, Nathaniel Duncan, Robert Sedgwick, William Spencer, gentlemen, and such others as are already joined with them, and such as they shall from time to time take into their Company, shall be called "the Military Company of Massachusetts;" that they should have liberty to choose their officers, but the Captain and Lieutenant to be subject to the approval of the Court. The Company were to meet on the first Monday of every month, and it was ordered that no other training in the particular towns "nor other ordinary Town Meetings should be appointed on that day." It was also ordered that this company should have a thousand acres of land "for providing necessaries for their military exercises, and defraying of other charges." The first Monday in June following, the Company was regularly organized; Daniel Hough was chosen Lieutenant, and Joseph Welde, Ensign, under Captain Keayne.

This was not originally an Artillery Company; but, in 1657, the General Court recognized it by that name, as about that time, probably, they used a field-piece in their exercises. The title "Ancient and Honorable" first occurs in their records on the second of September, 1700. It doubtless assumed the distinction "Honorable," from the circumstance that its Captain had belonged to "The Honorable Artillery Company" of London, and time naturally gave the addition "Ancient." The Company was dispersed by the Revolution, but revived in 1789, and the Legislature confirmed its name and privileges.*

* *Hist. Ancient and Hon. Artillery Co.*, by Z. G. Whitman, 2d edition, 1842. The following is a list of the original, or charter members of the company, as found in that work:—

Cakebread, Thomas	Oliver, John
Cole, Samuel	Pendleton, Joseph
Collecott, Richard	Savage, Thomas
Gibbons, Edward	Sedgwick, Robert
Hardinge, Robert	Spencer, William
Haugh, Daniel	Stoughton, Israel
Holman, John	Tomlins, Edward
Hucken, Thomas	Turner, Nathaniel
Jennison, William	Underhill, John
Johnson, Edward	Upshall, Nicholas
Keayne, Robert	Weld, Joseph.
Morris, Richard	

Sermons do not appear to have been regularly preached before the Company till 1659; and the first record as printed was that by Urian Oakes in 1672. John Norton preached that of 1659; Samuel Whiting, sen., 1660,

Saml. Ward, 1661; Jn. Higginson, 1662; Thos. Shepard, 1663; James Allen, 1664; Increase Mather, 1665; Edmund Brown, 1666; Samuel Danforth, 1667; John Wilson, 1668; Samuel Torrey, 1669; John Oxenbridge, 1670; Thomas Thatcher, 1671; Seaborn Cotton, 1673; Joshua Moody, 1674; Samuel Phillips, 1675; Samuel Willard,* 1676; Josiah Flint, 1677; Samuel Nowell,* 1678; Edward Bulkley, 1679; William Adams, 1680; John Richardson,* 1681; Samuel Whiting, 1682; John Hales, 1683; Samuel Cheever, 1684; Joshua Moody, 1685; *then there were none for five years—under Andros' government.* Cotton Mather,* 1691; John Bailey, 1692; John Danforth, 1693; Moses Fiske, 1694; Peter Thatcher, 1695; Michael Wigglesworth, 1696; Nehemiah Walter, 1697; Joseph Belcher,* 1698; Samuel Willard,* 1699; Benjamin Wadsworth,* 1700; Eben'r Pemberton,* 1701; Benj. Colman, 1702. Those with a * were printed.—See Lothrop's *Artillery Election Ser.* for 1838.

March 27. The Indians of Block Island sent three men to Boston, with ten fathoms of wampum, as a part of the yearly tribute which they had formerly promised to pay.

Not long after the arrival of Mr. Davenport at Boston, a favorable account was brought by the soldiers who had been pursuing the Pequots, of a fine country for settlement beyond Connecticut River. This was Quinnipiak, explored toward the end of the last year, and possession taken of it by a few persons. Accordingly, this spring, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Prudden, Theophilus Eaton, Esquire, and Samuel

Mar. 30. Eaton, sailed from Boston for that region, and this was the beginning of another Colony, by Boston people, or people who would no doubt have continued here, or in this vicinity, had it not been for the religious perplexities which they had witnessed, and in which they could not well avoid being somewhat implicated.*

April 12. Being in continual fear that they should be called to an account by the Government in England, the Fathers now appointed a Fast "for seeking the Lord to prevent the evil, and for the safe arrival of many friends soon expected."

April 21. A deputation of Indians came from Mohegan. The Chief of it was named Owsamekin, who was Sachem of Acoemeck. They had heard that the people here were angry with them, and they came to learn whether it were so, and if so, the occasion of it. They appear to have been imposed upon by some mischievous persons, for there was nothing alleged against them. They brought a present of eighteen beaver-skins, which the Governor took, telling them that if they had done nothing they had nothing to fear; and, giving them a letter to this effect to the Magistrates of Connecticut, dismissed them.

April 26. Mr. Coddington removed with his family to Rhode Island. He had been an Assistant from the first coming over of the Boston Colony. Thus another excellent and valuable man was lost to Boston.

May 2. Mr. Winthrop is again chosen Governor. The night following "he was taken with a sharp fever, which brought him near death." His sickness continued for a month. To this General Court, Boston sent Mr. Atherton Hough, Mr. Robert Keayne and John Oliver. At the March term preceding, Mr. John Newgate was in the place of Captain Keayne, the others were the same as at this time.

June 1. Between three and four of the clock, in the afternoon of the first day of June, being clear, warm weather, and the wind westerly, there was a great Earthquake. It came with a noise like continued thunder, or the rattling of coaches in London, but was presently gone. It extended to Connecticut, Narraganset, Pascataqua, "and all

* April 2. — "Mr. Atherton Haulgh, Mr. Coulborne, Mr. John Newgate, James Penne Robte Keayne, and Mr. John Olyvar" are chosen deputies to the General Court. And Aug. 20. — The same Deputies were again "for y^e Towne's occasions," Thomas Olyvar, chosen to the General Court, excepting Mr. Thomas Leveritt, Mr. Rob^t Keayne, Mr. W^m Oliver, and Mr. Newgate was chosen in his stead.

the parts round about." It shook the ships which rode in the harbor, and all the Islands. The noise and the shakings continued about four minutes, and the earth was unquiet at times for twenty days after.* "It came from the western and uninhabited parts of this wilderness." †

June 5. Uncas, Chief of the Mohegans, comes to Boston, accompanied by thirty-seven men. He was in trouble about harboring Pequods. He tendered the Governor twenty fathoms of wampum, but the Council decided that it should not be received till he had given satisfaction about the fugitives. This apparently disturbed him exceedingly, and in this state he desired they would kill him. He made the request in perfect safety, and he knew it, or he would not have made it, for he was one of the most unprincipled Indians with whom the white people had any concern. He was at this time accompanied by Mr. Haynes. After making great promises and the most impressive protestations to keep them, "he was dismissed with a fair red coat given him by the Governor, and corn to relieve them homeward, and a letter of protection to all men."

Governor Winthrop at this date records in his Journal the arrival of "many ships this year, with people of good quality and estate," but he makes no mention of the names of persons or ships. In one of the ships here referred to, no doubt, came "John Josselyn, Gen.," a name well known in New England history. The ship in which he came was called the "New Supply, alias the Nicholas of London, Robert Taylor, Master, the merchant or undertaker, Mr. Edward Tinge, with one hundred and sixty-four passengers, men, women and children." Several of the passengers died during the voyage, chiefly of the Small

July 3. Pox. ‡ The Nicholas came to anchor in the inner Bay before Boston. On the tenth of July, Mr. Josselyn says he went on shore upon Noddle's Island to Mr. Samuel Maverick, who was "the only hospitable man in all the country; giving entertainment to all comers gratis." He then describes his visit to Boston in these words: — "Having refreshed myself for a day or two upon Noddle's Island, I crossed the Bay in a small boat to Boston; which then was rather a

* Winthrop, *Journal*, i., 265. — See also Josselyn, *New Eng. Ravities*, 109. — In 1755, this was reckoned one of the five great earthquakes which had shaken New England. The other four were 1658, 1663, 1727 and 1755. Prof. Winthrop's *Lect. on Earthquakes*, p. 16, 4to. 1755. Morton says, "it came from the northward, that people were afraid of their houses; and it was so, as that some, being without doors, could not stand, but were fain to catch hold of posts and poles to prevent them from falling." — *N. E. Memorial*, 209.

† Johnson, *Wond. Work. Prov.*, 131, who adds, "the motion of the earth was such, that it caused divers men that had never knowne an earthquake before (being at worke in the fields), to cast down their working-tooles,

and run, with ghastly terrified lookes, to the next company they could meet withall." — *Ibid.*

‡ "Two ships, which came over this year, much pestered, lost many passengers, and some principal men, and many fell sick after they were landed, and many of them died." — Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 267. The ship in which Mr. Josselyn came was probably one of these. A little further on he makes this entry. There came over this summer twenty ships, and at least 3000 persons, so as they were forced to look out new plantations. One was begun at Merrimack [Salisbury] and another four or five miles above Concord, and another at Winnicowett [Hampton, N. H.] — *Ibid.*, 268.

village than a town, there being not above twenty or thirty houses. And presenting my respects to Mr. Winthrop the Governor, and to Mr. Cotton the Teacher of Boston Church, to whom I delivered, from Mr. Francis Quarles the poet, the translation of the Psalms into English meeter, for his approbation ; being civilly treated by all I had occasion to converse with. I returned in the evening to my lodging."

Mr. Henry Josselyn was at this time living at Black Point. He was the only brother of John, and it was, no doubt, one object of the latter, by this voyage, to pay a visit to his brother. Therefore he sailed for the Eastern Coast on the twentieth of July. There he continued rambling about the country to his infinite amusement and admiration ; clambering up precipitous rocks "upon all four," with his gun hung to his back, shooting wolves which had been killing goats worth five pounds apiece, breaking up nests of great snakes, some of which snakes being as big as the small of his leg, and three yards long, with a sharp horn two inches long on the end of their tail ; until the twenty-fourth of September, when he sailed for Boston again. He arrived on the twenty-seventh following, it being Thursday. After going on board a ship of 500 tons, of which Mr. Hinderson was master, and another called the *Queen of Bohemia*, a privateer, Captain Jackson, lying in the harbor, he landed in the town, and refreshed himself at the ordinary. The next morning he went by invitation to a fisherman's house, somewhat lower within the Bay. There the fisherman's wife gave him a "handfull of small pearl, but none of them bored nor orient." Thence he crossed to Charlestown. There, in "one Long's ordinary," he found Captain Jackson and some others. They concluded to take a stroll ; and "walking on the back side" they soon came upon more snakes. One, a rattle-snake, "was a yard and a half long," though its "neck seemed no bigger than one's thumb," and yet it "swallowed a live chicken, as big as one they give fourpence for in England."

Being on board his ship in the afternoon, he had "the sight of an Indian pinnace, sailing by, made of birch bark, sewed together with roots of spruce and white cedar (drawn out into threads), with a deck, and trimmed with sails, top and top gallant, very sumptuously." On the thirtieth of September he went on shore at Noddle's Island again. Here Mr. Maverick made him welcome, and kept him till his ship was ready to sail for England. Meantime, in rambling about in the woods, "on the back side of the house," he discovered a wasps' nest ; and, mistaking it for "a fruit like a pine apple," though it was "plated with scales, and as big as the crown of a woman's hat," he proceeded to gather it ; but no sooner had he touched it, than hundreds of wasps were about his head. He escaped, however, with being stung but by one of them in his upper lip. This caused such a swelling in his face, that when he returned to the house the people did not know him except by his clothes ; and yet he thought he escaped remarkably well. In a few days he sailed for England. The ship laid at Nantasket some days, as she proceeded to sea, and the Master, Captain Luxon, having

been on shore at Governor's Island, returned with a quantity of pippins, of which he gave Mr. Josselyn half a score. At this time he remarks, "There is not one apple-tree, nor pear-tree yet planted in no part of the country, but upon that island." *

Sept. 17. Captain Underhill had lately returned from England, and was making preparations to remove to Mr. Wheelwright's settlement. He therefore petitioned the Court now in session to fulfil a promise it had formerly made him, which was, that for his services he should have three hundred acres of land. The Court, however, having learned from a "godly" female that he had spoken against some of them, he was called before the Court and charged with saying, when he was "in the ship lately," that "they were as zealous here as the Scribes and Pharisees were," &c. To this and other words quite as inoffensive in themselves, the female before mentioned testified. He was then questioned about signing the remonstrance in favor of Mr. Wheelwright formerly, and, not being satisfied with his answers, the Court sent him to jail first, and afterwards banished him.

Sept. 21. There now arrived a ship from Barnstaple, having on board about eighty passengers, nearly all of whom were from the western coast † of England. In this ship came Mr. Marmaduke Matthews.

Sept. 25. Among the many troubles with which the Country in common with Boston was disturbed at this period, were the "costliness of apparel," and the "new fashions." The Court undertook to interfere in these matters, and sent for "the Elders of the Churches," and laid the subject before them. The Elders were told by the Court that it was their business to redress the evil, and they promised to do so. But neither the preaching nor the practice of the Elders could eradicate the difficulty, "for divers of their own wives," says Winthrop, "were in some measure partners in this general disorder."

Dec. 10. A woman was hanged at Boston for the murder of her own child, a daughter, about three years of age. This was a deeply affecting and deplorable case, as the act was unquestionably committed

* An Account of Two Voyages to New England. The account above extracted is from his First Voyage. His Second was not made till 1663. In that he again takes notice of Boston. They were published in a volume together in 1675. Second edition. From Dr. Snow's notice of the visit of Josselyn, it would be inferred that he derived his information from "New England's Rarities," a work by the same "John Josselyn, Gent.," printed in 1672. I shall notice the "Rarities" hereafter. In the details of the second voyage, he speaks of Boston in connection with the date 1637, from which he is generally understood to say that at that date there were two Inns or Ordinaries in Boston; when as, in the records there is nothing to show that there was more than one. Winthrop speaks of "the Inn." If Josselyn meant that there were two

Inns in 1637, he probably included the one in Charlestown. He says, "In 1637 there were not many houses in the Town of Boston, amongst which were two houses of entertainment, called Ordinaries, into which if a stranger went, he was presently followed by one appointed to that office, who would thrust himself into his company uninvited, and if he called for more drink than the officer thought in his judgment he could soberly bear away, he would presently countermand it, and appoint the proportion, beyond which he could not get one drop." — Pages 172-3.

† What was understood by the "West Country" has been explained in the early pages of this History. The people about London thus denominated the country about Plymouth. — See page 22, *ante*.

when the mother was deranged. She confessed what she had done, and said she killed the child to prevent its being miserable hereafter. But it was believed that the Devil had caused her to do it, and that by taking away her life a punishment would be indirectly inflicted upon him. Mr. Peters and Mr. Wilson went with her to the place of execution, "but could do no good with her." The name of the wretched woman was Dorothy Talbye.

Dec. 13. Soon after this a Fast was kept, on the request of the Elders to the Governor and Council, for "the apparent decay of the power of religion, the general declining of professors to the world, and the much sickness throughout the country." Things had gone on so badly, as the Fathers then really believed, that they daily expressed their convictions, "that the Devil would never cease to disturb their peace;" that "at Providence he was not idle," and was stirring up the people of Connecticut against the people here; and that he had really carried off, from a place near Rhode Island, five Indians alive.*

This is generally regarded as the year in which Harvard College was founded, although the General Court had about two years before taken some order about a "Public School," and the next year directed that it should be at Newtown; at the same time appointing a Committee to carry the order into effect. This School might, and very probably would have remained without being dignified by the name of a College

* *March 12.* — Waters Sinnott, fisherman, to have a house lot. Olyvar Mellowes, Nathaniel Chappell, and William Hudson, eldest son of bro. Wm. H., have leave to take in the corner between the last year's new impaled planting ground and the N. E. corner of Mr. Wm. Blackstone's pales.

April 2. — James Johnson, John Davis, Geo. Burden and Nath. Chappell, to have gardens "on the back side of the lotts in ye long streete." To Mr. John Mansfield a house lot, he having served his bro. Mr. Robt. Keayne; Wm. Hudson to be cow-keeper this year; Thos. Sellen, a house at the Mount; Edmund Ormsby, one at Muddy R. for 3 heads; Thomas Wheeler, the same for 3 heads; Jacob Wilson, same; Maudit Inge, the same; Wm. Coursar, a garden, when a place can be found; John Cranwell and Wm. Salter to see to the fences of the field "by them," Richd. Gridley and Benjamin Gillatt the Fort field, and Olyvar Mellowes, Thos. Marshall and Jona. Negroose, the Mill field and the New field; Geo. Grigge may "sell his house and garding vnder it, and 20 acres of his great lott to Mr. Tuttell of Ipswich and Mr. Tuttell of Charlestowne for his redeeming out of their debts." Geo. Harwood, carpenter, a lot at the Mount for 3 heads; Wm. Hudson, the younger, one at Muddy R. for 3; Wm. Davis, "ye lock-smyth," a house lot near the new mill, condition, inoffensive carriage.

June 1. — Richard Brockett may sell his house and garden next Wm. Hudson the younger to "one Jacob Legar;" Saml. Wil-

bore may sell his to "one Mr. Offley," and his (house and ground) next Roxbury to Saml. Sherman; John Spoores, late of Clapton [near Portbury], in Somersetshire, may buy Mr. Wilkes' house and ground, and that his bro. James Mattocke, a cooper, may live with him, or in some other place in this town, and that he may also buy a little house of Geo. Burden near the Cove next Edward Bendalls.

Aug. 7. — Leave is granted Francis Lyall to become an inhabitant.

Aug. 20. — Thomas Cornnell may buy bro. Wm. Balstone's house and become an inhabitant.

Sept. 17. — "A stray sow that had been often taken in ye corne," and no owner found, is prized and sold for 40s., of which "Samuell Gryme is to have 30s. towards his losses in his corne." The residue to go to Richd. Fairbank for the charges of her keeping.

Nov. 2. — Richd. Rawlings, plasterer, may buy Peter Johnson the Dutchman's house, and inhabit.

Nov. 5. — Mr. John Cogan and Richard Tuttle, constables for this year. Geo. Barrill, cooper, bought house and land of Thos. Painter, and is admitted to inhabit.

Dec. 10. — Arthur Perrye to have allowed him yearly "for drumming to ye Company vpon all occasions," £5.

Dec. 24. — William Teffe, a tailor, admitted to inhabit, and to buy Jacob Wilson's house; Esdras Reade, tailor, admitted to inhabit, and allowed a lot at Muddy River for 4 heads.

for some years, but for the liberality of Mr. John Harvard, who, dying this year, gave a large sum "to the Public School at Newtown." Thus endowed, it took the name of its benefactor, and this was the origin of Harvard College.* Mr. Henry Dunster was its first President.†

CHAPTER XXVI.

Quiet Restored. — First Printing Press. — New Meeting-house Agitation. — Committee appointed to select a Location. — Proceedings thereupon. — Population of Boston. — Case of Capt. Keayne. — Absurd Legislation. — Stocks. — Rev. William Tompson. — Church gathered at Braintree. — First Post Office. — Number of Ships and People Arrived from the Beginning. — Apprehension from the Indians. — Thomas Georges. — Ship blown up in the Harbor. — Capt. Underhill Banished. — Miantinimo. — Hugh Bewit Banished. — Ships Built. — Mission to England. — To Rhode Island. — Hanserd Knollys.



EARLY PRINTING PRESS.

MANY of the people who had disturbed the peace of Boston by daring to express their opinions, were, by the beginning of the year 1639, gone out of its jurisdiction, so that tranquillity was in a measure restored, and it was a year of general quiet. It is a noted year, however, on several accounts.

March. A printing press was established at Cambridge. The first thing printed was the Freeman's Oath, the next was an Almanack for New England, made by Captain William Peirce, the mariner, the next was the Psalms, "newly turned into meter."‡

In the course of the year there was a good deal said about erecting a new Meeting-house. The old one was far from being suitable, or capable of accommodating the inhabitants. This occasioned much difficulty; not that the people differed about the necessity of having a

* In 1640, the General Court granted the income of the Ferry between Boston and Charlestown as a perpetual revenue to the College; and the Magistrates with the Ministers of the Colony chose the Rev. Henry Dunster "to be the President of their New Harvard College." — *Magnalia*, iv. 127.

† Mr. Lechford, writing of New England in 1642, having just left Boston, says, "Master Dunster, at Cambridge, had divers young scholars there under him, to the number of almost twenty." — *Plain Dealing, or News from New England*, p. 37.

‡ Winthrop's *Journal*, i. 289. — The "printing-house was begun by one Daye, at the charge of Mr. [Joseph] Glover, who died on sea hitherward." — *Ibid.* See Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 227. Quincy, *Hist. H. U.*, i. 187. Timperley's *Encyclop. of Printers and Printing*, 586, &c. — The Psalm-book "newly turned into meter" was printed in 1640. Copies of it are to be met with, at this day, only in the

libraries of the curious. Daye continued to print until 1649, though he was a poor printer. In 1641, the General Court ordered that, "Steeven Day, being the first that sett vpon printing, is granted 300 acres of land." — Thomas, *Hist. Printing*, i. 227. See *Boston Courier*, 15th and 29th July, 1847. Mr. Thomas made the very easy and natural conjecture, that Stephen Day might be a descendant of the then hitherto most famous printer of London, whose Christian name was John. Certainly it is reasonable, for the said John Day had by two wives 26 children, as his last wife herself says, who had 13 of them; thus equally dividing the honor with the first. This is learned from a monument to his memory, erected by this dutiful widow. It would have been lamentable, indeed, if the man, who was the cause that moved JOHN FOXE to erect such a monument to the Martyrs, had lain without one himself. He died 23d July, 1584. — See Johnson, *Typographia*, i. 534.

new and more commodious house, but the place on which to build it caused some delay in the proceedings. Then the chief business of the town was transacted in the vicinity of the Meeting-house, as it is in many country towns at the present day. Traders had located themselves about it, at much cost in building, and they of course were strenuous that the new building should be on or very near the site of the old one; it was also the vicinity of the Market.

At length the Church chose a Committee of five of their number, and gave them power to fix upon a location as they saw fit. The Committee consisted of Governor Winthrop, Mr. [William] Colborne, Mr. [Edward] Gibbons, Mr. [Robert] Keayne, and Mr. [William] Ting. While these gentlemen had the matter in charge, a paper* was drawn up and signed by a considerable number of the influential inhabitants, strongly urging that the most preferable site for the new house was at the Green. This place is pretty clearly designated in this document, and is very nearly that on a part of which the Old South now stands.

The paper containing the argument for this locality is a very able performance, and it is difficult now to understand how the Committee could come to a decision adverse to it.† The signers of the document say, the Green "hath singular accommodation to the ayre, the want of the free accesse whereof hath bin deeply found in the Ould Meeting house, making burdensome the ordinances to many, specially weake hearers, by faynting their spirits in the summer time, when there is most concourse of people. And we feare a greater defect hereof if the house stand in Mr. Harding's‡ ground, where the easterly and south-

* This instrument would be very properly entitled, "Arguments showing the Advantages of locating the Meeting-house at the Green." The following are the most exact copies of the signatures to the paper that our artists, Messrs.

BAKER, SMITH & ANDREW, can make. The original is in the hands of the Author, and has never been published. It is dated December 10th, 1639.

John Davis
 Edmund Garkson
 Joshua Froth
 George Colvermiller
 George Landon
 Edmund Garkson

Pitland Cuttoll
 Jonathan Vogus.
 John Gallap
 John Myles
 Masson Hiff
 James Johnson
 John Oliver.

† Perhaps it was thought quite too far from the town or main settlement. It may be remembered that there were not at this time scarcely any houses so far south as the present Milk Street.

‡ This gentleman, I presume, was Mr. Richard Harding. Hence the lot which he owned in Boston was on Cornhill Square, where the

Meeting-house was finally built; presuming that the "Mr. Harding's ground" was improved for the purpose. He was one of the "disarmed," and went to Rhode Island, and was a prominent man in that Colony. The name is one of respectability there and elsewhere at this day.

east wind is much more debarred. If it is said Mr. Harding's is higher ground than the Greene, and so more obvious to the ayre, it is answered, though it be higher (which is but little), yet this hath a farre greater advantage, for the aire by reason of the sudden descents of the earth neare to it, and it standeth open, ready to entertayne every coole breath of aire in the summer, whereas the other place is so muffled, and over-topped with chimnyes on every side almost, that it playnly confesseth its own disadvantage." *

Notwithstanding these and many other arguments, the house was finally erected in what was afterwards Cornhill; the account of which and its erection have been given.† The opposition to that site appears to have ceased when the decision was made known, and the idea of having a new house at once, seems to have quieted all parties, and the work went on with harmony and activity the next year. And, besides, Mr. Cotton, whose reputation had been a little obscured by the cloud of Antinomianism, but who now had, by his great tact and prudence, dispelled that cloud, and regained, in a great measure, his former splendor, came forward in favor of the spot in Cornhill; arguing that it would be unjust to those who had purchased estates in that vicinity, because they were situated near the Meeting-house. But this argument of Mr. Cotton was met by those in favor of the Green in a most conclusive manner, as was another, the import of which was, that a house would be exposed to the cold winds more in the winter at the Green, and therefore very uncomfortable. The Petitioners answered, that the cold in a house was easily obviated,‡ — while there was no remedy for the suffocating heat of summer in a location near the Market, but at the Green the cool breezes would come in from all parts unobstructed. However, the decision was in favor of the other locality, as before stated, and there was in a little time a general acquiescence. §

Some idea of the populousness of Boston and its vicinity at this time may be had from the following facts recorded by Governor Winthrop: — "The two regiments in the Bay were mustered at Boston, to the number of one thousand soldiers, able men, and well armed and exercised." At the head of these Winthrop appeared as General, and Deputy-Governor Dudley as Colonel. The captains and other officers "showed themselves very skilful and ready in divers sorts of skirmishes and other military actions, wherein they spent the whole day." ||

* It is more difficult to reconcile Mr. Josselyn's statement of "twenty or thirty houses" with this, than anything else I have seen. Dr. Savage inclines to the opinion that Josselyn must have dropped a cipher from his figures, somehow, and so instead of writing 200 he wrote 20. But how Josselyn or anybody else could drop ciphers out of that number when they were spelling it out and not using figures to express it, is rather a hard question.

† See *ante*, pages 141 and 142.

‡ By this it would seem that fires in Meeting-houses in cold weather were not unknown

at this time, though they be in many places in our day, as the writer has had painful experience.

§ It was finished the next year, 1640; "its cost about £1000, which was raised out of the weekly voluntary contribution without any noise or complaint." — *Winthrop*, ii. 24.

|| The following items are from the Town Records; in which names are generally spelled as they are recorded, and so of what has gone before.

Jan. 21. — John Odlyn allowed a piece of marsh at Muddy River, until otherwise ordered

At the General Election, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley were re-elected, and Boston sent two deputies instead of three as formerly. These were Captain Keayne and Major Gibbons. The

by the Town. Nicholas Willys * sold (27: 10: 1638) his great lot of 49 acres at "Remely Marsh" to Richard Tuttle * of this town for £30. 13s. 6d. James Hawkings sold (9 Nov 1638) for £15. one dwelling in this Town, wherein Geo. Ruggle lived, which he bo't of Mr. Brenton, to one Henry Garrold, tanner. Jacob Wilson, sawyer, sold (24 Dec. last) to Wm. Tefle, tailor, a house and lot, now in the use of said Tefle. Richard Tuttle to be responsible to the Town for "one Dorothe Bill, widdowe, a sojourner in his house," and "for anything about her." Robert Scott sold land at Muddy River that was Richard Fairebank's to Thos. Savage. William Hyrick allowed to be an inhabitant. The "owners of the Wharfe and Crayne" are granted 100 acres of land at Mount Wollaston towards keeping them in repair.

Feb. 18. — Richard Wright to have a narrow piece of land at the Mount, "to y^e furtherance of a water mylne building there, in regard of his redy serviceablenesse to the Townes occasions." Same Richard W. fined the sum of £6 for selling land at the Mount "to one Mr. Pane, of Concord," without license. Brother Henry Pease may mow the marsh against his house. Bro. Edward Jackson * may mow the marsh Bro. Balstone formerly mowed. Bro. James Pennyman may mow the marsh in the New field as heretofore. Sister widow Purton may mow the marsh in the same field under bro. Robert Turner's garden pales. William Balstone sold (5 Aug. last) his house, yards, gardens, and one close on the backside of Mr. Coddington's (one acre more or lesse), and two acres more or less in the Mill field, bordering on Water Merryall's house, and three acres at Hogg Island, and 80 at the Mount, to Thomas Connell. Ordered that Edward Hutchinson, Samuel Cole, Robert Turner, Mr. Robert Harding, Mr. Wm. Parker, and Richard Brackett, make a cart-way against Mr. Hutchinson's house, under which they drayne their gardens, before the 11th of the next 1st month. Thomas Scottow, joiner, sold all his 6 acres at Muddy River to Thos. Grubbe, and said G. resigned his right to his three acres in the New field in Boston; it having Isaac Grosse's lot on one side, and widow Purton's on the other. Mr. Benjamin Keayne, son of bro. Mr. Robt. K., to have a great lot at Monottinott river in Mount Wollaston.

March 25. — Brother Mr. Gryffen Bowen to have a great lot at Muddy River, also bro. Richard Holledge a great lot there for three heads. Bro. Valentine Hill may build a house and shop on the lot he bo't of bro. Mr. W^m Aspinwall, and let it to Francis Lysle, barber. John Hord, tailor, having served Mr. W^m

Hutchinson in this Town divers years, is allowed to be an inhabitant. Bro. Henry Pease having promised to fence out a highway thro' his ground, where he dwelleth, 25 feet broad, from against the Cove near his house, unto the cross highway, by bro. James Everills, must do it before the 1st of April, 1640, or pay £5. Mr. John Underhill, 1st Aug. last, surrendered to Mr. Thos. Makepeace of Dorchester his house in Boston, his land at Muddy River, and woodland in the islands, "with garding and house, and another behind Mr. Parker's house, and neare half an aker upon the Fort Hill, for £100." Bro. Robert Walker to be cow-keeper this year. No goat to go on the Neck without a keeper; and "old Wing to looke to this order." Hogs running at large after the 8th of April to be impounded; "in case any shall take y^m vp into their yard, then forthwith eyther lett y^e owners knowe of y^m, or to sett a note of y^m vpon y^e whipping-post." Henry Shrimpton, brasier, allowed to be an inhabitant.

April 29. — With the consent of Mr. William Peirce there is to be a passage way of 7 feet wide, from the lower part of Mr. Keayne's garden, at his mud-wall house, to the Creek near Edward Bendall's new house. Samuel Graine allowed to be an inhabitant.

May 13. — Mr. Robert Keayne and Capt. Edward Gibbons were chosen deputies to the General Court.

May 27. — Mr. William Hibbins is admitted an inhabitant.

July 2. — William Needham, cooper, to have a house plot at the Little Island at Mount Wollaston, and Stephen Kinsley, husbandman, to have the rest of the Island for his house plot. John Jepson, shoemaker, a great lot at the Mount for three heads. Richard Carter, carpenter, may buy a house and ground of W^m Hudson the younger, next Thos. Oliver's new house plot; condition, inoffensive carriage. "Gabryell Fallowell may sell his house and ground in the New field to one Richard Bidgood, late of London, cloth-worker, on same condition."

July 29. — Bro. John Smith to have a lot at Muddy River for three heads. Bro. Edw^d Hutchinson the younger, in behalf of his father, W^m H., may sell his house in this town to Mr. Richard Hutchinson of London, linen-draper. John Hard to have a lot for three heads at the Mount. John Leverett a lot for ten heads at Muddy River.

Aug. 6. — Capt. Edward Gibbons and Mr. W^m Tyng are chosen for Deputies to the General Court.

Aug. 26. — Mr. Anthony Stoddard, linen-draper, allowed to become a townsman; also John Seaborne, tailor, having served three years in town, is allowed to be an inhabitant.

* See his autograph, p. 243 ante. Willis' is the fourth.

number of Deputies had been reduced to two in each town. This was to prevent the Court's consisting of too large a number, in the growing state of the country.*

Captain Robert Keayne was an industrious and wealthy merchant, and, being more prosperous than many of his neighbors, their envy was excited in consequence.

A complaint was preferred against him in the General Court at Nov. Boston for excessive charges on his foreign goods. And being convicted "hereof, he was fined two hundred pounds." He was finally let off with half the amount; the other half "respite to farther consideration of the next General Court." It appears to be true that Mr. Keayne had broken certain laws previously made, regulating the prices of commodities, though it is quite probable others were equally guilty of the same offence, and that they were passed unnoticed, owing to their business being smaller. It appeared at his trial that he had been known to take "above six pence in the shilling profit, and even eight pence; and in some small things, above two for one." After the Court had censured him, he was handed over to the Church, in which there was an attempt made to excommunicate him; he escaped, however, with an admonition.†

From all that can be learned of Captain Keayne it does not appear that he was a bad man, but that on the contrary he was a very good man; yet he was one of that peculiar mind and temperament, which rather invited than repelled the insults from a class common in all com-

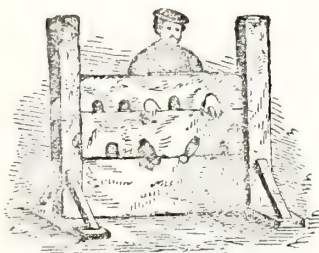
Bro. Nathl Williams to have a lot at the Mount for four heads. Bro. John Leverett a house lot and gardenstead next bro. Robt. Hull's. Alex^r Plumley, who was Mr. Colbourne's man, a lot at the Mount for three heads.

Sept. 30. — Thomas Foster, the gunner at the Castle, a lot at the Mount for six heads. Cleoment Cole, who served with Mr. Robert Keayne four years, a lot for seven heads at same place. Thomas Millard, husbandman, a lot for five heads, at same place. Mr. David Offley a great lot at Muddy River for 15 heads. Mr. Richard Parker and Mr. Thomas Fowle admitted inhabitants.

Oct. 28. — Samuel Sherman may let his cow-house stand till spring-time, on the Common by the gates next Roxbury. Bro. Nathl Woodward to have a lot at Muddy River for three heads. John Robinson, late servant to bro. Mr. Newgate, a house lot where it may be had.

Nov. 25. — Bro. Thomas Wheeler to have a house lot and gardenstead next bro. Saving. Mr. Edward Tirge allowed to be an inhabitant. Francis Lysle a lot for five heads at the Mount. John Seaberry, seaman, with leave bought bro. Water Merry's house and lot in the Mylne field, so is allowed for an inhabitant.

* Among other acts of the General Court, to warn people against excessive charges for wages and commodities, there is this example:



THE STOCKS.

Edward Palmer had been employed to erect Stocks in which to punish offenders. Having brought in his bill for the woodwork, amounting to £1. 13s. & 7d, the Court decided that it was exorbitant; and, instead of drawing an order on the Treasurer for its payment, they ordered him to be set in said Stocks for an hour, and to pay a fine of £5. It is difficult at this day to understand on what ground Edward Palmer was subjected to an ignominious punishment. He probably found the materials for the Stocks, and not less than two days must have been taken up in making them. — Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 248; Winthrop, *Savage's Note*, ii. 85.

† The Rulers had not yet learned the absurdity of endeavoring to bring compulsory laws to bear upon what a man should ask for his goods, or his time, when either was under-

munities. He was deeply religious, but, like nearly all men who buy and sell, his interest in his business was so strong, that he could not well help losing sight of his conscientious scruples at times. But when abstracted from his business he relented and condemned himself. He appears to have been of a forgiving disposition, and more ready to receive an injury than to give one, and could be oppressed with impunity.

Notwithstanding Captain Keayne's fines, losses, trials and perplexities, he died leaving a considerable estate.* In his will, which is probably the longest one on record, he enters into a defence of the conduct for which he had suffered in reputation as well as estate, which renders it an object of considerable curiosity.

Sept. 17. Mount Wollaston yet remained a part of Boston, "and many poor men having lots assigned them there, and not able to use those lands and dwell still in Boston," and Mr. Wheelwright having been driven away from them, petitioned to have a Minister there, which being granted, the Reverend Mr. William Tompson is ordained Pastor, and, in March following, Mr. Henry Flynt is ordained Teacher.†

Nov. 5. What arrangements there had been in Boston previous to this for the safe conveyance and delivery of letters does not appear. But the General Court having the business in charge, the following record is made of its proceedings: — "For the preventing the miscarriage of letters, it is ordered, that notice bee given, that Richard Fairbanks his house in Boston is the place appointed for all letters, which are brought from beyond seas, or to be sent thither; are to bee brought unto him, and he is to take care that they bee delivered, or sent according to their directions; and hee is allowed for every such letter one penny, and must answer all miscarriages through his own neglect in this kind; provided that no man shall bee compelled to bring his letters thither except hee please."‡ There is nothing met with for several years to show what succeeding regulations were, if any.

stood to be in the market, or subject to negotiation. And notwithstanding the light and experience of two hundred years, some of the same kind of legislation remains on our statute books, and finds as strenuous supporters as those were who enforced the laws against witchcraft. The evil of a law setting a price on a man's time, or wages, which is the same in this case, was now first cured. The law-makers, finding that men could withhold their services altogether, could remove to other places, and engage in planting and other employments, in due time left the subject to its natural course.

* He died 23 March, 1655-6. His will, or an historical and genealogical abstract of it, may be seen printed in the *Genealogical Reg. and Antiqu. Journal*, vol. vi. 89-92, 152-8. It occupies 158 pages in the folio volume in which it is recorded, being the longest I have ever heard of.

† See Mr. Hancock's *Century Sermon*, 20. — Mr. Tompson was the father of Benjamin

Tompson, one of the best scholars in New England in his time. Another of his sons was named Samuel, who was ordained Deacon of the same church, 2 Nov. 1679, and he was the father of the Rev. Edward Tompson of Marshfield. — See *ibid.* and the *Antiq. Journal*,* vii. 278. The Rev. William Tompson was a native of Winwick in Lancashire, and graduate of Oxford, came to N. Eng. before 1637, died 10 Dec. 1666, aged 68. In connection with Mr. Richard Mather he published "An Answer to Mr. Charles Herle his Book against the Independency of Churches," &c., 4to. 1644. His first wife, Abigail —, died in 1643, during his absence in Virginia; he married, secondly, Anna, widow of Simon Crosby of Cambridge. By his first wife he had all his children except one, which was a daughter by the second.

‡ *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, xxvii. 48.

* The *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Regr.* will be thus designated, for brevity.

Dec. 3. Boston is complained of "for defect of their ways, between Powderhorn Hill and the Written Tree, and is fined twenty shillings and enjoined to mend them."*

May 13. The Court of Election was held in Boston, and Thomas Dudley, Esq., elected Governor, and Richard Bellingham, Esq., Deputy Governor.† Mr. Winthrop took his place among the Assistants, somewhat disturbed by the result. He had held the place of Governor so long that he was regarded by many as holding it by inheritance. "Some trouble there had been," he writes in his journal, "in making way for this election, and it was obtained with some difficulty; that many of the Elders labored much in it, fearing lest the long continuance of one man in the place should bring it to be for life." But he was consulted before the election by the leaders, and agreed with them that it might be well to choose another in his stead. Especially as his "outward estate" had suffered much of late, owing to the management of an unfaithful steward, named Luxford, and consequently required more of his attention than he could well bestow upon it, with the weight of the Government upon him also.

Mr. Winthrop soon after had a substantial proof of the attachment of the people to himself, in their coming forward to relieve him in his embarrassments. Even the General Court would have voted him money if there had been any in their treasury; but as it was, it voted Mrs. Winthrop 3000 acres of land, "and some of the towns sent in liberally" for his relief. However, of about five hundred pounds so contributed, "near half came from Boston." One individual, Mr. Richard Dummer‡ of Newbury, gave him one hundred pounds.

There came over this year provisions in large quantities, both from

* Nov. 25. — Richard Storer, son of Elizabeth Hull, wife of bro. Robert Hull, allowed to be an inhabitant, and a lot at the Mount for three heads. Bro. Arthur Perry may sell his house to Silvester Saunders, long a servant in this Town. Nicholas Baxter, fisherman, admitted an inhabitant. Bro. John Milles sold 4 acres at Hogg Island to Tho. Savidge, and all his planted ground in the Newfield. Thos. Clarke, locksmith, allowed to be an inhabitant.

Dec. 30. — Richard Sherman to have a lot at Muddy R. for seven heads; Gregory Belchar 52 acres at the Mount for 13 heads; William Potter 44 acres for 11 heads; bro. John Kenricke a great lot at Muddy R. for four heads; bro. Geo. Curtys a lot for two heads; Wm. Blanton, carpenter, admitted an inhabitant; also Leonard Buttle and Edmund Grosse. Richard Wooddas, fisherman, a lot at the Mount for three heads. The Town has 300 acres set apart at Muddy R. for "perpetual commonage." Francis Dowse, servant to bro. George Burdon, allowed to be an inhabitant. Mr. Edward Tinge 250 acres at the Mount. John Crabtree a lot at the Mount for five heads, instead of two as formerly. Bro. Arthur Perry a lot at the Mount for seven heads.

† The Boston Deputies were Capt. Gibbons and Mr. W^m Tinge. They were chosen 26 April, and on 28 Sept. Tyng and Hibbins were chosen for the remainder of the year as usual. At the May term of the Court, the inhabitants of Mount Wollaston petitioned to become a Town, and their request was granted, "according to the agreement with Boston," and that the Town be called Bramtree. — Hancock, *Cent. Ser.* 19.

‡ It is singularly remarkable that the very men who had been driven from Boston through Mr. Winthrop's agency, more than by any other, still remained his friends and benefactors. Nothing can exceed the kindness of Roger Williams to him, and Mr. Dummer proved himself a friend in time of need. It is true the cases of these two gentlemen were very different; Mr. Dummer retired because he would not enter into the Antinomian controversy, being himself one of the fast friends of Mr. Vane; whereas Mr. Williams was forced to fly to the wilderness to escape a worse fate. Mr. Dummer was the grandfather of Jeremiah Dummer, who wrote and published the able "Defence of the New England Charters," 1721.

England and Ireland, but as to passengers or settlers but few came ; and according to some, emigration entirely ceased during the year.* And above one hundred years later it was observed, that more people had removed out of New England to other parts of the world, than had come from other parts to it.† And now it may be said, at another hundred years' distance, that, notwithstanding the immense emigration from all parts of Europe to New England, far more go from than emigrate to it.

So great had been the importation of provisions and other things, that people before the close of the year found themselves almost entirely without money, and the Authorities were obliged to pass a law making corn receivable in payment for all new debts ; Indian at four shillings the bushel, rye at five, and wheat six ; for old debts the creditor might take goods or land, at a value to be fixed by three men.

By letters from some of Plymouth, who had had advices from Sept. Connecticut, disturbances were apprehended from the Indians. Miantonimo was believed to be in treaty with the Mohawks, with evil intentions towards the English. The Government here did not think the fears of Plymouth and Connecticut very well grounded ; however, Captain Jennison was sent from Boston, with only three men besides an Indian interpreter, to the Narragansets, to ascertain the truth with regard to the rumors. The messengers were kindly entertained, and they returned well satisfied that no mischief was intended. It was a part of the business of Captain Jennison to invite Miantonimo to Boston. He said he would come provided Mr. Williams might come with him ; and as to remaining at peace with the English, the Narragansets, he said, had no other purpose, unless the English begun first. The English thought it rather strange that Miantonimo would not communicate through their Pequot interpreter, while they refused to allow Roger Williams to accompany him to Boston.

Some time this summer Mr. Thomas Gorges† arrived at Boston, on his way to his Government of New Somersetshire ; “ a young gentle-

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 93. — “ They,” observes the same Author, “ who then professed to be able to give the best account, say, that in 293 ships, which were the whole number from the beginning of the Colony, there arrived 21,200 passengers, men women and children, perhaps about 4000 families.” — *Ibid.* “ This sudden stop to emigration had a surprising effect upon the price of cattle, the demand for which increased as the inhabitants multiplied, and the price of a milch cow had kept from 25 to £30, but fell at once this year to 5 or £6. A farmer who could spare but one cow in a year out of his stock, used to clothe his family with the price of it at the expense of the new comers ; when this failed they were put to difficulties, although they judged they had 12,000 neat cattle, yet they had but about 3000 sheep in the Colony.” — *Ibid.* See also Johnson's *Wonder Work. Prov.*, 31, Stiles' *Christian Union*, 110, Dummer's *Defence of the New Eng. Charters*, 9.

† Dr. Franklin said before 1760, “ There has not gone from Britain to our Colonies these twenty years past to settle there, so many as ten families a year.” — Stiles' *Christian Union*, 111.

‡ Probably son of Capt. William Gorges, and had a son, Henry, living in Barbadoes in 1686. He had also a son, Ferdinando, residing in Maine the same year, as agent for his father, who leased to John Littlefield for 21 years certain lands, mills, &c., on Oguncot river. If Ferdinando Gorges, Esquire, the Author of “ *America Painted to the Life*,” printed in 1659, be the same Ferdinando in Maine, 1686, said Ferdinando was grand-son of Sir Ferdinando. However, the Ferdinando of Maine, 1686, was son of Thomas and brother of Henry of Barbadoes, as original papers under his own hand in my possession certify. Ferdinando, Esquire, speaks of his “ uncle Capt. Robert Gorges,” and of his “ couzen, Capitaine William Gorges, who had been his grand-father's Lief-

man of the Inns of Court, kinsman" of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. His stay was short, and he left a very favorable impression on the minds of the best people here.

One of the ships that arrived this season met with an accident which came near occasioning its loss. She was struck by a whale, the wind blowing heavy, which stove in her bows above water, breaking "the planks, six timbers and a beam, and staved two hogsheds of vinegar."

Aug. 27. Something of terror overspread the town on this day, caused by a great explosion of gun-powder in a ship lying in the harbor, the *Mary Rose* of Bristol. There were twenty-one barrels of

tenant in the fort of Plymouth." — See "*America Painted to the Life*," p. 24. There was living at Wraxall, Co. of Somerset, in 1673, Edward Gorges, Esq. In Hazard's *Collections*, i. 392, there is a petition of "Edward Lord Gorges," 1635, concerning lands in New England. By Lechford's *Plain Dealing*, it appears, that "Master Thomas Gorges" was the "son of Capt. Gorges of Batecombe, by Chedder in Somersetshire." Hence, I suppose, Thomas Gorges was a son of Capt. William Gorges, as before stated. The note of Hutchinson, that he was son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, was an error easily made. — See Burke, *Extinct and Dormant Baronetages*.

Jan. 27. — William Needham is granted a lot for two heads at the Mount; Robert Howstead for 8 heads; Geo. Wright for 3; bro. Henry Shrimpton for 3; bro. Richard Hogg for 5; bro. John Spoor for 5; Edmund Grosse "ye square peece" next William Letherland's; Richard Critchley for 5 heads; bro. John Gallopp* the meadow on Long Island; Thomas Clarke, smith, for 8 heads at the Mount; bro. Edward Bendall to bestow all goods without owners; Samuel Grame a great lot at the Mount for 4 heads; Robert Mears sold to Dorothy Bill, widow, and her son James Bill, his house and garden, "where they now live;" Robert Bradford, tailor, allowed to inhabit; bro. Anthony Stoddard a lot of 100 acres; Thos. Foulle 600 acres; Saml. Mavericke 600; Henry Messenger for 2 heads at Muddy River; bro. Joshua Scotto* a lot there for 3 heads; Thos. Painter, joiner, for 4 heads; bro. Robert Hull 6 acres at Hog Island; Benj. Neggose allowed to inhabit; Mr. W^m Tompson 120 acres at the Mount; Mr. Henry Flint 80; John Lugg a lot for 9 heads; John Uvall [Viall] weaver, allowed to inhabit; Mr. Benj. Keayne 200 acres at the Mount; to the Canonier of Boston 500, and 2000 to the Town.

Feb. 24. — Mr. Richard Parker 400 acres at the Mount; to Lewys Kidby a house lot next John Lowes two rods towards the sea; W^m Blanton, carpenter, a lot for 3 heads at Muddy R., and a house lot on the Neck; Leonard Buttles, bricklayer, lot for 4 at Mud. R.; Edward Fletcher may be an inhabitant, and have a house lot; bro. Rich^d Bracket may now the marsh in the New field; bro. Arthur

Perry, Rich^d Hogg and John Hurd, each a house lot; W^m Briscoe, tailor, may inhabit, and have a lot at the Mount for 8 heads; John Marshall, husbandman, having served bro. Edward Hutchinson, is allowed to inhabit; Robt. Wing a lot at Mud. R. for 4; Lewys Kidby, fisherman, same for 2; John Moore, the Governor's servant, same for 3; bro. Tho. Mekyns, the younger, for 7; Geo. Barrell, cooper, for 9; W^m Kirkby, fisherman, for 3; John Arnould, plasterer, for 2; Rich^d Carter, sawyer, for 3; Waters Sinnott, fisherman, 3; Thos. Jewell, of the Mount, miller, 12 acres; the like to Mr. Daniel Welles for 20 heads, 80 acres; Peter Brackett for 12 heads, 48 acres; Saml. Allen, 28 acres for 7 heads; to W^m Allyce 12 acres for 3 heads; Jacob Wilson 16 acres for 4; John Reade 44 acres for 11; Robt. Stephens 12 acres for 3; Geo. Rose 20 acres for 5; Henry Addams 40 acres for 10; Thos. Place 20 acres for 5; John Harbar 12 acres for 3; Benj. Albye 12 do. for 3; Thos. Simons 40 do. for 10; John Marchant 8 do. for 2; Geo. Poffer 20 do. for 5; John Pafflyn 8 do. for 2; Robt. Sharpe 16 do. for 4; John Dasset 28 do. for 7; Thos. Blysse, 36 for 9; Thos. Gilbert 28 for 7; Henry Neal 12 for 3; Henry Maudsley 12 for 3; James Covey 16 for 4; Saml. Bitfeld 20 for 5; James Clarke 8 for 2; James Wiseman 12 for 3; John Collins, of Monanticott, 12 for 3; Christopher Collins 8 for 2; Geo. Aldrich 20 for 5; Anthony Newton 12 for 3; Matthew Smith 20 for 5; John French, of Monoticott, 40 for 5; John Mills, of the same, 44 for 6; Rich^d Rockett, of same, 40 for 5; Nicholas Hathway, of the same, 36 for 4; Thos. Bird 36 for 4; Geo. Sheppard 18 for 2; Thomas Tayer 40 for 9; Danyell Lovell and his mother 12 for 3; David Rogers 8 for 2; John Onyon 8 for 2. All these at Mount Wollaston. From Lewys Kidby to Waters Sinnott, all probably resided in Boston proper. Those from Thos. Jewell to John Onyon resided already at the Mount, or in that part of it called Monoticott, or Monanticott. William Mawer, late of Boston, husbandman, sold Capt. Edward Gibbon a house and garden, now occupied by W^m Taffe, tailor; date of sale 12 Feb. 1640. Brethren Edward Randsford and Wm. Hudson ordered to accompany the surveyor to lay out the planting ground at Long Island.

* See his autograph, p. 243 ante.

powder, and all on board lost their lives, being fourteen or fifteen persons, excepting one man, whose preservation was very remarkable; "being carried up in the scuttle, and so let fall in the same into the water, and being taken up in the ferry boat, near dead, he came to himself the next morning, but could not tell anything of the blowing up of the ship, or how he came there." Some of the goods were saved, but the loss was estimated at two thousand pounds.

Sept. 3. Captain Underhill who had been banished, and since lived at Pascataqua, was, at his request, allowed to come to Boston for the purpose of making confessions of faults and miscarriages, to the Church. He was a man of strong passions, and, though a firm believer in religion, had been carried away by them on many occasions, and had committed great improprieties. Now the firmness of the soldier seems to have forsaken him, and he appeared before the Church more like an ignorant, simple child than like a man. "He came in his worst clothes," says Winthrop, though usually "accustomed to take great pride in his bravery and neatness. Without a band, in a foul linen cap pulled close to his eyes, and standing upon a form, he did, with many deep sighs and abundance of tears," confess his wicked course. Such was the man who, so lately, was not "afraid to meet the enemy in the gates," and to carry fire and sword into the midst of the strong holds of the Indians.*

Nov. The next distinguished visitor in Boston was Miantonimo, who had been invited by Captain Jennison as previously stated. Governor Dudley gave him entertainment at Roxbury, but being displeased at the Governor's employment of a Pequot interpreter, he came off abruptly to Boston. He, no doubt, thought the English intended him an insult. He had assisted in destroying that nation, and the English themselves had been a means of causing the Narragansets to look upon a Pequot as too vile a being to be allowed to occupy a place among the

* About the time of his banishment, Underhill wrote to the Governor of New Netherland for permission to settle in his province. Gov. Kieft at once granted his request, on condition of his taking the oath of allegiance to the States General. — *Brodhead's N. York*, 291. However, in the time of the government of Thomas Gorges, Esq., at Pascataqua, he left Dover and settled at Stamford, in Connecticut, near the residence of Capt. Patrick, another of the Captains who had served against the Pequots. Here, at the head of 50 other Englishmen, Underhill was gladly taken into the service of the Dutch, whose total annihilation was then threatened by the Indians. This was in September, 1643. To the employment of Underhill and his company of English, the Dutch probably owed their preservation, but it was not in time to save the unfortunate Mrs. Hutchinson; she and her family were cut off a little before Underhill took the field. After fighting valiantly for the Dutch until the Indians were subdued, he settled on Long Island,

and here he got up a rebellion against the Dutch Authorities, and they banished him. The difficulty was in time settled, and he purchased a large tract of land of the Indians on Long Island, a part of which remained in his family nearly 200 years. He died at his estate called Killingworth, in 1672, in the town of Oyster Bay, and there lies buried, but whether any monument marks the spot, I am not informed. He left a will, witnessed the 18 Sept. 1671. There is a very elaborate pedigree of his descendants in Mr. Bolton's *Hist. of Westchester*, ii. 228. His will is a curiosity, of which there is a copy in Thompson's *Long Island*, ii. 361. His first wife was Mary Mosely, who came over from Holland with him; and his second was Elizabeth Peeks, who survived him. In his will he names "my brother John Browne, Henry Townsend, Matthew Pryer, son John Underhill, son Nathaniel to live with his mother till 21." Nathaniel settled in Westchester, and thus the family became the historical property of Mr. Bolton.

living. The same insult had been lately offered him in his own country, and he probably regarded the new Governor as one of doubtful authority, which may account for his conduct at Roxbury. But at Boston he found no better regard paid him, the Authorities refusing to have any conference with him till he had submitted to their way of proceeding. He very justly complained that he should be subjected to the English customs, when they were allowed to use their own when they came to his country. The interview did not give much satisfaction to either party. Miantonimo had received an insult, and the English were in some doubt what the return might be to them.

Dec. 9. One Hugh Bewett was banished for maintaining that he was free from original sin, and that true Christians could live without committing any sin. By the order of the Court, he was to be gone in fifteen days upon pain of death, and if he returned, he should be hanged.

There was a mode of punishment, practised at this period, which may be mentioned for its peculiarity; it was by inserting the tongue of certain offenders in a cleft stick, and was probably employed chiefly upon the tongues of females. One Mrs. Oliver was whipped for reproaching the Magistrates. "She stood without tying, and bare her punishment with a masculine spirit, glorying in her suffering." Some time after "she had a cleft stick put on her tongue half an hour for reproaching the Elders." This kind of punishment was soon abandoned, the cases doubtless becoming too numerous to be attended to.*

Affairs had taken such a turn in England, that a general want of foreign commodities began to be felt here, and the people saw that they must build their own ships and do their own business at sea. Mr. Hugh Peters stirred up some to join him at Salem in building a ship of three hundred tons, and this example was followed at Boston, and one of half the dimensions was built here. The work was accomplished with difficulty, owing to the want of money, but the ship-wrights received for their wages such articles as the country produced.

The King of England having been driven to relinquish much of his arbitrary power over the Parliament, some friends there wrote over that it was now thought a favorable time for the Colony to apply to the Parliament for privileges, and that by applying they might gain much; but the nature of what was to be gained is not mentioned. But the Government did not think very favorably of an application at first, and their view taken of it should be added by way of a note to the Declaration of Independence of the American Congress of 1776. It was said, though indirectly, that they were now free, but if they put themselves

* Among the First Church excommunicants in 1638, is mentioned Anne Walker, wife of Richard Walker, who was "cast out" for "sundry scandals." Brother Richard Wayte is "cast out" for "purloyning buckskin leather" out of some entrusted to him, so much as would make three men's gloves, "to the scandal of many without, as well as of his brethren; and being dealt withal, did deny and forsware the same." Sister Temperance Jewett is admonished for having "entertained disorderly company, and ministring unto them wine and strong waters even unto drunkenness, and that not without some iniquity in the measure and practice thereof." This was in 1640. — See Shaw's *Descript.*, &c., 239-40.

under the protection of Parliament, they might be subjected to any laws Parliament might make.

Notwithstanding these scruples, the Court of Assistants being assembled, the advice of the Elders was sought, and in the end it was determined that the providence of God seemed to favor the sending Agents to England, for a ship belonging to Boston and bound thither was then ready to sail. Accordingly, Mr. Peters of Salem, Mr. Welde of Roxbury, and Mr. Hibbins of Boston, were fixed upon for the service; but the Church of Salem would not allow Mr. Peters, their Pastor, to leave them, and so for the present the mission was laid aside. The next year, however, encouraged by the continued success of Parliament, the Church of Salem consented, though with reluctance, for Mr. Peters to go. But there was no ship bound from these parts for England, and the Commissioners were obliged to go to Newfoundland, to seek passages among the returning fishermen, and in this way accomplished their journey, at a great expense of time. Mr. Peters and Mr. Welde did not return to New England, but Mr. Hibbins came back in 1642, "with divers others who went over" with him. It does not appear that anything of immediate importance was effected by the Commissioners, with the exception of the procurement of some valuable presents.*

* *Mar. 30.* — Edward Gibbon sold the house which he bot of Mawer (some time W^m Hudson's the elder) to Teffe the occupant; John Freind, carpenter, now dwelling here, allowed to remain and inhabit; John Palmer the same, if he can get a house, or land to set one on — "it being not ppr. to allow a man an inhabitant without a habitation." — Ordered that no more land be granted in the Town, out of the open ground, or common field, which is left between Sentry Hill and Mr. Colborn's end, except 3 or 4 lots to make up the street from bro. Robt. Walker's to the Round Marsh; Edward Baytes being at Isle Sables, shall have 6 months to build on his lot. Ordered that the street from Mr. Atherton Haulghe's to Sentry Hill be laid out, "and soe be kept open forever;" W^m Davis, gunsmith, to have 20 acres at the Mount; W^m Hudson recommended to keep an Ordinary; W^m Briscoe, tailor, to have a lot between Robt. Walker's and the Round Marsh; to look to the fences; Rich^d Fairbanks and W^m Salter, the field towards Roxbury; Benjn. Gillam and Edmd. Jacklyn,* the Fort field; W^m Hudson and Edwd. Bendall, the New field; Mr. Valentine Hill and John Button, the Mill field.

April 27. — Saml. Sherman allowed a lot at the Mount for 15 heads; John Scarlett and Ed. Goodwine for 2 each; Saml. Sherman may let his house stand near Roxbury Gate, where it now is, but must set his fence straight "as he do not incroch vpon the High-way;" Goodman Marshall, and goodm. Reynolds, and B. Gridley may buy the marsh at Hogg Island; Peter the Dutchman allowed one acre at Long

Island; John Robertsonne to have the lot granted to Bible, which he forfeited by not building on it; John Woodward a house lot next Henry Gray, if he build on it in 5 months; Ed. Goodwine a lot next W. Briscoe's, same conditions; Natha. Willis is spared clearing half an acre at Spectacle Island, "in regard his servant did scald his legg;" W^m Hibbins chosen Treasurer, except of the taxes; Ben. Gillum to have the ungranted land at Long Island.

May 25. — Ed. Ting may dig turf on the island among the flats by Mill Field, going to Charlestown; Christopher Stanley may buy 6 acres on Hogg Island, "yf it be here to be sould."

June 29. — Cotton Flack a house lot in the way from Mr. Colborn's to the sea, next goodm. Briscoe's; Robt. Howen a great lot near Braintree for 4 heads; John Riall a lot at the Mount for 4 also; Geo. Barrell may have that acre at Spectacle Island passed over to him by goodm. Smith.

Aug. 31. — W^m Douglas may be a townsman, "he behaving himself as becometh a Christian man." Theodore Atkinson a great lot at Mud. R. for 2 heads, if to be had.

Sept. 28. — The townsmen chosen for the next 6 months were, Mr. Bellingham, Winthrop, senr., Ting, Gibbons, Colburn, Eliot, Newgate, Atherton, "Hough," and W^m Hibbins; Mr. Newgate and bro. Jona. Negus, † surveyors of Highways, and W^m Courser, Town Crier. Henry Webb to have 200 acres at the Mount, beyond Monocott river, adjoining the farms of Mr. Edwd. Ting and Edwd. Hutchin-

* See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243.

† See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243.

Whatever difficulties happened about the country, Boston was the point where they were to be settled; and though the people of this Town are accused of minding other people's business as well as their own, there is generally some grounds, on which a pretty good defence may be set up for their seeming officiousness. They had given themselves a great deal of trouble about the religious aberrations of the people of Rhode Island, ever since a part of the Church of Boston had been settled there.* It was very unsatisfactory to some here, to know that many members of the Church, who had not been excommunicated, were in full communion with others who were under that anathema.

At this time the case of Mr. Hanserd Knollys was under special notice. This gentleman, according to his own account, had been per-



HANSERD KNOLLYS.

secuted and prosecuted in the High Commission Court, about five years before, and, being apprehended in Boston in Lincolnshire, was for some time kept a prisoner in the house of the warrant officer. At length he so terrified the conscience of that officer, that he set open his doors and let him escape. Proceeding immediately to London, he there waited to find a ship to take him to New England. But it was so long before an opportunity offered, that he had "neither silver nor gold left," but only "six brass farthings." His wife, more provident than himself, however, had, unknown to him, five pounds, which she gave him. Thus embarking in want and dis-

son; bro. Robt. Scott 200 do., next bro. Webb's — no allowance for "rockieness or swampee."

Oct. 26. — Bro. Peter Oliver may have 60 acres at Mud. R., if to be had; bro. Jas Oliver 40 there. Mr. Colburn, Mr. Eliot, and Mr. Peter Oliver, to see that a bridge be made at Mud. R. as ordered; Mr. Cogan to see that the bridge ordered to be built at Romney Marsh be "donne with all speede." John Biggs sold 4 acres at Mud. R. at 4s. the acre; Bro. W^m Talmage to have 5 acres added to his at same place, a former grant conferred to bro. Ed. Fletcher; Euan Thomas to be considered of for a resident; Leonard Buttall asks leave to set up a lime kiln at Fox hill.

Nov. 30. — Bro. Edmond Jackline to mowe the marsh formerly mowed by bro. Pease.

Dec. 28. — Miles Tarne to have land at Long Island, and to be considered in regard to a lot

for 5 heads at Mud. R. "Bro. Day" to be considered on the same request. Bro. Alexr. Beck to mow marsh in the New field near where "Mr. Hough takes boat."

The rate this year made by the Townsmen, amounting to £179, "for the discharge of the country levy, was delivered to Mr. Henry Webb, constable."

Bro. John Button chosen Constable in place of Mr. John Cogan.

* March 1st, 1640. — "The Church of Boston sent three brethren, viz. — Capt. Edward Gibbons, Mr. [William] Hibbins, and Mr. Oliver, with letters to Mr. Coddington and the rest of our Members at Aquidday, to understand their judgments in divers points of religion, formerly maintained by all, or divers of them, and to require them to give account to the Church of their unwarrantable practice in communicating with excommunicated persons, &c. When

tress, sickness and death, and a protracted voyage of twelve weeks, all conspired to try the fortitude of this conscientious Puritan. In the midst of the ocean their water became nauseous, their bread rotten, and other provisions were in a like condition. They sailed from Gravesend on the twenty-sixth of April, 1638, in a ship commanded by a Captain Goodlad, in company with the Nicholas of London, and several others.* From this ship they were separated in a very dark and stormy night, after they had kept company twenty-one days. They, however, arrived at Boston about the twentieth of July following, having lost one child on the voyage, which died of convulsion fits. "But," says Mr. Knollys, "God was gracious to us, and led us through those great deeps, and ere we went on shore, came one and enquired for me, and told me a friend that was gone from Boston to Rhode Island had left me his house to sojourn in; to which we went and two families more with us, who went suddenly to their friends and other relations in the country; and I, being poor, was necessitated to work daily with my hoe, for the space of almost three weeks. The Magistrates were told by the Ministers that I was an Antinomian, and desired they would not suffer me to abide in their district. But, within the time limited by their law in that case, two strangers coming to Boston from Piscatauah, hearing of me by a mere accident, got me to go with them to that plantation, and to preach there, where I remained about four years. Being sent for back to England by my aged father, I returned with my wife and one child about three years old, and she was then great with another; we came safe to London on the twenty-fourth of December, 1641."†

People should be cautious in passing judgment condemnatory of the actions of those who for conscience sake endured such hardships, and suffered so many privations, even though cotemporary evidence may seem to favor such judgment. The intolerance of the Rulers of those times, as in all other times, doubtless, warped their decisions, and caused them to lend a willing ear to scandals of doubtful foundation, when they tended to degrade the objects of their suspicion. Mr. Knollys went to reside in a part of the country where the people were

they came, they found that those of them who dwell at New-*port*, had joined themselves to a church there newly constituted, and thereupon they refused to hear them as messengers of our Church, or to receive the Church's letter." — *Winthrop*, i. 329. Thus this Author dispatches the result of the Mission in a very summary manner. He adds that, "the Elders and most of the Church [of Boston] would have cast them [of Rhode Island] out, but all being not agreed, it was deferred." — *Ibid*.

* The time of his sailing, the name of the captain with whom he sailed, and several other facts here stated, are not found in Mr. Knolly's Life, cited in the next note, but are derived from a comparison of Josselyn and Winthrop with Knolly's own account.

† "The Life and Death of that Old Disciple of Jesus Christ, and Eminent Minister of the

Gospel, Mr. HANSERD KNOLLYS, who died in the 93d year of his age," 19th Sept., 1691. "Written with his own hand to the year 1672, and continued in general, in an Epistle by Mr. WILLIAM KIFFIN." 12mo.: London, 1812. — Concerning this curious book I will just remark, that the author probably had not the remotest idea when he wrote his "Life and Death," that ever anybody would consult it for anything but the edification they might derive in a purely spiritual point of view; nor does "Mr. William Kiffin" enter at all into the *prophane* history of Mr. Knollys, though he pretends to have done so "in general." Notwithstanding what I have here said of this book, should any of my readers consult it, they will not probably complain that I have over-estimated it. But one copy of it is known by me to be in this country.

in a very unsettled state, for the want of a due administration of good government.* In such a community, under such circumstances, it is very difficult for a person, however well-disposed he may be, to escape entirely all causes of censure. Such was Mr. Knollys' case at Dover, the place over which Captain Underhill was Governor. The latter had been a means of giving him a place which provided him support, and he thus became under obligation to him. This led him into difficulty with the Authorities at Boston; for, at his instigation, he had written letters into England unfavorable to them, in one of which he said, "they were more arbitrary than the High Commission Court, and that there was no real religion in the country." But before he left New England he came to Boston, and openly confessed himself in error, and this was supposed to have been one cause which moved Captain Underhill to come and do likewise afterwards, as previously related.

Whatever may have been the acts of Mr. Knollys in New England, certain it is he became a man of distinction in his own country after his return there; and his memory is held in the greatest esteem to this day, by a highly respected class of people, who have honored it by instituting a learned society bearing the name of HANSERD KNOLLYS.†

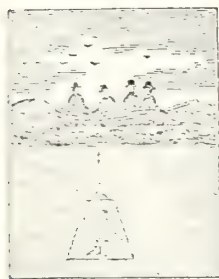
* The Court at Boston, taking advantage of this situation of affairs, had intimated its intention to extend its jurisdiction beyond the Merrimack—"three miles to the northward of it and every part thereof," by a line to be drawn from the most eastern to the most western point. This put in execution would have swallowed up the whole of New Hampshire, and no inconsiderable part of Maine; thus leaving Gorges' and Mason's Patents "nowhere." The pretensions of this government were strengthened, owing to the unsettled state of the settlements on the Pascataqua. These settlements, which were four in number, had each its Governor, and were under no instructions from the Government in England; hence the continual feuds and contentions among them. And, owing to the internal distractions in that country, present relief could not be expected; therefore, some of the most considerate among them applied to the Government at Boston to be annexed to Massachusetts. After about a year's negotiation, Articles, dated in April, 1641, were agreed upon,

and "signed in the presence of the General Court, by Geo. Willys, Robt. Saltonstall, William Whiting, Edwd. Holiock and Thomas Makepeace, in behalf of themselves and the other partners of the two Patents."—See Belknap, *N. H.*, i. 52-6.

† I had completed thus far this History, when a new edition of Winthrop's Journal made its appearance. It had been looked for with some anxiety, presuming its notes would be greatly improved, and that by their aid I might make my work more valuable. Suffice it to say, that my anticipations of advantage from the new edition will be but very partially realized. The Editor, so far as I can discover, from not a very thorough examination, has been content to issue the work without much additional matter, and with very slight corrections. It was thought proper thus specially to notice Winthrop's Journal at this time (July, 1853), as it has been, and will yet be, one of my best authorities, for the period it covers; and its notes are often appropriate, and the result of great research.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Expedition to the Isle of Sable. — Some Families emigrate to the West Indies. — Disaster and Return. — Death of Capt. Peirce. — Rhode Island People taken and imprisoned. — Great Training. — Thanksgiving. — Destructive Tempest. — Proceedings against Mr. Maverick. — Body of Liberties. — Accident from Lightning. — Severe Winter. — Remarkable Hog Case. — Capt. Keayne. — Mrs. Sherman. — George Story. — A Fast. — Osaamekin visits Boston. — Edward Bendall. — A Diving Bell successfully employed. — Cotton's Seven Vials. — Alarm from the Indians. — Proceedings against them. — They are Disarmed. — Miantinimo. — Comes to Boston to repel Charges against him. — His magnanimous Conduct. — How entertained.



DIVING BELL.

June 2. AT the General Election Mr. Bellingham* is chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicott Deputy-Governor. Mr. Nathaniel Ward preached the Sermon.† Among other things the Court ordered, "that the Elders should be desired to agree upon a form of catechism which might be put forth in print."

A very successful business is carried on to the Isle of Sable this summer, by some of the enterprising men of Boston. A vessel with twelve men went there provided to continue a year. Their return was in oil and the teeth of the morse, or walrus. "One John Webb, alias Evered," was the conductor of the enterprise.‡

Some families went from Boston to settle at Providence in the West Indies. They went in two small vessels, to the number of thirty men, five women, and eight children. Captain William Peirce conducted the enterprise — the same gentleman who had been of such service to the Colony from its beginning; but in this expedition he fell a sacrifice to Spanish barbarity, being killed by a cannon shot as he was entering the port of his destination. No explanation is given for the outrage.

* See ante, p. 176. The autograph of Gov. Bellingham at this period is here represented.

R. Bellingham

† Winthrop has an agreeable criticism upon that performance, but whether a just one or not, is a matter of not much consequence now. Winthrop was displeased, because "some of the Freeman" had chosen Mr. Ward without asking leave "of the Magistrates or Governor," and "seeing he had cast off his pastor's place at Ipswich, and was now no minister by the received determination of our Churches; and, among other things, he advised the people to keep all their Magistrates in an equal rank, and not give more honor or power to one than to another." — *Journal*, ii. 35. Mr. Ward recommended also, "that Magistrates should not give private advice, and take knowledge of any man's cause before it came to public hearing." — *Ibid.*, 36. This was taken as in-

direct advice for the employment of Attorneys in legal questions. But Lawyers were held in abhorrence by the Puritan fathers. Winthrop brings six arguments against receiving that advice. A little later than this, Mr. John Rogers, the famous Puritan preacher of London, thus speaks of the "incredible wickedness of that profession, their guiltiness of all manner of sinnes which the nation lyes under, as blood, theft, oppression, injustice, contentions, hatred, cozenage, and fraud, rebellion, lying, perjury, and what not." — *Heavenly Nymph*, &c. 4to, 1653, p. 221. This being the current opinion of those days, it is no wonder the people of Boston were determined to exclude them from a footing here. Indeed, up to the time of our great Revolution, Lawyers were looked upon as a class unsuited to good society, by a considerable portion of the community:

‡ Lechford, *Plain Dealing*, 45.

At the time the vessel was fired upon, "the deck was full of passengers," yet none were hurt except Captain Peirce and one Samuel Wakeman. The latter was mortally wounded. He belonged to Hartford, and may have been the same who was a Freeman of Massachusetts, 1632, and three years later a Deputy to the General Court from Roxbury. He was upon a trading design, and did not belong to those who intended to settle on the island. The others returned to New England soon after this calamitous outrage.

In the course of the summer very unfavorable accounts were brought from Rhode Island; that Mrs. Hutchinson was constantly broaching new heresies; that many were turned Anabaptists, would not wear any arms, denied all magistracy among Christians, and "divers" other opinions quite as alarming as these. So that the conscientious Rulers of Boston were much grieved, if not angry, at what they considered bold presumption. And why an armed expedition was not dispatched into that Colony to break up the obnoxious nursery of errors, it is difficult to imagine. Perhaps they had too much business to attend to at home. However, they soon had an opportunity of showing the Sept. 7. Islanders that it was not very safe for any of them to make their appearance in Boston; for Mr. William Collins, the same before noticed,* and Francis Hutchinson, son of Mrs. Hutchinson, coming here on business, were taken up, imprisoned and fined.† They would not pay the fine, however, and were eventually discharged.‡

Sept. 15. A "great training" commenced in Boston, which continued two days. The number of the trainers is set down at 1200, and it was remarked "that there was no man drunk," though liquors abounded; and that no man swore an oath, nor was there any fighting. This certainly was remarkable, but there may be those who will question the fact, presuming that the Governor and Council might not hear all that was said during those two days of trainings.§

Notwithstanding the harsh usage dealt out here to those who differed from them in opinions, the Rulers appointed a thanksgiving to be kept in all the Churches "for the good success of the Parliament in England," which was kept accordingly, on the second of September.

* *Ante*, page 227.

† Mr. Collins was fined £100, and Hutchinson £50. "We assessed the fines the higher," says Winthrop, "partly that, by occasion thereof they might be the longer kept in from doing harm (for they were kept close prisoners), and also because that family had put the country to so much charge in the Synod and other occasions, to the value of £500 at least." Upon this proceeding, Winthrop's commentator remarks:—"Such arbitrary conduct cannot be overlooked by faithful history in silence; yet nothing can be more clear than that our Magistrates thought they were doing God service."—*Journal*, ii. 40.

‡ Winthrop makes this excuse for the con-

duct of the Government:—"Because the winter drew on, and the prison was inconvenient, we abated them [their fines] to £40, and to £20. At last we took their own bonds for their fine, and so dismissed them. They refused to come to the church assemblies, except they were led, and so they came duly."—*Journal*, ib. I suppose? "coming duly" means that they were forced *duly* to the attendance at meetings. This was a practice in other cases. Backus, from the *Colony Records*, says they were "banished upon pain of death."

§ Lechford says, "Profane swearing, drunkenness, and beggars, are but rare in the compass of this Patent."—*Plain Dealing*, 29.

Nov. 12. There was a remarkable tempest of above two days' continuance. It was "as fierce as a hurricane." "Divers boats and a bark were cast away in the harbor," but fortunately no houses were blown down nor lives lost. The tide rose to a fearful height, higher than it had been known since the Town was settled.

About this time Mr. Samuel Maverick was put to some trouble on account of his having shown hospitality to some accused persons. One Thomas Owen, and Sarah, wife of William Hale, had been imprisoned under the charge of illicit conduct. They found means to escape from custody, and it was ascertained that Mr. Maverick had admitted them to his house. Nothing appears to show why he harbored them. He may have allowed them refuge as any other humane person would have done, seeing them in great distress. Whatever the circumstances may have been, he was fined one hundred pounds for such benevolent hospitality, but it was remitted in part afterwards. Several other persons were fined in small sums for being accessory to the escape of those persons, as Mr. Chedley, Mr. Duckett, Mr. Wollaston, Mr. Oateley, William Cope, and Mary Wilbee. Mr. Dutchfield, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Hale, "were admonished to take heed of the like concealment."

A code of laws, called "The Body of Liberties," was adopted by the General Court this year.* It consisted of one hundred laws, and was originally drawn up by Mr. Nathaniel Ward of Ipswich, the Author of that curious book entitled "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam."†

The winter of the years 1641-2 was exceedingly severe. From their own observations and the accounts of the Indians, the people of

* These laws are printed in Hutchinson's *Collection of Orig. Papers*, 161, &c.

† Jan. 25. — The Townsmen chosen were Bellingham, Winthrop, Hough, Ting, Gibbons, Newgate, Culburne, Eliot and Hibbins. Abraham Warren had formerly a grant at Hogg Island. Evan Thomas and Henry Dawson admitted inhabitants. Mr. Bworne [Bourne?] desires a place next his house "for building the ship." Edward Arnoll proposed for a resident. Richd. Bennett and Thomas Stanburie admitted inhabitants.

Feb. 22. — Abraham Hagburne and Richd. Sanford admitted residents; Abra. Perrie sells his house. Philip Rice admitted an inhabitant.

Mar. 20. — Bro. John Leveret to have a little plot of marsh in the New field — about 3 rods. A street to "go up to the New field by Sentry Hill," for the Town's use.

April 26. — Bro. Wentworth Day to have 100 acres at Mud. R. Bro. James Johnson,* bro. Buttoll and Goodm. Tarne, may use a rod a piece "adjoining Mr. Hibbins his garden pale, and so over towards Elder Oliver's little house, and down to the Creek eastward, and up to the Highway westward, for dressing his leather."

May 3. — John Search admitted an inhab. Bro. John Davis* and bro. Thos. Buttolph to

agree with a cowkeeper for the summer. Bro. Everill and bro. Burden may sink a pit at the upper end of the wharf before bro. Burden's house, and put a vessel therein to water their leather; and if it be found an annoyance they are to fill it up again.

July 26. — Robt. Wing to have 20 bushels of Indian corn for looking to the low water mark in Sentry Field this year. Anthony Stanyan admitted an inhabitant. Bro. John Oliver* chosen Treasurer, and to keep the "Towne's bookes." Thus a Town Clerk was chosen. Henry Stevens to have a lot for 5 heads at "Brayntry."

Sept. 27. — David Phippen admitted a townsman, and may have a house lot if he can find one. Job Judkin a lot for 5 heads at the Mount "als Brayntry." John Search a house lot near Robt. Walker. John Bigs, for work "done about the Magistrates seat," to have the marsh in Sentinel-hill Field, about one and a half acres, for 40s.

Nov. 29. — Sampson Shore admitted a townsman, also Edwd. Arnold. Granted to Valentine Hill, merchant of Boston, and his associates, all the waste ground from the point of the marsh between Wm. Ting's pale and John Lowe's house, &c., for a term of years, for wharfing and warehousing purposes.

* See his autograph, ante, p. 243.

* See his autograph, ante, p. 243.

Boston judged that the cold had not been so intense for forty years. The ice was so strong in the harbor that "horses and carts went over in many places where ships had sailed," and it extended "to sea so far as one could well discern.* Captain Gibbons and his wife, with Feb. 17. divers on foot by them, came riding from his farm at Pullen Point, right over to Boston, when it had thawed so much as the water was above the ice half a foot in some places; and they passed with loads of wood and six oxen from Muddy River to Boston. When it thawed it removed great rocks, of above a ton or more weight, and brought them on shore. The snow was likewise very deep."

There came many letters by a ship from England which arrived at the Isle of Shoals this winter. These letters were dispatched to Boston by a footman, who remarkably escaped drowning at Salem. The person who piloted him across the river upon the ice, fell in and was drowned, while the bearer of the letters extricated himself as the ice gave way under his feet. The letters of which he was the bearer, it may be inferred, were of great moment to the people of Boston, for Winthrop says, God preserved the bearer of them more on account of the letters "than for any goodness of the man" who had them in charge!†

June 22. The wind-mill at the north end of the Town was struck by lightning, shattering the "upper sail in many pieces, and, missing the stones, entered the standard, rived it down in three parts to the bottom, and one of the spars; and the main standard being bound about with a great iron hoop, fastened with many long spikes, it was plucked off, broken in the middle, and thrown upon the floor, and the boards upon the sides of the mill rived off, the sacks in the mill set on fire, and the miller, being under the mill upon the ground chopping a piece of board, was struck dead; but company coming in found him to breathe, and within an hour or two he began to stir, and strove with such force, as six men could scarce hold him down. The next day he came to his senses, but knew nothing of what had befallen him, but found himself very sore. His hair on one side of his head and beard was singed, one of his shoes torn off his foot, but his foot not hurt."

At the General Court now in session, there fell out, says Winthrop, "a great business upon a very small occasion." This "great business" had its beginning as far back as 1636,‡ and may be thus briefly stated. A hog had been found running at large, contrary to a Town order. It

* "To end this year 1641," says Johnson, "the Lord was pleased to send a very sharp winter, insomuch that the harbor, where ships ordinarily anchor, was frozen over of such a thickness that it became passable both for horse, carts, and oxen, for the space of five weeks." — *Wonder-Work. Prov.*, 170.

† His name is not mentioned, nor is the name of the ship given. See *Journal*, ii. 60.

‡ Dr. Snow refers the origin of the hog controversy to 1638, but Winthrop, whom I fol-

low, says expressly that it had its rise in 1636. — See his *Journal*, ii. 60. There was a hog taken up in 1638, as has been noticed in an extract from the Town records, *ante*, page 241, but nothing appears in the original records authorizing a belief that it was the same hog about which this difficulty arose. It is true that in both cases the animals were of the feminine gender, but this is hardly sufficient evidence that the cases are identical.

was taken up and delivered to Captain Keayne, and the Captain used the prescribed means to find its owner, but none appeared. He put it into an enclosure with one of his own, and there it remained many months. Meantime, having occasion, he killed his own hog. Not long after, a woman appeared, wife of one Sherman, her husband being in England, who, having lost a hog, averred that the one killed was the hog she had lost; her claim not being sustainable upon the one left, because it had other marks than those she alleged were upon hers. Whereupon Mrs. Sherman* immediately noised it abroad that Captain Keayne had thus deprived her of her real property. In such cases, as has been heretofore intimated, Captain Keayne stood a poor chance for justice, however good his cause might prove to be; for the common people were prejudiced against him because he had been, as was commonly reported, a sharp dealer with them. However, the accusation against the Captain was soon made a Church matter of; but upon investigation, in which "many witnesses were examined," he was fully acquitted; the Church being satisfied no doubt that the charge was made through a mistake, if it were not a piece of knavery.

In all probability the affair would have rested here, but for the popular clamor, of which one George Story, a young merchant from London, was a leader. He lodged in the house with Mrs. Sherman, and may have been the prime mover in the first instance; but of this there does not appear to be any evidence. Story had a grudge against Captain Keayne, because he had been ordered before the Governor, at some previous period, to answer to a charge of living in the house of Mrs. Sherman under suspicious circumstances, and that it was Captain Keayne who was the cause of his being thus dealt with. However this may have been, Story caused an action to be brought in the Superior Court, where, upon a full hearing, Captain Keayne was again cleared, and costs allowed him. He also recovered twenty pounds damages, for having been falsely, as the Court believed, accused of stealing a hog.†

Story became exceedingly exasperated at this decision, and sought revenge in the most persevering manner. In "searching town and country to find matter against Captain Keayne about this stray" hog, he at length procured a witness, who had testified at the late trial in favor of Keayne, who now pretended that he had on that trial forsworn himself. Upon this discovery, Story petitioned the General Court, in the woman's name, for a rehearing of the cause. This being granted, the "best part of seven days" was spent in the new trial. Even then it was not determined, for there were nine Magistrates and thirty Deputies, and a verdict could not be obtained without the greater number of

* She did not belong to that class of females authorizing the significant prefix Mrs. to her name, but I have lent it to her on the present occasion, to avoid a harshness of language.

† In the progress of this "sow business," as Winthrop calls it, the next year, for the sake of peace, Captain Keayne relinquished

his claim to the fine of £20, which, though awarded him, had not been paid, excepting perhaps £3 for the charges of witnesses. He was at any time ready to remit the whole, if Mrs. Sherman would acknowledge her error of falsely accusing him. — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 117.

both, which neither had. The present state of the case was partly owing to "cross witnesses," and "some prejudices which blinded some men's judgments that they could not attend the true nature and course of the evidence." Notwithstanding, it was finally determined in favor of Captain Keayne, there being for him seven of the Magistrates and eight Deputies, and against him two Magistrates and fifteen Deputies, and there were seven Deputies "which stood doubtful." Things standing thus in a clear case, there was somewhat of contention among the members of the Court. This contention did not cease until 1644, and then the General Court was divided into two branches; and thus originated the present Senate and House of Representatives;* and thus truly did "a great business grow out of a very small occasion."†

In the case of Captain Keayne it is strikingly manifest how men of narrow minds and vindictive spirits were ready to show themselves as soon as he was accused. It was sufficient for their wicked purposes that he was accused, and their prejudiced judgments were ready to pervert all circumstances to his disadvantage. Unfortunately, the existence of people with such minds did not cease with the trial of Captain Keayne.

This singular trial must have perplexed and mortified all the better part of the community, and the expense accruing was no small item at that day.‡

July 21. There was a general Fast kept, occasioned principally for the danger England was conceived to be in, and the "foul sins" of this country.

July 23. Massasoit, the "great Sachem of Pokanoket," now called Osamekin, came to Boston, accompanied by many men and other Sagamores. Winthrop says he entertained them kindly; but the nature of his business is not mentioned.

By the enterprise and skill of Edward Bendall, the hull of the *Mary Rose*, which was blown up in August of the last year and sunk, was raised, and the harbor cleared of the obstruction which it occasioned. The owners had been allowed a year by the Court to weigh the wreck, but they had made no effort to do so. Bendall was encouraged to undertake the labor, having been offered all he could realize if he fully succeeded, and half of what he could get if he succeeded but partially.

* Though the case of Captain Keayne was one of great vexation to him in its time, it has often since afforded lyceum orators and their auditors much amusement. One said recently, when the General Court was in session, that "Mrs. Sherman's pig was the origin of the present Senate, and he hoped the members of it would not disgrace their progenitor."

† See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 142-3, who, under date 1645, has reference probably to this case. He says, "About this time there was a struggle for power between the Assistants, or Magistrates, and the Deputies. The latter could not bear their votes should

lose their effect by the non-concurrence of the former, who were so much fewer in number; but, by the firmness of Mr. Winthrop, the Assistants maintained their right at this time, and the Deputies not being able to prevail, moved that the two houses might sit apart." For a most lucid and excellent view of the Government and Laws of Massachusetts, see its *Judicial History* by the able hand of Judge Washburn, 8vo. Boston, 1840.

‡ The next year the Town "allowed Wm. Courser 20s. for his service about the swine, which tooke him up (as he sayeth) about three weekes time."

He made use of the Diving Bell, which was probably the first ever used in the harbor of Boston,* though it does not appear to have been known by that name until long after.† The knowledge of its principle, however, is coeval with the first and simplest branches of mechanics.‡

Two ships arrived from England about this time “but brought not above five or six passengers. There came in one of them some copies of Mr. Cotton’s book entitled the Seven Vials. It was printed from notes taken in characters, without the author’s consent, and he was displeased that it should appear not having a proper revision by himself.” §

Sept. 1. The people of Connecticut were greatly alarmed by a discovery which they had made, that the Indians, “all over the country,” had entered into a conspiracy to cut off the English throughout New England. A message to this effect being received at Boston, measures for security were at once taken. Kutshamokin was visited by an armed force, at Braintree, and ordered to appear at Boston, which he did without hesitation, and his men were disarmed. But, on examination, nothing suspicious could be found against the chief or his men, and he was dismissed. Notwithstanding, orders were sent to Newbury, Ipswich, and Rowley, to disarm Pasaconaway and other Indians on the Merrimac; and yet it did not appear that there was any evil design intended by the Indians towards the English at all. But the proceeding had the bad effect of vexing the Indians, and serving the undertakers of it no good purpose whatever. It was probably the case that some of the evil-disposed Indians had circulated the report to annoy some of their own countrymen; for they always had feuds among themselves. || Their history, like that of the white people, is full of similar examples.

* Beckman, in his *History of Inventions*, tells us of a Diving Bell successfully employed at Toledo in the presence of the Emperor Charles V. Hence its use is carried back prior to 1553, the year of that Emperor’s death. They were employed at various times not long after the destruction of the “Invincible Armada,” but with what success is not known.

† I think it is not to be found in Dictionaries before the time of Dr. Noah Webster.

‡ Winthrop’s description of Bendall’s contrivance for submarine operations is worth extracting. “He made two great tubs, bigger than a butt, very tight, and open at one end, upon which were hanged so many weights as would sink it to the ground (600 feet). It was let down, the diver sitting in it, a cord in his hand to give notice when they should draw him up, and another cord to show when they should remove it from place to place, so he could continue in his tub near half an hour, and fasten ropes to the ordnance, and put the lead, &c., into a net or tub. When the tub was drawn up, one knocked upon the head of it, and thrust a long pole under water, which the diver laid hold of, and so was drawn up by it; for they might not draw the open end out

of water for endangering him, &c.” — *Journal*, ii. 73.

§ A copy of this is in the library of the writer. Mr. Humfrey caused it to be printed, for the copy of which he received 300 of the books. He wrote the preface to it, from which it appears he viewed it to be of great importance that it should be circulated at that time in England. This was his apology for printing it “before the author had afforded him more liberty and leisure to have fyled over his owne notions.” In the close of his preface Mr. Humfrey prays “for the most desired ruine and speedily begunne downefall of that most cursed kingdome of Antichrist, according to the scope and drift of that Prophesie, expressed in the pouring out of these Seven Vials.”

|| According to the account received from the authorities of Connecticut, the people of that colony had some cause of alarm. It was stated that three different Indians, “near about the same time, and in the same manner, one to Mr. Eaton, of New Haven, another to Mr. Ludlow, and the third to Mr. Haynes;” that this last named Indian “being hurt near to death by a cart, &c., sent after Mr. Haynes, and told him that Englishman’s God was

However, messengers were sent to Miantonimo to acquaint him with what was suspected of the Indians, and to request him to come to Boston. The messengers, as on all former occasions, found him above suspicion, and he soon after came to Boston, as he was requested.

Sept. 8. There is no record of any New England Indian superior to Miantonimo. Indeed there is none which will compare with him for wisdom, magnanimity and justice; and, had not a mistaken and wicked policy been adopted towards him by his English neighbors, his biography would, ere this, have shone as one of the brightest gems in the annals of New England. But in this history, he can only be spoken of incidentally. His memory claims a special treatise, which, one day, it will no doubt receive. May it be worthy of him.

When he came to Boston agreeably to the request before stated, the court was assembled, "and before his admission," says Governor Winthrop, "we considered how to treat with him, for we knew him to be a very subtle man, and agreed upon the points and order, and that none should propound anything to him but the Governor, and if any other of the Court had anything material to suggest, he should impart it to the Governor."

Such were the precautions taken by the wisest and most learned men in the country, to enter into a negotiation with a single Indian who never knew schools nor courts of law — nothing but the school of nature and the natural laws of man, as taught by his own native genius. Here was truly a Nobleman of Nature, in the presence of men who would have been great in any age — men supported by all the learning afforded by the Universities of England, and the experience of years. These were taking counsel how they should proceed in a treaty with a single unlettered Savage from the depths of the wilderness! Where can there be found an instance parallel to this? Who is there that would not be proud of this position of Miantonimo?

All things being arranged, Miantonimo was assigned a place at the foot of the Council table, "over against the Governor;" but he would not proceed on any business excepting in the presence of some of his own Counsellors, observing, that they should bear witness on their return to his people of all his sayings. And it was noted by the English, that in all his answers he was very deliberate, and showed a good understanding in the principles of justice and equity, and great ingenuity. He called upon the English to produce his accusers, but they could bring nothing but vague rumors and hearsay statements, and they thus found themselves in a most awkward and unpleasant predicament. He had come to Boston to answer to a capital charge, and he probably believed that the authorities stood in the light of accusers if they did not produce others; and he remarked, that if the charge

angry with him, and had set Englishman's foot, but they were doubtless abused by some cow [oxen] to kill him, because he had con- of their mischievous countrymen, whose aim cealed such a conspiracy." These Indians it was to bring about a war. — See Winthrop's may have believed there was such a plot on *Journal*, ii. 79.

were proved against him, he came prepared to suffer the consequences ; and now if he had been accused falsely, he expected that the authors of such accusation would be subjected to the same penalty.* He thought it a strange course for the English to pursue upon a mere rumor, for they acknowledged they knew none of the parties who had accused the Narragansets, and he asked why they had taken away the arms of the Indians upon such an occasion. The Governor excused the English as well as he could, and the chief relieved his embarrassment by expressing himself satisfied with his explanation. He gave the Court to understand that he believed Uncas to be at the root of all the mischief, for it was evident he was in an underhand manner using every wile he could to discredit the Narragansets with the English.

This was the most important negotiation which had ever been held with the Indians in New England.† It lasted two days. Miantonimo said he had been dissuaded from going to Boston, for that the English would put him to death ; he replied that, inasmuch as he had done them no wrong, he did not in the least fear to come here ; and, moreover, that he would come at any time to meet Uncas face to face, and that he would prove his treachery if he durst come.

While in Boston the Indians were furnished with their meals at a table by themselves. Miantonimo did not seem pleased with thus being denied the Governor's table, and did not readily partake his food in this way, but on the Governor's sending him meat from his own table, he accepted it, and made no farther objection. When he was ready to leave the town, a coat was given him, and one to each of his counsellors. After taking his leave of the Governor and such of the magistrates as were present, he took a second leave for those magistrates which were not present, by returning and giving his hand to the Governor again, saying that was for the absent ones.

Notwithstanding, the Connecticut people reiterated their complaints and suspicions, and had some new grounds for them, yet the authorities at Boston wisely refused to make war upon the Indians. They kept up watches and guards, however, until near the end of October, and meantime returned the Indians all their arms.

* Had he studied in the same schools with Michael Servetus he could not have employed arguments more like those made use of by that martyr than he did. — "*Pourquoy Messieurs, je demande que mon faultz accusateur soit puni poena talionis,*" et cet. — Rosco, Leo X. iv. 437.

† On some accounts, perhaps, that of Roger Williams with the Narragansets may be thought to be of as great moment. — See *ante*, p. 204. In the next chapter the story of the melancholy sacrifice of Miantonimo to envy and interest will be given — to the envy of the Mohegans and the interest of the English.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Few Emigrants from England. — Mr. Humfrey and Others leave New England. — Commercial Enterprise. — Thomas Lechford. — Some Account of him and his Stay in Boston. — His "Plain Dealing" about it. — Appalling News from England. — Raging of the Civil War. — Capt. Coytmore's Voyage to Fayal. — An Endeavor to defeat Winthrop's Re-election as Governor. — Union of the Colonies. — Arrival of emigrant Children. — Arrival of a French armed Ship. — Mons. La Tour. — His Entertainment at Boston. — Receives Aid to go against D'Aulnay. — Government censured for allowing it. — Inhabitants begin to manufacture Cotton Goods. — Censurable Conduct of the Rulers towards the Indians. — They cause a War between the Mohegans and Narragansets. — Case of Miantonimo. — Adjudged to die by the English. — His Execution. — Interference with the Shawmut Settlers. — Case of Samuel Gorton and Others.



ANCIENT SPINNING-WHEEL.

SO few people had come over from England, of late, that there was very little demand for land; cattle had fallen in value; the present season was unfavorable to crops; all of which, added to the fears from the Indians, caused several gentlemen to leave the country and return to their native land. Among them were Mr. Humfrey, four ministers, and a schoolmaster. Under these circumstances,

Sept. 22. a fast was ordered to be kept. Among the occasions for its appointment, was the

ill news out of England, concerning the breach between the King and Parliament, and the unseasonableness of the weather, which changed, says Winthrop, "so soon as the fast was agreed upon."

A little before this, ten ships had sailed from Boston, laden with pipe staves and other produce of the country. Four of these ships were built hereabouts the present year. Soon after, there arrived a small ship from Madeira with wine and sugar. She belonged to a Mr. Nov. 22. Parish, who came in her. He exchanged his cargo for pipe staves, and thus the commerce of Boston begun to advance in a small and almost imperceptible way.

In the course of the present year, Mr. Thomas Lechford published a book about this country, which he entitled "Plain Dealing, or, Newes from New England."* He returned to England about the close of last year, "having been forth of his native country," as he expresses it, "almost for the space of foure yeeres last past." He appears to have left Boston on the third of August, 1641, in company with the commissioners who went for England by the way of Newfoundland.† He probably came over with the intention of taking up his residence here in Boston, and to introduce the practice of law, that being his pro-

* Mr. Savage, I suppose, has reference to this poor lawyer. Perhaps he had evidence of his work in his notes to Winthrop's *Journal*, though he calls it *News from England*. It is so in both of his editions of that work. If Lechford made a book of this title I have never met with it. He says Lechford was a

poor lawyer. Perhaps he had evidence of his poverty; if so he has kept it to himself. He probably did not have reference to his abilities. But little is known of Mr. Lechford.

† See *ante*, p. 253. Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., went in the same company.

fession. He was the first lawyer that made the attempt, and he failed in it, owing to the circumstances already stated.* The time for tolerating lawyers had not yet arrived. The governor and magistrates thought themselves competent to decide all matters of difference between man and man.

Mr. Lechford was a man of good understanding, and his book upon the institutions of the Country is of great value, inasmuch as it gives an insight into many things which could not otherwise be obtained. His statements are honestly and accurately made, and must ever be consulted by all who desire minute and authentic information upon the civil and religious state of the country at the time he was here. He appears to have known many of the prominent men of Boston and the neighboring country before they came over; mentions his "old acquaintance, Master Roger Ludlow, Mr. Frost, sometime of Nottingham, and his sonnes, John and Henry Grey." Bailey cited Lechford's work in his "Disswasive," against Cotton, which occasioned the latter to censure the Plain Dealing. From Cotton, it appears that Lechford died soon after he had published his work, and that he had defended the celebrated Prynne in his trials. While in Boston he was employed in a cause between William Cole and Francis Doughty, but whether he was allowed to appear in Court as Counsel, there is some uncertainty.† When he was here, he says "the Generall and great Quarter Courts, were kept in the great Church Meeting-house at Boston, which is as faire a Meeting-house as they can provide; to which every Sabbath or Lord's Day they come by wringing of a bell, about nine of the clock, or before."‡

Mr. Lechford at this time says, "Master Bellingham" is Governor, Mr. Endicot Deputy Governor, Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Dudley, Mr. Humfrey, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Bradstreet, Mr. Stoughton, Mr. Winthrop, Jr., Mr. Nowell, Assistants; Mr. Nowell, Secretary; Mr. Stephen Winthrop, Recorder, whose office is to record all judgments, marriages, births, deaths, wills and testaments, bargains and sales, gifts, grants, and mortgages. There is a Marshall who is a Sheriff or Bailiff, and his deputy is the Jailer and Executioner."§

* See *ante*, p. 257.

† Possibly it was in the case of Cole vs. Doughty (3: 7: 1640) to which the Colony records refer, 1 Dec. 1640. The words of the record are — "Mr. Thomas Lechford, acknowledging he had overshot himselfe, and is sorry for it, promising to attend his calling, and not to meddle with controversies, was dismissed." — *Savage's Extract*. What "calling" he had assumed does not fully appear.

‡ Whether the bell were hung in the Meeting-house may admit of a question.

§ Jan. 10. — Deer Island ordered to be improved for the maintenance of a Free School for the Town, and "such other occasions as the Townsmen shall think meet." No more land to be granted to new inhabitants, "unlesse at

a generall Towne-meeting." Capt. Gibbons, Val. Hull, Henry Webb and Anthony Stodder appointed to trade with the Indians.

Jan. 31. — John Gutteridge, Richd. Taylour, Edwd. Weeden, Richd. Knight, and James Hudson, admitted townsmen.

Feb. 12. — The high-way from John Lowe's house by the Cove to Geo. Burden's house, to continue as "this day laid out."

Feb. 28. — Hugh Gunnison proposes to keep an "Ordinary with a cook's shop." John Peirce and Richd. Dexter admitted inhabitants. Dorchester men "forwarned" not to cut timber on any of the hills of upland in the marsh beyond Naponset river, and to make satisfaction for what they had cut already.

Mar. 4. — The remaining Town's land to be

It was remarked that the winter of 1642-3, though there fell more snow than had fallen in any winter since the settlement of the country, was not so hard and frosty as some others had been.

Feb. 12. Early in the year, news was received from England, of a character which caused the people of Boston great uneasiness; that the Parliament had lost 500 men at Brentford, and yet it had 21,000 men completely equipped in the field; that the King had fled to Reading and set the 500 prisoners free, they having taken an oath not to serve against him, and yet they had been absolved from that oath by those two Puritan Divines, Dr. Downing and Mr. Marshall; these, with many other items of intelligence of battles and contests in which their friends and kinsmen were engaged, caused the Churches to keep "Di- uers days of humiliation."

Mar. 20. The ship *Trial*, which had made a voyage to Fayal, Captain Coytmore, now arrived. He took out pipe-staves and fish, and found an excellent market for them; thence he went to St. Christopher,* where he not only had a successful trade, but he recovered considerable valuable property from some ships which had been cast away there. In this last business he employed the diving-bell with good success. He had license to prosecute this enterprise by the Governor of the Island, Sir Thomas Warner, and to have half of what he could get. By this voyage of Captain Coytmore, wine, sugar, and cotton were "made very plentiful and cheap" at Boston. Several other vessels returned soon after, making successful voyages also, "though some of them went among the Turks."

divided among the present inhabitants, and such as shall be admitted in two months.

Mar. 28. — Ralph Gulthorp, Jacob Chapman, Wm. Fay, Benj. Thwing, John Baker, Wm. Burnell, James Hudson, Robt. Williams, Wm. Franklin, Jr., Daniel Briscoe, and Thos. Blott, admitted townsmen. — Robert Turner to be paid 18s. for diet, beer and fire, for the selectmen.

Apl. 25. — Wm. Philpot and Robt. Turner admitted inhabitants. — John Ruggle cow-keeper in the Town.

May 2. — Mr. Wm. Ting and Capt. Gibbons chosen Deputies to the General Court. — Simon Rogers admitted a townsman.

Aug. 29. — The constables ordered to take care for building a "salt-peter house in the prison yard," 30 feet long and 14 wide, "set upon posts 7 foot high above ground, with a covering of thatch, and the walls clapboarded tight."

Oct. 31. — Edwd. Fletcher may finish his porch which he hath begun to set up 3 ft. into y^e street, but must take it away if found inconvenient. — Widow Tuthill may remove her windmill into the Fort, which must be placed as Capt. Gibbon directs.

The Constable to notify Robert Nash, butcher, to remove his garbage out of his yard near the street, and to provide some

other remote place for the slaughter of beasts, that such loathsome smells might be avoided. — Goodm. Basse and goodm. Backster, both of Braintree, may buy the overplus in the Three Hill-marsh there.

Dec. 26. — Thomas Joy, carpenter, may set up a house by the water side, by his dwelling-house in the Mill Field. — Harman Atwood admitted a townsman.

All parents are ordered to bring in a note of the names and date of births of all their children "unto the Clarke of the Writs, within a week after their birth, under the poenaelt of 6*l*. for every" neglect; burials ordered to be returned, also.

* Winthrop is my authority, ii. 94, but he calls the Island, *Christophers*. Casual readers of his *Journal* might suppose some other island was meant by him, and it was the duty of his Editor to have told his readers the reason that Winthrop so changes the name, which, in point of fact, is giving a false name. The reason of the misnomer is this: all places bearing the name of a Saint of the Catholics, were considered by our fathers here at that time, to be wickedly so named; or, in other words, that the persons for whom such places were named were no *saints*; and therefore it was impious to use the prefix *saint* after the example of the Catholics.

At the May election this year, Mr. Winthrop was again elected Governor, notwithstanding Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, who preached the sermon, discoursed very pointedly against the same individual being so often re-chosen. Winthrop expected he would take that course in his sermon, and he therefore tried to prevent his being employed to perform the service; and hence it turned out that Winthrop could not prevent the choice of Rogers, nor could Rogers defeat the election of Winthrop. The Deputy Governor, Mr. Endicott, was also re-chosen. There were two new Magistrates chosen, Mr. William Hibbins and Mr. Samuel Simonds. At this court, Commissioners appeared from Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, duly authorized to form an alliance for their mutual benefit, and thus originated the celebrated Confederation of the "United Colonies of New England." Roger Williams' Colony, or Rhode Island, and Sir Ferdinando Gorge's Colony, were not invited to come into the confederation; the former being composed of excommunicants, and the latter had called "a poor village" a city, and elected "a tailor its mayor, and had entertained one Hull, an excommunicated person, for their minister."

One John Cook, "an honest young man," is accidentally killed from the bursting of a gun which he had overcharged to salute a ship.

A ship owned here, called the Seabridge, arrived from England, bringing twenty children "and some other passengers," and three hundred pounds' worth of goods; this outlay was the contribution of friends to New England, given last year. The "children, with many more to come after, were sent by money given on a fast day in London, and allowed by the Parliament and City for the purpose."

There came, by the Seabridge, probably, the highly gratifying intelligence, that Parliament had passed an order allowing all commodities to or from New England to be free of duties in both countries. It came in the form of a State Paper, attested by Henry Elsynge, Clerk to the Parliament.*

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Boston experienced some alarm, but more mortification, in having their weakness exposed to the observation of a foreign power at a very unexpected time. This was caused by the arrival of a French armed ship, named the Clement, in which were one hundred and forty people. The town was completely surprised; the ship having passed the Castle, her salute not being even answered, there being none there to answer it; "for the last Court had given order to have the Castle Island deserted, and a great part of the work being fallen down." It was observed, that had this been a hostile ship, it might have carried off the guns of the Fort,

* The date of the document is "Veneris, 10 Martii, 1642;" simply, Friday, March 10th, 1643; from which, and the date of the arrival in the text, it is evident that the important paper did not remain long in England after it was issued. An erroneous date to the above document has gone into several respectable works by their authors' mistaking 1642 for 1642-3. Elsynge became disaffected to the Parliament, and resigned his place soon after.

taken away two ships then in the harbor, and even sacked the town at will. But it was the ship of friends, and not enemies. It was a ship of one hundred and forty tons, from Rochelle, under the command of Monsieur Charles de la Tour; the master and his company being French Protestants. He had come, not to give offence, but to ask assistance to enable him to dispossess D'Aulnay* of the territories which he claimed in the eastern coasts. As the French ship came into the harbor, Mrs. Gibbons, the wife of Captain Edward Gibbons, with her children, were met in a boat going to their farm. One of La Tour's gentlemen knew her, and, informing him who she was, Monsieur immediately had a boat manned and proceeded after her. Mrs. Gibbons not knowing the strangers, hastened from them as fast as she could, and landed on Governor's Island, where the Governor himself and some of his family then happened to be. La Tour met Governor Winthrop very cordially, and opened his business to him. Here he continued and supped with him. Meantime Mrs. Gibbons returned to the town in the Governor's boat, by which means the news of the strangers spread with great rapidity. After supper La Tour took Governor Winthrop to Boston in his own boat. They were met on the way by three shallops of armed men, who came out to escort them into the town. Monsieur was lodged at Captain Gibbons'. This was proof that he came on no hostile design, "because he voluntarily put himself in the power of the English."

June 13. The next day an answer was given relative to his business; namely, that the Government could not afford him any assistance; but that if any of their people would enlist under him of their own free will, the Government would make no objection; they being satisfied that La Tour, and not D'Aulnay,† was the rightful proprietor of the territories in dispute. This was satisfactory to La Tour. He then requested the privilege of landing and exercising his men on shore, which was granted, only he was desired to land them in small companies, "so as not to alarm the women and children."

The following week the people of Boston had a training, in which the Frenchmen took a part. All things passed off to the mutual satisfaction of both parties. The Boston officers entertained the French officers, and the soldiers entertained the soldiers at their houses in a brotherly manner. The English were surprised to see the exact discipline of the Frenchmen, and La Tour expressed his admiration of the English; saying he should not have believed, had he not with his own eyes seen it. He attended the Governor at church, "all the time of his abode here," and the Governor did not fail to appear as important as he could before the

* The best source whence to derive information respecting Acadia (the French wrote l'Acadie), and the difficulties between D'Aulnay and La Tour, is Charlevoix, *Histoire et Description. Gen. de la Nouvelle France*. It is very strange this work has not been translated into English, and found an editor capable of rendering justice to that learned and valuable

Author. Several parts of it were translated by the writer for his works upon the Indians; enough to satisfy him that the value of Charlevoix is not generally understood.

† His name, as given by Charlevoix, is "M. d'Aunay de Charnisé," who, in the use of the name in his narrative, drops all except the last part of it, namely, *Charnisé*.

French General, being regularly attended "with a good guard of halberts and musketeers."

There was a good deal said through the country towns against this entertainment of La Tour. Endicott thought it was very unwise to let the Frenchmen see the Forts, or to allow them any accommodations. La Tour's wife being attended by two Friars,* gave Mr. Endicott sufficient reason to denounce the whole of them as "idolatrous French." In this the ex-Governor did not seem to consider that it would be ill policy to attempt to exercise authority and deny privileges that the situation of the Town could not enforce or refuse. But there was one view of the affair which placed Mr. Winthrop in a very unfavorable light; and that was a connivance at any assistance that might be afforded in men, ships, and munitions, by the people under his Government. The present Government of the United States would stand in the same reprehensible attitude before the world, were it to say the same to its citizens, if applied to for assistance by any adventurer under similar circumstances.

June 30. Captain Gibbons and Thomas Hawkins entered into Articles of Agreement with "Mounseir Latour, Knight of the Orders of the King, Lieutenant Generall of New France," by which they were to furnish four ships for his expedition; namely, the Seabridge, Philip and Mary, Increase, and Greyhound. Said ships were to be ready by the tenth of the following month, with sixty-eight men, and to continue in the service two months, at two hundred pounds per month.†

July 14. All things being ready, the armament sailed from Long Island, proceeding through Broad Sound with the tide at half flood, "where no ships of such burthen had gone out before, or not more than one." D'Aulnay fled on their approach, and after committing

Aug. 20. several depredations, and taking some plunder, the English vessels returned to Boston, about the twentieth of August, without the loss of a man. Of D'Aulnay's men, three were killed. Thus terminated this mistaken and inglorious expedition.

The course of affairs in England continued adverse to emigration, and hence the usual supplies of goods became so much lessened, that the people here begun to see the necessity of setting about manufacturing their own goods; therefore this year "they fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof they had store from Barbadoes, and hemp and flax," in which Rowley exceeded all other towns.‡

* "One was a very learned, acute man. Divers of our elders who had conference with him, reported so. They came into the town but once, lest they should give offence, being brought to see Mr. Cotton and confer with him." — *Winthrop*, ii. 153.

† The Articles were witnessed by William Ting, Robt. Keajne, and Estienne Dupru. — See Hazard, *Hist. Colls.* i. 499, &c.

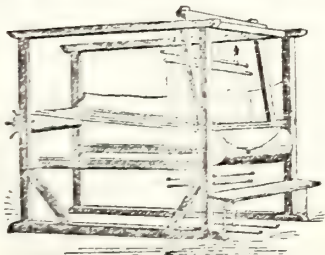
‡ In the engraving commencing this chapter, an old-fashioned spinning-wheel is repre-

sented, and the annexed cut is designed to represent the ancient loom. Few implements of husbandry changed less, probably, than the spinning-wheel and loom for 200 years. They are remembered by thousands of this age, and it is not 40 years since they were to be found in nearly every industrious family throughout the country towns of New England, — not even excepting the families of the clergymen. But they are, owing to the great improvement in spinning and weaving, fast dropping into dis-

Owing to the undue interference of the Government with the affairs of Rhode Island, serious trouble was given to the Indians. They were constantly harassed and annoyed by orders of which they knew not the purport, and requests for their attendance upon courts at Boston, which must have appeared to them either as childish, or the occasion of some hidden motives to deprive them of their lands or freedom or both. Now, two chiefs, Socononoco and Pumpam, subjects of Miantonimo, had, by the influence of the English, declared themselves independent of the latter, and came to Boston to assert their independence before the Governor. This, when once maintained, or backed up by the English, would authorize them to dispose of whatever lands they could claim under any plausible pretext. The present case was indeed a little different. Miantonimo had sold to the people of Warwick a tract of land, doubtless with the full consent of the sub-chiefs; but these, or one of them, had been influenced to deny all consent to such sale, by those settlers in that country who had put themselves under the protection of Boston, or Massachusetts. Consequently, Miantonimo was summoned to appear here to show on what ground he claimed jurisdiction over the Indians before mentioned. Nothing could be more absurd than to require an Indian Chief of that day to substantiate any of his wilderness claims in an English Court. However, Miantonimo came to Boston as requested; "in the beginning of the Court," and "before the whole Court," was questioned as to his having "any interest" in the Sachems Socononico and Pumpam. At the conclusion of this mockery of a trial, it was triumphantly recorded that "he could prove no claim." Such treatment of a man of a magnanimous mind, who was above any petty connivances, was calculated to give any impression but a favorable one of English justice.

Out of this interference, on the part of the Government here, grew a cloud of troubles, both to the English and the Indians. It thickened and gathered darkness, and eventually burst upon the heads of the Narragansets, completely deluging them in ruin.

The conduct of the settlers towards the Indians does not, in a large majority of cases, bear scrutiny. It was thought warrantable to set one tribe against another, that they might be diverted from thoughts of hostilities against themselves.* Connecticut had been the means of a war between the Mohegans and Narragansets; they took the part of the Chief of that tribe — the unprincipled Uncas — because he could be



use, and few are to be found at this day, except in the garrets and outhouses of the farmers. They will soon all disappear, and be known only from prints of them and their accompanying descriptions.

* Abundance of authorities might be cited in proof of this statement, and all from the Colonists' own accounts. Great allowance, however, is to be made for their circumstances, and the light of the age in which they lived.

made to conform to their wishes. On the other hand, a portion of the Narragansets had revolted under the influence of the people here, as already stated. And thus stood Miantonimo and the true Narragansets, surrounded by a power which it was useless to resist. At length, driven by insults and injuries to repel force by force, their great Chief fell accidentally into the hands of Uncas, who, but for fear of retaliation, would at once have put him to death. He however led his prisoner to

Hartford, and there the Government took him in charge.* Not

Aug. knowing what to do with him, it was finally determined to submit the matter to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, who were soon

Sept. 7. to meet at Boston, that they might take the responsibility of disposing of him. The Commissioners being met,† the disposition of Miantonimo was debated, and although this Court had no jurisdiction over the case, nor any just grounds‡ of complaint of any kind against the Sachem, they came to the conclusion that Uncas would not be safe if he were suffered to live; yet they acknowledged a want of any grounds by which he could be put to death, though the arts of casuistry had been pretty severely tasked to justify the proceedings relative to him thus far. Strange, however, as it seems, and as it will seem in after times, it was, with the advice of the Elders of the Churches§ determined, that Uncas might put Miantonimo to death, "that so execucon may be donn according to justice and prudence, Vncas carrying him into the next part of his own Government!"||

This decision was not made known to Uncas until the return of the

* It appears that, as soon as the Mr. Gorton at Shomet heard of the capture of Miantonimo, he sent a messenger to Uncas to demand his liberation. This caused Uncas to convey him to Hartford; no doubt fearing he would be rescued by the Narragansets if he should endeavor to keep him a prisoner.

† They were John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley, for Massachusetts; Edward Winslow and William Collier, for Plymouth; George Fenwick and Theophilus Eaton, for Connecticut; Edward Hopkins and Thomas Gregson, for New Haven. *Hazard*, ii. 11.—Dr. Holmes, usually fair and candid, seems a little biassed in his account of the affair of Miantonimo. He evidently thought that it was presumptuous in people of these times to question the acts of the Commissioners; and thus he gently rapped the skirts of Judge Davis and Mr. Savage. "The pleading of an Advocate may be seen in a note upon Winthrop, and the opinion of a Judge in another upon Merton."—*Annals*, i. 272.

‡ The words of the Commissioners are that "they had not sufficient grounds," &c.—Mr. Bancroft, in his *Hist. of the U. States*, does not take the part of the Indians in his account of these troubles. On the other hand, he rather inclines to justify their enemies, whose works certainly do not warrant any such justification.

It would indeed be pleasant to us, descend-

ants of the people whose acts we are reviewing, could we give a picture of them without a blemish in any part of it, but no people have yet lived who have left materials for such a picture behind them. Our Fathers acknowledged and felt that they had great imperfections. Did they believe that their posterity would by any false coloring misrepresent them? They would have spurned such an idea. They were oftentimes mistaken, erred in judgment, and had the same prejudices to contend with as are common to all men. Had they lived to this day, they would have seen and acknowledged them. They were men of truth, and sought to do righteously, and they would have spurned the sycophant apologist for what was really wrong, as they spurned all iniquitous attempts at deception. They have, though in other words, said to us, as the noble-minded Cromwell said to him who undertook to paint his portrait, "Paint me as I am." Would not our Fathers have made the same reply to us?

§ "In this difficulty," says Winthrop, "we called in five of the most judicious Elders (it being in the time of the General Assembly of the Elders) [at Boston], and propounding the case to them, they all agreed that he ought to be put to death."—*Journal*, ii. 131.

|| Records of the United Colonies in *Hazard*, ii. 13.

Connecticut Commissioners.



DEATH OF MIANTONIMO.

When it was communicated to him, it is said he "readily undertook the execution" of his victim. With a guard of English soldiers Miantonimo was led away into the dominions of the Mohegans. When he had arrived at a place appointed, a brother* of Uncas who followed close behind him, at a signal given, "clave his head with an hatchet." † Thus inhumanly and unjustly perished the greatest Indian Chief of whom any account is to be found in New England's annals.

Before Miantonimo was finally disposed of, the people of Shaomet ‡ or Warwick were considerably exasperated at the conduct of the Rulers of Boston for the course they had taken respecting jurisdiction in that country, § and especially as they had assumed the management of affairs there which interfered with their rights. They had undertaken to dictate to the people of Shaomet, and to decide what they should do in certain difficulties which they had with their neighbors at Patuxet. || Mr. Samuel Gorton ¶ was at the head of the Shaomet settlement; a

* Some doubt exists as to the real name of this brother of Uncas. It probably was Oneko. See *BOOK OF THE INDIANS*, ii. 130, 11th Edition. The same individual is meant by Wowequa, Nowequa, Owaneco, &c.

† There is near Norwich a place called Sachem's Plain, a beautiful piece of level ground not far from the banks of the wild and romantic Shetucket. Here it is said the battle was fought; here it is said Miantonimo was brought to die; and here he did die and was buried. Upon the place of his interment a heap of stones were piled, which for many years pointed out to the traveller the place of the wretched tragedy. But more than fifteen years ago this simple monument was removed by the neighboring cultivators, and used in the construction of their fences. The writer, in traversing this plain many years since, could find no indication of the place where Miantonimo once lay, and on inquiry of a resident near the place, could learn nothing, only that "he had heard there was once an old Indian buried there." Since then, by the exertions of my worthy friend, WM. C. GILMAN, Esq. of Norwich, there has been a durable monument, in the shape of a square block of granite, "erected on a mound" in Sachem's Plain, in memory of the brave Chief, bearing the simple and appropriate inscription in capitals—"MIANTONIMO. 1643." This was done July 3d, 1841.

‡ Often written Shawomet, and sometimes Mishawomet, which it appears was its original name. This in 1643 received the name of

Warwick, in honor of the Earl of that name, who granted it to Gorton and his company, as will be found mentioned hereafter.

§ The people of Patuxit (then a part of Providence) falling into a quarrel with Gorton and his friends, who were seated here on coming from Newport, the latter purchased Shaomet of Miantonimo, and removed thither. The troubles continuing, those of Patuxit, viz. "Wm. Arnold, Robt. Coale, Wm. Carpenter, Benedict Arnold and his Companie, vpon their petition, were taken vnder our gouernment and pteecon." Thus they submitted to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. They at first applied for military aid against those of Shaomet, when the Government told them they could not interfere without they submitted to its jurisdiction. See *Hutchinson*, i. 118-19. — *Backus*, i. 118-19.

|| Often written Pawtuxit, Pawtuxet, Patuxit, and Patuxet.

¶ He was of a good family, had resided in London, came over to Boston in 1636, where he continued about a year, then went to Plymouth, and after about another year he went to R. Island, which was in June, 1638; thence he went in 1639-40 to Patuxet, a part of Providence, which he purchased of the Indians. These Indians revolting, as has been mentioned in the text, was a main cause of the present difficulties. After obtaining his liberty in 1643, and having no security against the malignity of his persecutors, he went over to England and obtained a Patent of Shaomet from the Earl of Warwick; having first ob-

man of an ardent temperament, and though perhaps not always conscientious, and irreproachable as to moral rectitude, like Mr. Williams, and numerous others of that day, he was bewildered in the mazes of an unintelligible kind of metaphysics.* This has been made use of to his discredit by writers since his time, who yet had a system of religious philosophy equally visionary, had its possessors had the sanguine temperament of a Gorton wherewith to have maintained it. This gentleman had about a dozen men in his settlement; and when he was requested to come to Boston to give an account of his conduct, he is said to have "answered the Messengers disdainfully," and instead of obeying the summons, "sent two letters full of blasphemy † against the Churches and magistracy." ‡ This could in no wise be borne, and war was determined on. Forty men were at once raised for the expedition, and put under Capt. George Cook, § Lieut. Humphrey Atherton, and Mr. Edward Johnson. On arriving at Shaomet they found the place fortified, and the occupants determined to defend it, notwithstanding they were besieged by more than three times their number. The fort was repeatedly fired, but the besieged quenched it amidst the fire of the enemy. How long the attack lasted is not stated, but the place was finally surrendered, and nine of the besieged taken captive, three having escaped. These were brought in triumph to Boston. It is remarkable that during this hot siege none were killed or wounded. Captain Cook marched the prisoners through the streets of the Town, halting before "the Governor his house in a military order; the soldiers being in two files, and after every five or six soldiers a prisoner. So being before the Governor his door, the Commissioners came in, and after the Governor had saluted them he

tained a written submission of the Indians to Charles I., dated 19 Aug. 1644. He arrived in Boston with his Patent in 1648. Here the Authorities would have executed their old sentence upon him, had he not had from the Earl of Warwick a better shield than that with which he had furnished Miantonimo in his fatal war. Gorton is said to have died at Warwick between 27 Nov. and 10 Dec. 1677. The authority for this date is not given. Mr. Callender refers to an address of Gorton to Charles II., dated 1679, and says "he lived to a great age." — *Hist. Dis.* 38. His posterity are numerous at this day. A son, bearing his father's name, lived to be 94 years of age.

* "It is likely that the reader would want to know what Gorton's sentiments really were, which were so offensive. To this I answer, that he evidently was a man of smart capacity, and of considerable learning, and when he pleased could express his ideas as plainly as any man, but he used such a mystical method in handling the Scriptures and in speaking about religion, that people are not agreed to this day [1777] in what his real sentiments were." — *Backus*, i. 31. "Tis cer-

tain that whatever impious opinions his adversaries imputed to him, and whatever horrid consequences they drew from the opinions he owned, he ascribed as bad to them, and fixed as dreadful consequences on their tenets." — *Callender*, i. 37. Had Gorton lived in these days he would not unlikely have been denominated a *Transcendentalist*. See Mr. Mackie's *Life of Gorton*, 381.

† Those letters should have been published, that people of other times might know what constituted *blasphemy* against Churches and Magistrates. It was doubtless something of the nature of *treason against the King*.

‡ One of their answers was signed by "Gorton, Randal Holden, Robert Potter, John Wickes, John Warner, Richard Waterman, William Woodale, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Carder, Nicholas Power, and Sampson Shatton. It contained a long mystical paraphrase upon their warrant, and many provoking sentences against those Rulers and their Ministers." — *Backus*, i. 120.

§ He was killed in Ireland in 1652, in the service of the Parliament. See *Antiquarian Journal*, i. 137.

went forth with them, and passing through the files, welcomed them home, blessing God for preserving and prospering them, and desired of the Captain a list of their names, that the Court might know them, if hereafter there should be occasion to make use of such men."



SHAOMET PRISONERS IN BOSTON.

The Governor having thus disposed of those brave volunteers, "caused the prisoners to be brought before him in his hall, where was a great assembly. There he laid before them their contemptuous carriage, and how obstinately they had refused to do right to

those they had wronged, against all the fair means and moderation we had used; that now the Lord had delivered them into our hand." It was in vain that Mr. Gorton urged that this Government had no jurisdiction over his Country or affairs, and he and his companions were all sent to prison.

Not being exactly of the faith of the Church of this jurisdiction, they refused to attend public worship on the "Lord's day," though urged to do so. This of course could not be allowed, and they were taken by force, and made to attend and hear "the word." Such proceedings would hardly be credited, if they were not recorded by the chief director in them; but as discreditable as they were thus far to Boston, it would afford great relief to the reader, probably, had they stopped here; yet this pitiful crusade against those few poor exiles in a neighboring wilderness is but begun. They were, after about a month's imprisonment, brought before the General Court, and, after undergoing a kind of trial, disposed of in the following manner:—Mr. Gorton was sentenced to be confined in Charlestown, at the discretion of the
Nov. 3. Court, and kept at hard work, "and to wear such bolts or irons" as would prevent his escape; that if, in the mean time, he should speak or write "any of the blasphemous and abominable heresies wherewith he had been charged by the Court, upon conviction thereof, he should be condemned to death and executed;" that seven of his companions should be dispersed into seven towns, and there kept at work for their living, and wear irons upon one leg, on the same conditions as were awarded to Gorton. Their names and places of confinement were, John Wicks to Ipswich, Randall Houlden to Salem, Robert Potter to Rowley, Richard Carder to Roxbury, Francis Weston to Dorchester, John Warner to Boston. There were three others whose sentences differed from the above: William Waddell to be confined at Watertown; Richard Waterman was dismissed, but ordered to appear at the next Court, and not to depart without license, under one hundred

pounds penalty, and the charges on his account to be defrayed out of his goods which had been plundered; Nicholas Power was dismissed with an admonition.

The costs and charges accruing from this affair now amounted to about one hundred and sixty pounds, to liquidate which, about eighty head of cattle, among other property, were secured and taken from the settlement at Shaomet.

Overdoing in any matter is usually attended by a corresponding weakness, which in most cases brings the authors into contempt. In the case of Gorton and his associates the Authorities proceeded as though they were amenable to no higher power, and it was by a small majority of the Magistrates that Gorton and several others escaped being put to death; "all saving three were of opinion that he ought to die." The question of death was determined by vote, and Gorton himself says, and not untruly, that "they cast lots for their lives."

The next step taken with the prisoners has never yet been accounted for in a satisfactory manner. They had been kept in confinement through a cold winter, and by the General Court in the Spring "they were all sent away, because it was found that they did corrupt some of the people, especially the women by their heresies." *

Now this record was made with great apparent honesty, but the reason given for the liberation of the victims appears rather one of pretence than reality. While those men were lying in confinement, a ship belonging to the Earl of Warwick was to return to England from Boston, and there is reason to believe that Mr. Gorton was favorably known to his lordship, and that this same Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, had done much for New England, and was "a great friend and patron of Puritan Divines." Therefore, that the news which might be carried to the Earl by this ship, had something to do with the liberation of Gorton and his friends, is highly probable.†

Dec. 3. A ship belonging to Boston, named the Hopewell, of about sixty tons, returned with a valuable cargo of wines, pitch, sugar, ginger and other commodities. She had traded at a Spanish island near Teneriffe.

Dec. 27. There now sailed out of Boston harbor, five ships, three of which were built here. Two of the three were of 300 tons

* There was a special General Court, begun 7 March, 1644, at which, "finding that Gorton and his company did harm in the Towns where they were confined, and not knowing what to do with them, at length agreed to set them at liberty, and gave them fourteen days to depart out of our jurisdiction in all parts, and no more to come into it upon pain of death. This censure was thought too light and favorable, but we knew not how in justice we could inflict any punishment upon them, the sentence of the Court being already passed." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 156.

† It is not unlikely that the Government had heard of "an Ordinance of the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament, whereby Robert, Earl of Warwick, is made Governor in Chief, and Lord High Admiral of all those Islands and Plantations within the bounds and upon the coasts of America." — *Hazard*, i. 533. The wholesome rebuke which the Rulers received for this arrogant conduct will be found noticed in its chronological order, three years later. Morton, in his *Memorial*, wrote against Gorton with unbecoming intemperance, and Gorton answered him, which answer may be seen in the Appendix to Hutchinson's *Hist. of Massachusetts*, vol. i. p. 549, &c.

burthen, and the other two of 160 tons each. In one of them were many passengers bound for London; among whom were "men of chief rank in the country." They carried much value in beaver.

By order of the General Court, all the Magistrates and the Teaching Elders of the six nearest Churches, were appointed to be "forever Governors of the College." Those "Governors" met at Cambridge to "consider of the Officers of the College," and chose Herbert Pelham, Esquire, Treasurer. He was the first in that office.

This year the General Court divided the Colony into four Counties: Essex, Middlesex, Suffolk and Norfolk, after those shires of the same name in England.* In reconstructing the Counties afterwards, those of Norfolk and Suffolk became false to their names, and continue to hold a geographical position in contempt of the meaning or true definition of them.†

Attempts were constantly made all along from the first settlement of Boston, to induce those who had come here to emigrate to other places. This year Governor Winthrop records that "the Lord Baltimore being owner of much land near Virginia, being himself a Papist, and his brother, Mr. Calvert, the Governor there a Papist also, but the Colony consisted both of Protestants and Papists, he wrote a letter to Captain Gibbons of Boston, and sent him a Commission, wherein he made tender of land in Maryland to any of ours that would transport themselves thither, with free liberty of religion, and all other privileges which the place afforded, paying such annual rent as should be agreed upon; but our Captain had no mind to further his desire herein, nor had any of our people temptation that way."

* ESSEX contained Salem, Linn, Enon (Wenham), Ipswich, Rowley, Newbury, Gloucester, Chochichawick [Andover].

MIDDLESEX contained Charlestown, Cambridge, Watertown, Sudbury, Concord, Woburn, Medford, Linn Village [Reading].

SUFFOLK contained Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester, Dedham, Braintree, Weymouth, Hingham, Nantasket (Hull).

NORFOLK contained Salisbury, Hampton, Haverhill, Exeter, Dover, Strawberry-Bank (Portsmouth.) — Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 117.

† Jan. 20. — John Stevens and Henry Simons admitted to inhabit. — John Smith, Gent., to have his rate remitted, because of his great losses in Ireland.

Feb. 27. — Thomas Grubbe, James Averill, James Johnson, Myles Tarne, Thos. Buttalph, leather dressers, may have a place "to water their leather," near James Davis his house. — Ricld. Peapes desires to purchase a piece of land "towards Mr. Blackstone's Beach."

April 1. — Mr. Hibbins and Capt. Gibbons chosen deputies to General Court.

July 31. — Granted to Henry Simons, Geo. Burden, John Button, John Hill and "their partners, all that Cove on the northwest side

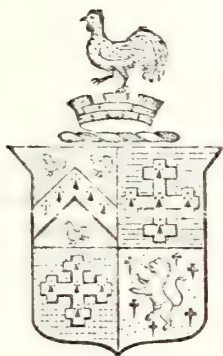
of the Causey leading toward Charlestown," on condition, that within three years they erect "vpon or neere some part of the primises, one or more Corn-Mills." This was annulled the same year. Select-men are now recognized in the records as "Select-Townsmen." — "Jas. Oliver and Mr. Edwd. Tynge may straighten their street pales from David Sellecke his corner poste unto the said Tynge's diall poste."

Sept. 25. — Arthur Perry, drummer, to have £9. for drumming for the Town a year and a half.

Nov. 27. — William Franklin, black-smith, chosen Constable in stead of Edward Tynge. Arthur Perry to give his best diligence in learning Geo. Clifford and Nathl. Newgate in all the skill and use of the drum. — Thomas Clarke, late of Dorchester, may "wharfe before his property in the Mill-field." — John Milom and Val. Hill the same in the same field; the last two to leave a landing place between them. Wm. Tynge may wharf before his property in the marsh near John Lowe's house. A Highway two rods wide to be preserved on the Beach from Edw. Bendall's Cove toward John Gallop's Point.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Ship blown up. — Prodiges. — Lights seen. — Strange Noises heard. — Submission of several Indian Tribes. — Efforts to repair the Castle. — A Fur Company formed. — First Ship built in Boston. — Daniel Gookin. — Appalling News from Virginia. — Ship captured in the Harbor. — Capt. Stagg. — Great Excitement. — Case of the captured Ship. — One executed for Murder. — Another Prodigy. — Honors to Gen. La Tour. — Arrival of his Lady. — Arrival of Roger Williams from England. — Capture of another Ship in the Harbor. — Passaconaway's Submission. — A Fast. — Free Schools. — Election. — Ship Trial. — Her important Voyage. — Commerce encouraged. — Fur Traders killed by Indians. — Capt. Hawkins' Voyage and Wreck. — Fort rebuilt. — Negro Slaves. — Case of Smith and Keyser. — Gentlemen go to England and take part in the Wars. — Rainsborow, Stoughton, Bourne, Leverett, Hudson, &c. — Heretical Books. — Punishment of Partridge.



GOOKIN.

IN the course of July of the last year, there arrived at Boston one Capt. John Chaddock, whose father had been Governor of Bermuda.

Jan. 2. He was one who volunteered in the service of Gen. La Tour. Being now returned here, he was about to sail for Trinidad; but as his vessel was riding before the Town she was accidentally blown up. By that calamity five men were killed, and three escaped badly burned. The Captain happened to be on shore at the time. Three of the same company had not long before fallen from one of the ship's yards into the sea and were drowned. All such accidents or misfortunes were attributed to some wicked conduct of the sufferers, but those which now happened were not put to the account of these mariners for their having been engaged in the expedition against D'Aulnay. During the past winter there had been seen many strange lights, and many noises heard, to the great "affrightment" of the inhabitants.

As three men were approaching the Town in a boat about midnight, they saw two lights "in form like a man" rise up out of the water near the north point of the Town Cove, and after passing about in the direction of the Town, "vanished away" at the south point of the same Cove. These strange lights were seen about a quarter of an hour. The names of the witnesses to their appearance are not given, nor is there any mention made whether the deponents had any instruments in their boat which might have contained magnifying fluids of any kind, known in later times to have great efficacy in visual phenomena. However, the chronicler of these wonders does not intimate that he himself saw any of them. About a week after, the same writer records that "the like lights were seen by many, arising about Castle-Island," and that in about twelve minutes "they came to

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Jan. 18. John Gallop's Point." * Soon after "a light like the moon arose about the north-east point in Boston," and met another at Noddle's Island, and "there they closed in one, and then parted, and closed and parted divers times, and so went over the hill in the island and vanished. Sometimes they shot out flames and sometimes sparkles." This was seen "by many" also, about eight o'clock in the evening. About the same time a doleful voice was heard on the water between Boston and Dorchester. The voice was "most dreadful," suddenly shifting itself "from one place to another, about twenty times, and at a great distance."

The evidence of the reality of the "doleful and dreadful voices" is rather stronger than in the case of the lights, for they were "heard by divers godly persons;" and about fourteen days after they were heard again on the other side of the town, towards Noddle's Island. It is gravely stated that "these prodigies had some reference to the place where Captain Chaddock's vessel was blown up," which gave occasion for a report, that the man who was the cause of that accident, was a necromancer, and had "done some strange things by his art in his way from Virginia hither;" that all the bodies blown up were found but his, which never was. Hence it is left to be inferred that the master teacher of the black art of necromancy took away the body as well as the soul of his pupil, at the moment of the catastrophe.

Without a knowledge of these characteristics of the minds of the early inhabitants, an indispensable criterion would be wanting by which a just judgment is to be formed of their actuating motives. Minds trammelled with such absurdities were readily attached to, and borne away by the car freighted with the wildest hallucinations.

Feb. 5. A deputation of Indians about Boston came and submitted themselves to the Government of the country. They were "Cutshemekin, Agawam,† and Josias, successor and heir of Chickatabot." Their submission was in their own names, and in the names of all the Sachems of Wachuset, and those from Merrimack to Tehticut. Something more than a month after, Pessacus, the successor of Miantonimo in the chieftainship of the Narragansets, sent Washose,

Feb. 16. one of his Chiefs, to Boston, to request liberty of the Governor that he might make war upon Uncas. The same messenger had come upon the same errand in the preceding October, and then, as at this time, his request was refused. He was told that if Pessacus made war upon Uncas, the English would fall upon the Narragansets.

March 5. A shock of an Earthquake was felt in different places, but it was less violent than that before noticed, and does not appear to have done much damage. There was a special Court called by the

March 7. Governor to act upon the important subject of putting in repair the Fort on Castle Island, which had gone to ruin, as has been

* Before or at the close of the work, this and all like localities will be shown by an original map.

† This was the name of the place, and not of the Chief. By it was undoubtedly meant Masconomo, who was Sachem of Agawam.

before observed, and to receive the submission of certain Indian tribes which had been tendered. Several of the towns* had determined, that if the General Court would not repair the fort, they would do it at their own expense. However, after various objections to the measure and “much debate,” it was carried, and a grant of a hundred pounds was made for its maintenance when it should be in defence, and a garrison of twenty men residing in it. Fifty pounds more were granted for fortifying Bird Island Passage. Then the Indians came into Court and made their submission, and desired to be received under its protection. They represented the Indians about Dorchester, Ipswich, Wachuset and Medford. They had the terms submitted to by Pomham and Socononoco explained to them, and also the ten commandments, to all of which they freely assented. The Court gave each of them a coat of two yards of cloth and their dinner; and to them and their men, every of them a cup of sack at their departure.

At the same Court “divers” of the merchants of Boston petitioned to be incorporated into a Company for the purpose of pursuing the fur trade at “the great lake,” supposed to lie in the north-west part of the Patent of the Colony. They asked for a Charter to run twenty-one years. There was an opposition to granting such a monopoly, but without its encouragement the merchants would not attempt to make a discovery of the Lake, and the Court finally acceded. The discovery was undertaken by way of the Delaware river, “under the conduct of Mr. William Aspinwall, a good artist.” But nothing was effected by the enterprise, the Dutch and Swedes interposed difficulties, and the undertaking was abandoned in about two months.

March 23. The first ship built in Boston was named the Trial. She now concluded a prosperous voyage, under the conduct of Master Thomas Graves. He took out a cargo of fish to Bilboa, which he sold “at a good rate;” thence he freighted for Malaga. He brought home wine, fruit, oil, iron and wool, “which was a great advantage to the country, and gave encouragement to trade. About two months after the same ship was sent out upon the Eastern Coast to trade with La Tour and others towards Canada.”

The troubles in Virginia which arose in consequence of the Civil War in England,† caused an accession of several valuable men to the inhabitants of Boston. Among the most conspicuous of these was Mr. Daniel Gookin.‡ They had escaped a great massacre there by the Indians, the news of which they were the first to bring to New England. It took place on the eighteenth and nineteenth of April, in which near five hundred people are said to have perished.§

* These were Boston, Charlestown, Roxbury, with the history of New England. Further notice of him
Dorchester, Cambridge and Watertown, which were “near one half of the Commonwealth.” will be taken
hereafter.

† Some declaring for the Parliament and others for the King.

‡ From this time forth his name is identified

§ Winthrop unhappily remarks upon this

Daniel Gookin

As the Civil War raged in England it occasioned alarms and difficulties here. Until July of last year the Republicans had kept possession of Bristol. On the twenty-second of that month it was compelled to surrender to the Royalists under Rupert and the Marquis of Hertford. Consequently the ships belonging to that city were adjudged prizes to the Parliament's ships wherever they were found. There happened to be lying at this time at Boston, a Bristol ship of 100 tons, May 23. laden with fish and bound for Bilboa. Before this ship was ready for sea, a Parliament man-of-war of twenty-four guns, Captain Thomas Stagg, sailed into the harbor. Without consulting the Authorities he proceeded to demand the surrender of the Bristol ship. The Master hesitating, Captain Stagg allowed him but half an hour in which to make up his mind, having in the mean time moored and prepared his ship to open hostilities if he refused to surrender. The affair being known to the people of the Town, there was a great assemblage of them upon Windmill Hill to witness the issue. But the Master of the Bristol ship not thinking it prudent to resist, surrendered without making further opposition. The Deputy Governor wrote to Captain Stagg to know what authority he had to take a step of this sort? whereupon he produced his commission from the Earl of Warwick. He was then requested to take or to send his commission to the Governor at Salem, which he did soon after.

This affair caused considerable excitement in Boston, and for breach of the peace several were taken into custody. Among others a Bristol merchant residing here endeavored to raise a party to attack Captain Stagg, but being apprehended, the tumult was soon allayed. Some of the Officers of Government were of the opinion that Captain Stagg had invaded their liberties by coming into the Port and capturing a ship under such circumstances, which opinion had before been advanced by some of the Elders in their pulpits. But others were of a different opinion. The latter maintained, that as Captain Stagg acted under the authority of Parliament, and as the Parliament was of their own religion, and they had so openly declared in favor of its cause, should they now oppose its authority, it would grieve all their friends in England, and give countenance to those in the West Indies, Virginia and elsewhere to continue their rebellious proceedings. These and other similar arguments prevailed, and Captain Stagg was not further molested.*

At the General Election this year, Mr. Endicott was chosen May 29. Governor, Mr. Winthrop Deputy. Mr. William Hathorne was

sad event, "that the evil was sent upon them from God for their reviling the gospel and those faithful ministers he had sent among them." — *Journal*, ii. 165. In this he had reference to the rejection of Mr. Tompson and Mr. Knowles, who were sent as missionaries to Virginia two years before. See *ante*, p. 247.

* In writing of the affairs of this time, Chal-

mers, in his *Political Annals of N. Eng.*, says the people here "out-canted Cromwell." If that Annalist meant by the use of that phrase to insinuate that the Puritan Fathers here were hypocrites, it was a base calumny, and his prejudices will be ranked higher, probably, than his philosophy. He wrote in the time of our great Revolution, and published his work before the close of it. Had he published it after

made speaker of the House of Deputies, who was the first of such officers after the General Court was divided into two Houses. Considerable emulation had been growing up between Salem and Boston; the former had begun to feel that Boston was taking the lead in various ways. It was doubtless a little mortifying to Mr. Endicott and the people in the country about Salem, to see the older-settled place falling behind the other in importance; and that consequently the men of talent and worth there would be obliged to hold secondary places, however superior their abilities might be to others in Boston. Therefore a grand effort was made by the Essex people to turn the scales of Government, by having a majority in it of members favorable to their cause. They felt encouraged, now that Mr. Endicott was again Governor, and looked forward to the time when Salem should be the Seat of Government. But the Boston men had acquired too extensive an influence, and the Essex men failed in their design. Winthrop ungenerously called the effort of the Salem people a "plot," and speaks of the matter as though some dishonor was attached to it, which does not appear to have been the case.

June. A man named William Franklin was condemned to die, and was afterwards hanged for the murder of a boy named Nathaniel Sewell. The boy was one of the twenty children brought to Boston last year by the ship Seabridge, from London. Being put an apprentice to Franklin, it appeared that he came to his death through the cruel and barbarous treatment of his master.

Aug. 26. It is related, that about nine in the evening, there fell a great flame of fire down into the water towards Pullen Point; that it lighted the air far about; but that it was no lightning, for the sky was very clear. Thus an ordinary meteor was taken for a prodigy.

Sept. 9. General La Tour, who had been several days in Boston, and was entertained with much respect and great hospitality, sailed hence, receiving distinguishing marks of honor. The train-bands made a guard for him to his boat, and the Deputy Governor and other distinguished gentlemen accompanied him to the wharf. On coming on board his bark, which carried six guns, he discharged them all as a salute, which salute was answered by the soldiers with their pieces, and one cannon; while the four ships then in the harbor each honored his departure with a discharge of three pieces of ordnance.

Sept. 17. Only eight days after the departure of General La Tour, his Lady arrived in a ship from London, commanded by a Captain Bayley. They narrowly escaped falling into the hands of D'Aulnay, who knew of their being upon the voyage; and, in cruising for them, he fell in with the ship in which they were, but Captain Bayley had the address to deceive him, as to who he was, and thus arrived safe at Boston, bringing a letter from D'Aulnay to the Governor about his difficulties with La Tour.

that event, he might more aptly have said Third, and he would have found none to dispute him.

Being arrived in Boston, Madam La Tour brought an action against Captain Bayley for damages. It appeared that he had agreed to transport her directly to Acadia, and that she had come with stores and munitions to the aid of her husband, and the damage consisted in the unreasonable length of the voyage; it being of about six months' duration. The jury gave her 2000 pounds, for which Captain Bayley's ship was attached, but on taking account of the cargo it was valued only at 1100 pounds, and it cost the Lady about 700 pounds to hire vessels to convey her and her effects to Acadia.

As might have been, and probably was expected, the owners of the ship and cargo attached by the Lady La Tour took the first opportunity to indemnify themselves. They seized a Boston ship in London the next year, but soon released her, probably doubting their ability to hold her; or, perhaps they thought it a more expeditious way of realizing money to attach the bodies of Mr. Stephen Winthrop, son of the Governor, and Captain Joseph Weld, who happened then to be in London. The former was recorder of the Court in Boston, and the latter was one of the jury in the case of Captain Bayley's ship. And had it not been for the interference of Sir Henry Vane, these gentlemen would have been seriously troubled, as they were held to bail in the sum of 4000 pounds. The kindness of Mr. Vane is handsomely acknowledged by Governor Winthrop, who says, "both now and at other times Mr. Vane showed himself a true friend of New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind." The suit ended in a bill of costs to both parties, after much vexation to all concerned.

At or about the same time Mr. Roger Williams arrived here, but whether in Captain Bayley's or by another ship is not mentioned. He came with an absolute charter of Rhode Island, and "letters from divers Lords and others of the Parliament,"* which were expressed in the most favorable terms of the man whose memory is at this day cherished throughout the world as the great assertor of Civil Liberty. They spoke of "his printed Indian labors, the like whereof they had not seen extant from any part of America," and that "it had pleased both Houses of Parliament freely to grant him, and friends with him, a Charter for those parts of his abode."†

There was now riding in the harbor a Dartmouth ship, and among others a Londoner, Captain Richardson. Dartmouth had not long

* The letter to the Governor and Assistants was signed by *Northumberland, Robert Hurley, William Masham, John Gurdon, Cor. Holland, J. Blakiston, P. Wharton, Thomas Barrington, Oliver St. John, Isaac Pennington, Gilbert Pykering, and Miles Corbet.* —Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 193. The date of the letter Winthrop did not preserve. It is entered in his *Journal* between the 17th and 19th of Sept.

† It may be that Mr. Williams left England before the memorable battle of Marston-Moor, which was fought on the 2d and 3d of July of this year, in which the royalist army under

Prince Rupert was entirely cut to pieces, suffering a loss of above 10,000 men, with their arms, artillery, ammunition, &c. This was one of the greatest battles of the war, and had the news of it reached Boston at this time, Winthrop could hardly have failed to notice it, and, in imitation of Parliament, to have celebrated it by a Thanksgiving. Nothing had given the Parliament such confidence in the final success of their cause since the war began, and its effects were sensibly felt here. In his Thanksgiving Sermon before Parliament on the 18th of July, fifteen days after the bat

before fallen into the King's hands, and hence a parallel case to that before related. Captain Richardson seized the Dartmouth ship, but as that ship had before been surrendered to the Government, the Captain of the London ship was obliged to relinquish his prize. He would not probably have so readily yielded, but being within range of the guns of the Castle, he could not safely do otherwise; and it appeared that Captain Richardson had not a requisite commission for making captures, and secondly, if the Dartmouth ship were made a prize of, some Boston merchants stood ready to take her, as one of their own had lately been taken by the royalists in Wales. However, one or two shots were exchanged between the Castle and the London ship, but no one was hurt, though at one time the business looked very serious. Captain Richardson was fined a barrel of powder, and ordered to satisfy the soldiers who had been called out to bring him to terms. The Government then, "with advice of divers of the Elders," proceeded to confiscate the Dartmouth ship.

The apology for these and similar irregular proceedings is to be found in the distracted state of England, and the advantage which it gave to the unscrupulous in all places to turn the misfortunes of others to their own private advantage.

Oct. 13. In this state of affairs the work at Castle Island was earnestly pressed, and Mr. Richard Davenport was appointed to take the command of the fort. He is the same before mentioned, who, under the authority of Mr. Endicott, cut out the Cross in the Ensign, and whether in memory of that circumstance or not, is not stated, but in a short time after, having a child born, he named it *Truecross*. This child was a daughter, who married Stephen Minot, in 1654. Captain Davenport had been in the Pequot war. He commanded the Castle till July, 1665, being then killed by lightning.*

tle, Mr. Richard Vines said, he could say as the Roman historian said after the defeat of Hannibal by Scipio,—"The Roman Empire had not seen a greater day,"—"nor England than that of Marston-Moor," though in the first summer of the war, he says "God wrote himself our God in great letters at Edge Hill."

* See *Antiqua. Jour.* iv. 353.

Jan. 8. — A Committee appointed to treat with all the neighboring towns concerning a convenient way of fortifying the Castle. Wm. Hibbins, Gent., Mr. John Wilson, Deac. Wm. Colbron constituted the Committee. Agreed

with John Wilson
that the fortification begun on Fort Hill, and another "somewhere about Walter Merry's Point, shall be raised." That is, built up.

Jan. 19. — Granted Mr. John Winthrop, Jr., and his partners, 3000 acres of common land at Braintree, to encourage the setting up Iron Works, to be about Monotocot river.

Jan. 29. — Boston agrees to provide all the timber for repairing the Castle, and to "lay it

in its forme at the Castle Island." An Highway ordered to be laid out "to the South Windmill that lyeth betwene Thos. Wheelar's and Robt. Woodward's gardens." Ens. Savage, Mathew Chafeth,* Isaak Cullimore, John Gallop, Sen., John Sweet, John Hill and Samson Shore may make wharfs before their properties in the Mill-field. Gryphen Bowin, Gent., may have a house lot if there are any.

Mar. 18. — Anthony Stoddard may make an entrance from the street into his cellar "near our Pastor's house" [Wilson]. James Oliver may "open his shop-window-board two feet into the street."

Apl. 29. — Christopher Stanley may wharf before his property in the Mill-field near Winnesmet-ferry.

July 29. — Zache Bozworth appointed Pound-keeper. Walter Merry may "wharf before his property by his present dwelling." Charity White to have 26s. for keeping John

* See his autograph, ante, p. 243. I make his signature read Mathew Chaffee. He was a petitioner for placing the new Meeting-house at the Green.

Jan. 27. At a Town-meeting, Major Gibbons was chosen a Committee to give orders concerning the Fortifications in the Town.* There was purchased of Thomas Scotto, for the use of the town, his dwelling-house, yard and garden, for fifty-five pounds. It was bounded on the north by lands of Henry Messenger, on the east by Mr. Richard Hutchinson's, by the common street south, and the burying place west.†

May. Passaconaway, Sachem on Merrimaek river, and his sons came to Boston and put themselves, lands and people under the Government of the English; making a formal submission, as Pumham and Socononoco had done.

May 5. The troubles in England continuing, a Fast was held by order of the General Court. A drought had been very severe, and this was comprehended in the objects to be fasted for; but for this, Winthrop says, they were prevented from praying "by the Lord's sending them rain."

The establishment of free schools was early attended to, as has already been mentioned. This year the Town ordered fifty pounds should be allowed yearly forever to a master, and a house for him to live in, and thirty pounds to an usher; they were to teach reading, writing and ciphering, and Indian children were to be taught gratis.‡ This order was confirmed by the General Court.

May 14. At the Court of Election at Boston, Thomas Dudley was chosen Governor, Winthrop Deputy Governor, and Endicott "Sergeant Major General." Herbert Pelham, Esq.,§ was chosen

Berry 13 weeks. Nicholas Upshall may wharf before his land in Mill-field. Richd. Lippencot admitted a townsman.

Dec. 2. — Jasper Rawline may improve a rod of upland at the eastern end of Serg. Hues his Cornfield near Rocksbury-gate, for the making of bricks. Thomas Joy ordered to "make a safe passage way over his sellar in the high way by the water in the Mill-field, in two days." Mr. Woodbridge to be paid £8, due him for keeping the school last year. A sufficient cartway ordered to be made "in the street," from the Cove toward Charlestown. The Town to bear half the charge and the "neighbors" the rest. This was Dec. 30. Dear Island is let to James Penn and John Oliver for three years, for £7 a year, for the use of the school.

* Edward Mills admitted townsman; — 10s. to be paid widow Howin towards her relief in consideration of her shop in the market-place speedily to be removed. Joshua Scotto to straighten his pale at the head of his house plat near John Lowe's house, as the head of John Lowe's pales run, and to have that marsh therein contained.

† Macklin Knight, Wm. Parsons, Jonathan Balston and Thomas Smith admitted towns-
men.

April 10. — Thos. Marshall, Wm. Frank-

ling, Sergt. Davis and Edwd. Bendall are appointed to hire eight fit men for the garrison at the Castle.

April 28. — Thos. Joy is fined 20s. for not making the passage as ordered 2 Dec. David Pheppen may wharf before his property near Mill Creek.

May 26. — John Mylom* to make safe the passage over the bridge near Leonard Buttle's house, within three days, or a fine of 20s. to be levied.

‡ See *ante*, p. 182.

§ Although Mr. Pelham had just arrived in the country, such was his distinction that he was at once elected an Assistant, and also one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies. He was of the family of the Duke of Newcastle, returned to England and lived upon his estate in the country there, 1650. He had charge of the affairs of the Colony in that country, respecting propagating the gospel among the Indians. — *Hutchinson*, i. 144. Farmer, following Johnson, says Mr. Pelham came over in 1639. He might also come over in 1645, as Hutchinson says, but Hutchinson is no doubt mistaken in supposing that he had not been in the country before 1645. The subject of propagating the gospel in America

* See his autograph, *ante*, p. 243.

Assistant in place of Captain Israel Stoughton, who had been in England the preceding year, and now had gone again for that country. Captain Keayne and Major Gibbons represented Boston, and Captain George Cook was speaker.

In the course of the year the ship *Trial* of Boston completed a prosperous, though perilous voyage. She had been to England and Holland, and had experienced "divers most desperate dangers;" having been forced upon the sands of Flushing, and again upon those of Dover. There arrived also the *Endeavor* of Cambridge. In all, about eleven ships had arrived, bringing linen, woollen, shoes, stockings and other useful commodities, so that the inhabitants "had plenty of all things." The ships took in exchange, wheat, rye, peas and other produce of the country. The export in corn alone amounted this year to 20,000 bushels. Thus commerce flourished and the people were much encouraged.

Meantime a serious misfortune happened to the crew of a small bark which some Boston merchants had sent out to trade for furs in Delaware Bay, under the conduct of one Captain Luther. The bark continued in the Bay through the winter, and in the spring they began to trade with the Indians, and had good success; but as she was about to come away, fifteen Indians came on board, apparently to trade as usual, and having weapons concealed under their blankets, suddenly rushed upon the men, killed all but two, whom they took captive, and then plundered the vessel. The Captain was among the slain, and the interpreter and a boy were the prisoners. The interpreter however was well treated, and had a large share of the spoil, and it was supposed he had been the occasion of the massacre, for he had been put out of his place of interpreter for his misconduct. His name was Redman. Soon after, other Indians surprised those who had committed the piracy, killed their Chief and took away their plunder. Meanwhile the Governor of New Sweden, Mr. John Printz, employed an Indian Chief to bring the captives to him, and they were now brought to Boston. Redman
July 14. was afterwards tried for his life, and found guilty by the Grand Jury; but he was ultimately acquitted.

Other disasters followed. Capt. Thomas Hawkins, of whom mention has been made before, a man of enterprise, who had been a shipwright of London, built, and sent out last year, a ship of 400 tons. She was probably the largest and handsomest ship which had ever been built here, having ornamental carved work, and being painted with taste and skill. She was called the *Seafort*, in compliment to her strength. This ship, in company with Captain Kerman in a London ship, sailed

was brought before Parliament while Mr. Pelham was in New England, by the Rev. William Castell, of Courtenhall, in Northamptonshire. His application was by petition, "approved by 70 able English Divines." Among those Divines we find John White of Dorsetshire, Henry Paynter of Devonshire, John Ward of Suffolk, Jeremiah Burroughes of Norfolk, John Rawlinson of Derby; Daniel Featley, Edward Marbury, Edmond Culamy, Admiral Byfield, William Janeway, Joseph Caryll, Mathias Styles and Stephen Denison of London; Daniel Rogers of Peterborough, and others. See *Force's Tracts*, vol. i.

for Malaga with tobacco and other commodities. They were both cast away on the coast of Spain in December, about five miles from Cales. Nineteen of those on board perished, among whom were Captain Kerman, Captain Coytmore of Charlestown, a Mr. Pratt and his wife. Mr. Pratt was a surgeon of high repute in the country, had been here many years, was of Mr. Hooker's Church before he went to Connecticut, and probably came over with him, or at the same time. The great demand for surgeons, by reason of the Civil War, influenced him to go for England, though he was over sixty years of age. He left no posterity. Those who escaped with their lives were pillaged of almost everything after they had reached the shore, by the barbarous natives on the coast; but when they came to Cales the Spaniards treated them kindly, gave the women and others clothes, many of whom escaped from the wrecks without shoes or garments, and the Governor of the place gave Captain Hawkins 500 pounds for the wreck of his ship, and he and his company soon after proceeded to London in an English ship, which then happened to lie at Cales. The name of the Captain of this ship was Mariot, whose kindness to those shipwrecked people should be remembered, for "he clothed many of them with his own clothes," and did all in his power to alleviate their sufferings. Singular as it may appear, Captain Hawkins was cast away again the following year, at the same place, as were five other ships in his company. But this time his people were all saved.

This year there was a cruel attempt to bring Negroes from Africa to this market for slaves. One Capt. James Smith, with a mate of the name of Thomas Keyser, made a voyage to Guinea, and there joining some Londoners, landed in the country, attacked and killed many of the Negroes. They appear to have brought but two to Boston. The manner of their capture coming to the knowledge of the Government, Smith and Keyser were, on the motion of Richard Saltonstall, Esq., prosecuted and held to answer.

One of the Negroes was sold to Mr. Francis Williams of Pascataqua, who was required to return him to Boston that he might be restored to his native country, and the General Court passed an act prohibiting Slavery. This act however was afterwards repealed, or disregarded. Four years before, a law was made "that there shall never be any bond slavery" in the Colony; and the following year, 1646, with special reference to the transaction of Smith and Keyser, the Court enacted, that "it was bound by the first opportunity to bear witness against the heinous and crying sin of man-stealing, as also to prescribe such timely redress for what was past, and such a law for the future, as might sufficiently deter all others belonging to the Colony to have to do in such vile and most odious courses, that the Negro interpreter, with others unlawfully taken, be by the first opportunity, at the charge of the Country for the present, sent to his native country, Guinea."

Nothing further appears in the printed statutes upon Negro slavery until 1703. Then a law was made merely to prevent owners of slaves



D. Kimbrey, Sc.

John: 3V3R41-906

JOHN LEVERETT.

1671-1672. 1673-1674.

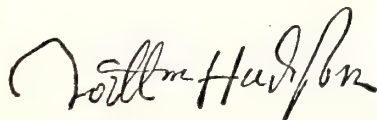
setting them at liberty without becoming responsible to the country in "all charge for or about them," and prohibiting them and Indians from being abroad after nine o'clock in the evening. This law was occasioned by a war with the Indians which broke out that year.

Notice has been taken of the departure of Captain Stoughton for England, and that there went with him several others. These were military men, and considered the best in the country. The most of them doubtless went to take part in the war which raged in England, and who had learned that the "Popish party," as they considered that of the King, was in a fair way to be overthrown. The fame of Cromwell had reached them, and he was a Puritan of the right stamp; who had, in the battle of Marston Moor, acquired the name of Ironsides for achieving the victory when it was supposed to be lost; and that, above all, he and his followers fought "for conscience sake," knowing "from within that their cause was just."

Soon after Mr. Stoughton's arrival in England he was made Lieutenant Colonel under his friend Col. William Rainesborow, who had formerly lived here at Charlestown; Mr. Nehemiah Bourne, a ship-carpenter, was made a Major in the same regiment. He went from Boston. From the land he was transferred to the sea service. Mr. John Leverett, of Boston, afterwards Governor of the Colony, was made Captain of foot, and William Hudson,* Ensign in his company, and Mr. Lioll, Surgeon to the Earl of Manchester's Life Guard. These all did eminent service, and all, except Mr. Stoughton, returned again "to their wives and families." He fell sick and died at Lincoln. For his good service, Captain Leverett was created a Knight and Baronet; but owing probably to a jealousy which might arise among his friends, he kept his title to himself, making no display of its honors; or, it may be, that such titles did not comport with his ideas of a Christian Commonwealth.

There was considerable agitation during the session of the General Court, which continued from the fourteenth of May to the fifth of July, respecting captures of ships in the harbor, and there was a proposition to commit the subject to the military officers. The discriminating part of the Court thought the delegation of such a power to the Military would be attended with difficulties, and result in injuries to the general good; but the majority of the Court consisting of military men, the measure was carried. The difficulty with Captain Stagg was the principal cause of the present agitation. The Deputies desired to pass a bill giving security and protection to all ships which should come into the port as friends, and although it passed in their branch, the Magistrates would not consent to it, because it would bring them into collision

* The Autograph of William Hudson, as copied from the records of this period. There were several families of Hudson in Boston at this time. — See *Antiqu. Journal*, ii. 190.



with the Parliament. A similar bill, however, did pass in a modified form, which authorized Major Gibbons, of Boston, and Major Sedgwick of Charlestown, to keep the peace in their respective towns, "and not to permit any ships to fight in the harbor without license from Authority."

July 15. A new watch-house erected on Fort Hill was struck with lightning. The boards and timber at one end of it were torn in pieces, and it was otherwise damaged.

About this time notice is taken of the importation of books into the country. They would not probably have been mentioned, but for their contents giving offence; "some in defence of Anabaptism and other errors, and for liberty of conscience as a shelter for their toleration; others in maintenance of the Presbyterianial government against the Congregational way here." These books were the occasion of a sort of Synod, which convened at Cambridge, in which the books were examined and answers to them written. These answers were sent to England to be printed.

The appearance of the heretical books doubtless had some influence on the case of Captain Alexander Partridge. He was an Anabaptist,* and appears to have arrived in New England in October of this year. He had been in the service of Parliament, but on his voyage to Boston "he broached and zealously maintained divers points of Antinomianism and Familism." Being called before the Magistrates, he refused to answer their interrogations. At length he consented to confer with Mr. Cotton, which having done, Mr. Cotton reported that "he found him corrupt in his judgment, but ignorant of those points which he had maintained, and that, upon argument, he was come off from some of the worst of them, and he had good hope to reclaim him wholly." This did not satisfy some of the Magistrates, and they insisted that he should sign a paper that he relinquished the whole. This, of course, as a conscientious man, he could not do, until he was convinced, and this should have been sufficient; but this did not satisfy the majority of the Rulers. There was the law of banishment made in Mr. Wheelwright's case, and the last year a law had been made for the banishment of Anabaptists. Some of the Magistrates, indeed, pleaded for the suspension of the operation of those laws, and urged the cruelty of banishing persons at this season of the year. Nevertheless, there was a majority of one or two for banishment, and the sentence was accordingly



over Head and Ears, &c. To this there is a frontispiece by Marshall, in which are represented fifteen sorts of Baptists. The cut in

* Dr. Daniel Featly came out this year upon the Anabaptists, as he did twenty years before on the Roman Catholics. His curious book against them is entitled *The Dipper Dipt, or the Anabaptists Duck'd and Plung'd*

this note was intended to represent a follower of David George, of whom he makes some mention in his *Dipper*, p. 28.

To show how English Churchmen as well as Puritans abhorred the Anabaptists, the following is extracted from the *Epistole Ho-Eliaæ*, of the learned and curious James Howell. "If I hate any," he says, "'t is those schismatics that puzzle the sweet peace of our Church, so that I could be content to see an Anabaptist go to Hell on a Brownist's back."—Page 270, edition, 1726. Howell wrote in 1635.

pronounced by the Court on Captain Partridge.* He soon after found his way to Rhode Island. It should be remembered that the Elders used their exertions to effect the result accomplished.

How far the grants of the Town, of lands to the inhabitants, were to be considered complete titles of such grants, seems to have been a question among some of the grantees; for, at a meeting of the Select
Sept. 20. Men, it was ordered, that, "whereas the severall graunts of howsiots and other lands, recorded in this Towne Booke, are entered onely as graunted to the ptyes themselves, without mention of their heyres, it hath bene thought fitt to be hereby declared and ordered," that all such grants should "be estates in fee simple," except such estates as had been granted for a term of years.

The winter set in very early, and is recorded "as the earliest and sharpest" since Boston was settled; and that the "cold was as vehement to the southward as here. Ships were put from their anchors
Dec. 25. with the ice and driven on shore, and one ketch was carried out to sea and wrecked on Lovell's Island." †

* Notwithstanding this treatment, he and Gov. Coddington, "in behalfe of the Ilanders of Rhode Iland," requested that they might be "resceauied into combination with all the vniited Colonyes of New England." They were answered that Rhode Island was within the bounds of Plymouth; that their "present state was full of confusion and danger, haueing much disturbance amongst themselves, and noe security from the Indians;" that though the Commissioners desired, "in severall respects," to afford advice and help, all they could do then was to "consider and aduize how they might be accepted vpon iust termes, and with tender respects to their consciences." — *Hazard*, ii. 99-100.

† Sept. 15. — Wm. Colbron and James Penn are appointed "to lay out the way" through the gardens towards the south Wind-mill. To begin between Nicholas Parker's house and Robt. Renolds' garden, and to go forth between Amos Richardson's and John Palmer's house.

Sept. 29. — A house lot is granted to Arthur Clarke next the lot of John Search. — Arthur Perry to have £5, for drumming the last year.

and 30s. more for drum heads. Alexander Becke paid £4, 7s. for the marsh granted him, 31: 1: 1645.

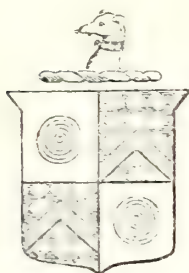
Oct. 27. — "Ordered yt ye Constables shall sett off 6s of Henry Messenger's rates for mending the Schoole Mr. his pt of the ptition fence betweene their gardens." The remains of the marsh in the Town's hands, over against John Barrell's house, is granted to Edward Bendall, his paying therefor what Wm. Colbron and John Oliver said it was worth, but he refused it at their price.

Dec. 26. — "Select men" chosen. They had for some time been denominated "Select townsmen." They were at this time, Winthrop, Hibbins, Gibbons, Keayne, Thos. Fowle, Colbron, Hill, Eliot, and Penn.

Dec. 29. — James Penn is chosen Recorder and Treasurer. — The town guarantees to Samuel Maverick, Gent., that his contribution towards the Fort on Castle Island shall be refunded, in case said Garrison be defeated or demolished, except by adversary power, within three years. Ordered that Mr. Fowle and James Penn with the Constable shall take Wm. Francklin's account, "lat Constable."

CHAPTER XXX.

Fever in the Town. — Death of Mr. John Oliver. — Dudley elected Governor. — Episcopalian Troubles. — Vassall, Child, and others. — They petition the General Court. — Prosecuted for it. — The Subject examined. — Opinion of the Elders upon the Authority of Parliament over them. — Dr. Child before the Court. — The Court divided. — Child and others imprisoned. — Their Papers seized. — Prevented from proceeding on their Voyage to England. — An Agent sent to England. — Voyage of the Ship Supply. — New England's Jonas. — New England's Salamander. — Some Narraganset Indians in Boston. — Anabaptists. — La Tour's Conduct. — Return of an Indian Captive. — Large Arrival of Wine. — Arrival of Capt. Cromwell. — Return of Gorton and others, with an Order of Parliamentary Commissioners. — Termination of the Troubles with the Rhode Island People.



GORGES OF WRAXALL.*

As is not uncommon now, after a sharp winter, the spring of this year "opened early and more seasonably than many before it;" but it was attended with sadness to several families, owing to a malignant fever which proved very fatal; often terminating in five or six days. Among those cut off in Boston, Mr. John Oliver, "a gracious young man," is specially mentioned; though "not full thirty years of age, he was an expert soldier, an excellent surveyor of land, and one who, for the sweetness of his disposition, was generally beloved, and greatly lamented." He was designed for the ministry, and had "exercised publicly for two years." †

The first appearance of any peculiar malady or disease in the town appears to be taken notice of by Governor Winthrop in his Journal, for which scientific medical men will hereafter feel greatly obliged to him. At or near the commencement of this year the Governor mentions "a disease which raised a scandal upon the Town," but from all he does say about it, there is some uncertainty as to what the disease was. Perhaps those curious in the matter may be better able to decide the question than the Historian, and they are therefore referred to the original Authority.

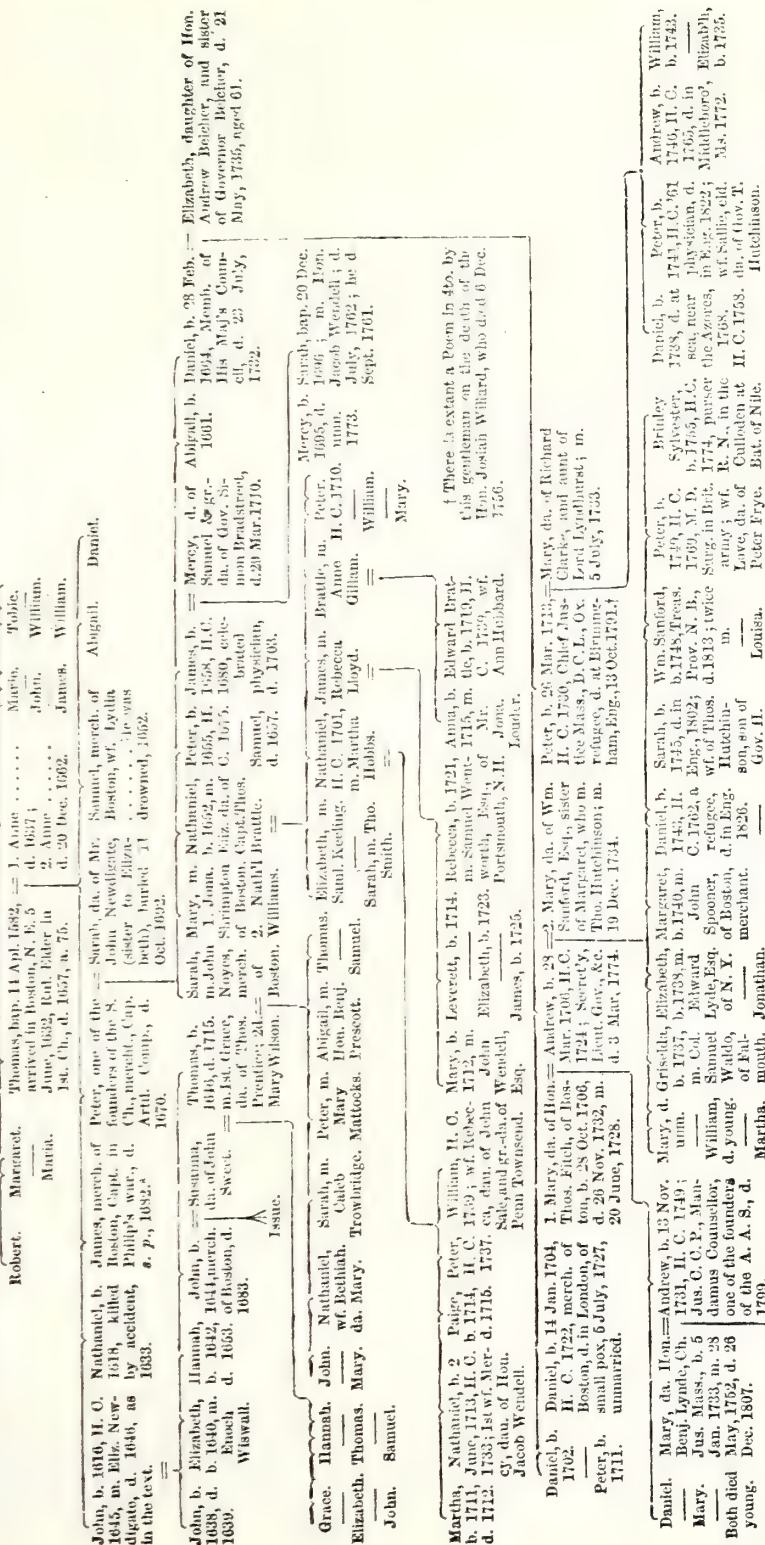
At the May Election, Mr. Dudley and Mr. Winthrop changed places; Mr. Endicott kept his place of Serjeant Major General; and he was also elected one of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and Mr. Herbert Pelham was the other. Mr. Edward Norris preached the Sermon. Hathorne was again Speaker, and Gibbons and Keyane represented the Town.

The Episcopalians in Boston and its vicinity had hitherto been rather quiet, which may be attributed to the smallness of their numbers. But now, some accessions having been made to their ranks, consisting of individuals of birth and standing, they thought it time to assert their right to the same religious privileges as those enjoyed by others. Mr.

* Arms as borne by "Edward Gorges, of Wraxall, in Corn. Somerset, Esqr.," in 1673. See Blome's *Britannia*, also *ante*, p. 249.

† He belonged to a distinguished family, for a pedigree of which, so far as my limits will admit, see next page.

THOMAS OLIVER, Gent., of the parish of St. Thomas, Bristol, d. there, 1557. His wife was Margaret, who m. 2111. . . . Cox. He d. before 1594. They had childen, Elizabeth and John, a merchant of Bristol, buried at St. Stephen's in that city, 31 Jan. 1608. Elizabeth's husband, whom he m. at St. Stephen's, 28 Aug. 1557.



* In 1681, Capt. Oliver petitioned the Gen. Court to grant him the services whereon Winthrop had dwelt, on account of his services in the war; and "after this hath had the most part of his estate consumed by the fire." Winthrop, son of Passaconaway, had an island in the Merrimack river.

My Desc
James

William Vassall, Dr. Robert Child, and Mr. Samuel Maverick were the leaders of the Churchmen. Mr. Vassall was early conspicuous in the Massachusetts Company,* and chosen a member of its government in 1629. He came over with his family the next year with the second, or Boston Colony, but returned again the same year. In 1635 he came again to New England, and settled at Scituate, where he was highly respected. After the persecutions about to be related, he returned to England.† Dr. Child was a young man, had been in Boston or its neighborhood about two years, and came over, it is said, to examine into the mineral wealth of the country. He was a man of learning, and had received the degree of Doctor of Medicine at Padua. Mr. Samuel Maverick is the same often mentioned in the previous pages of this history. These, with Mr. Thomas Fowle,‡ a merchant in Boston, Mr. Thomas Burton,§ Mr. David Yale,|| Mr. John Smith,** and Mr. John Dand,†† presented to the General Court a “Remonstrance and humble petition,”‡‡ which they commenced by complimenting the Government for its “eminent gifts, continual care and constant vigilance, which hath procured unto this wilderness Peace and Plenty, while their native land was so sharply afflicted with the devouring sword.” They then call attention to the “poor handfull here planted,” and to the storm which was hanging over their heads, prepared to burst upon them as a punishment for their sins. They reminded the Court of the “unwonted malignant sicknesses and noysome shamefull diseases,” afflicting the Country, evidently insinuating that their intol-

* See *ante*, pp. 55, 70, 90.

† The present Lord Holland takes the Vassall in his name from this family, and his ancestors were, by marriage, heirs to part of the estate of his brother, Samuel Vassall. — See Debrett's *Peerage*.

‡ The same who was Select-man last year. See *ante*, p. 291. He was before this preparing to leave the country, and after he left he sent for his wife and children, as Mr. Winslow heard, and published in his *New England's Salamander*.

§ Little appears to be known of this gentleman. From the researches of H. N. ORRIS, Esq., of New York, it appears that “Thomas Burton” married Margaret, daughter of the first John Otis, of Hingham. See *N. E. Antiq. Jour.*, ii. 283-4. From this marriage there were many descendants in Plymouth Colony. “Mr. Stephen Burton,” who married Elizabeth, daughter of Gov. Josiah Winslow, was probably son of Thomas. — See *ibid.*, vi. 348.

|| He came to New England in 1637, settled in New Haven; in 1645 he settled in Boston, as a merchant. He bought a house and garden of Edward Bendall, 23 Aug., 1645. Owing probably to the rigorous government here, he returned to England, and did not reside permanently again in this country. On leaving Boston he gave Capt. Thomas Clark, and Capt. Thomas Lake a power of attorney, dated

8 Oct., 1651. He had sons, Joseph, David, b. Boston, 18 Sept. 1645, Theophilus, b. in Boston, 14 Jan. 1651. See *Geneal. of the Yale Family*, by Mr. Elihu Yale, 8vo., New Haven, 1850. Mr. Yale's estate in Boston was on what is now Pemberton Square.

** “He formerly lived about two or three years in Boston, but had removed to Rhode Island before this Remonstrance.” — *New England's Salamander*.

†† “He hath lived in Boston as a sojourner since these warres in another man's house at board-hire, — whose businesse and occupations there are unknown to us; and whose carriage till this present was seemingly faire.” — *Ibid.* From this it would seem that Mr. Dand came over to escape the troubles in England, and perhaps to reside here, but, finding his religious views were disliked, concluded to return.

Johnson says these “persons were of a linsiwolsie disposition, some for prelacy, some for presbytery, and some for plebsbytery.” He is very partial. — See *Wonder Work. Prov.* 202.

‡‡ It is an extensive document, and may be read with profit in this connection. It is to be found in “*New England's Jonas Cast up at London*,” and occupies seven close octavo pages in that work in Force's *Tracts*, vol. 4. It may also be found in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Colls.*, and in Hutchinson's *Coll. of Orig. Papers*, 188-196.

erance and disregard of the laws of England had been the occasion of them.

The Court considered the petition of a seditious character, and ordered the Petitioners before it. Winthrop, Dudley, Pelham, Flint, Hibbins, Nowell, Bellingham and Bradstreet constituted the Court. The Petitioners were charged with "contemptuous and seditious expressions, and were required to find sureties for their good behavior." The Court ordered an answer to the Petition to be drawn up and published, which was accordingly done.*

Meantime there was much agitation in the community. The Civil Authorities had applied to the Elders for their opinions respecting the bearing of the laws of England upon the Government here. They had been thrown into great confusion by the plain statements of Doctor Child, to meet and overcome which they had found it necessary to act quite as independent of England as their posterity did a little more than one hundred years later, when they undertook to discharge the contents of certain chests of tea into the harbor, instead of the warehouses to which they were destined. Fortunately for Boston, at this early day, the Government of England was too unsettled itself to undertake to settle the Government here. However, the Elders gave in a very sensible opinion. That the Colony received its power of government and other privileges from England by Charter; that they owed allegiance and fidelity to that Country, and were dependent upon it for protection, with much more, bearing equally against the arguments for Independence.

The Court came together by adjournment in November, in Nov. 4. which the case of Dr. Child and others was taken up. Meanwhile Mr. Fowle had made preparations to sail for England. He was therefore sent for by the Court, as was also Mr. John Smith of Rhode Island, who was then in Boston. Being required to find sureties for their appearance at another day, they were under no little perplexity. They therefore demanded a hearing at once, and likewise to know why they were proceeded against, while the rest of the Petitioners were not called upon. Whereupon all save Mr. Maverick were soon in attendance. Dr. Child was the chief speaker on the part of the Petitioners, and for his "plain dealing" with the Court he may not have repented, though he was compelled to suffer. "The Court let them know that they did take notice of their contemptuous speeches."

Mr. Fowle and Mr. Smith succeeded in finding sureties the same day, and were liberated. The others went without, none being required of them. Finally the Court agreed that Child, being a leader, should

* It is entitled a "Declaration," &c. It may be seen in Hutchinson's *Col. of Orig. Papers*, occupying 22 pages of that work. Governor Hutchinson, when his attachments were stronger for the early men of New England and their principles than they were at a later date, observes, that the Declaration of the Govern- ment was "a proceeding, which at this day [about 1760], would not appear for the honor of the supreme Authority." That "a parallel was attempted between the fundamental laws of England and those of the Colony, which, in some parts of it, is liable to objection." — *Hist. Massachusetts*, i. 146-7.

be fined fifty pounds, Mr. Maverick,* “because he had not yet appealed” to England, ten pounds, and the other four thirty pounds each.† Upon which they all appealed to Parliament, and tendered their appeal to the Court in writing, but the Court would neither accept nor read the document. It should be remarked that the Court was not unanimous in the sentence passed; Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Saltonstall, and Mr. Bradsireet dissented from the rest, and desired that their dissent should be entered upon the records, which stands much to their honor and credit. “Two or three” of the Deputies dissented also, but their names are not given by Winthrop.

After these harsh proceedings, Dr. Child, Mr. Dand, Mr. Smith and Mr. Vassall, prepared to proceed at once to England, a ship being ready to sail. But their troubles did not end here. The Court judged it dangerous to allow these men to proceed to England under such circumstances. Therefore, under pretence of staying Dr. Child on account of his fine, it was determined to seize and detain him, and to take away and to destroy whatever papers any of them might have, calculated to expose the proceedings here. And, as if it were the determination of the heads of the Government to aggravate their intended outrage to the utmost they could, they say, “we agreed to defer it till the Doctor had been on ship-board.” But, perceiving their plan was discovered, they say, “we sent the officers presently to fetch the Doctor, and to search his study and Dand’s, both at one instant, which was done accordingly.” In the Doctor’s trunk they found, they confessed, “nothing which concerned the business;” but with Mr. Dand they found some obnoxious papers; two petitions to Parliament setting forth the experience of the Petitioners in the Court in Boston, and suggesting remedies; and a paper containing queries. These consisted of some twenty simple questions, respecting the validity of the Patent of the Colony; whether certain acts were not treason; whether the Courts had a right to hinder the establishment of Churches according to the reformed English Church, and others of a similar nature.

Winthrop says, and no doubt truly, that when Dr. Child was brought before the Governor and Council, he fell into a great passion; and he might well have added, that, if any man had passions, he must have been something more or less than human, if he had not shown them, to have been thus circumvented. The same writer says, “Considering he was a man of quality, a gentleman and a scholar, proper respect should

* It may appear strange that Mr. Maverick should submit to so many indignities, as from time to time it has been seen that he did; a man that Boston could not do without. He was a gentleman of wealth and great liberality. A few pages back we have seen how much the Town was indebted to him for help to rebuild the Fort on Castle Island. He may have looked upon these and other proceedings against him, as petty annoyances, to which it was best quietly to submit, not wishing to set an example of opposition to the Government;

or, having a large property at stake, he might not wish to jeopardize it.

† Savage suggests that the poverty of the Public Treasury “might inflame the fines which the tyrannical rulers inflicted on such as differed from them but slightly in their notions of policy.” It will be remembered that Winthrop, then Governor, was the leader in this business. — See Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 248, n. — Winslow says the fines were never exacted. — *New Eng. Salamander, &c. Mass. Hist. Colls.*, vol. 12.

be shown him ; ” but, if he “ gave such big words, and would behave himself no better, he should be confined in prison and clapped in irons.” His case was still further aggravated by a refusal of his fine, which he offered to pay. And thus he, Dand and Smith were held in duranee “ for two or three days, till the ships were gone,” and thus was a victory gained over these few individuals in a manner altogether unworthy of those who achieved it ; and yet, with a sinister joy it is added ; that “ Doctor Child was very much troubled to be hindered from his voyage,” and that his fine was rejected, “ seeing they have new matter and worse against him, for the writings were of his hand ; and that he took his confinement grievously, but he could not help it ” ! However, upon “ tender of sufficient bail, he was set at liberty, but confined to his house,” * and ordered to appear at the next Court of Assistants. Dand and Smith were sent to prison, but were allowed to lodge in the house of their keeper, “ and to have what diet they pleased.” Thomas Joy, a young carpenter, for some kind offences to the prisoners, and inquiring of the Marshal when he went to search Mr. Dand’s study, if his warrant were in the king’s name, “ was laid hold on, and kept in irons about four or five days,” which was sufficient to extort a confession of wrong on his part, as it allowed him to return to the care of his family “ upon reasonable bail.” Thus, arbitrary power shows its strength and importance, when those in the more humble walks of life are accidentally or otherwise thrown within its insolent grasp.

The object of the Government had thus far been pretty well accomplished in its attempt to keep a knowledge of its doings from Parliament. This it was determined to do, until an Agent of their own choosing should be sent over, prepared to counteract any representations of the aggrieved parties. It was proposed that the Governor, Mr. Winthrop, should go ; but he did not incline to leave his government, or to appear in England, excusing himself on the score of age, being about fifty-eight, and with other considerations. Mr. Winslow, of Plymouth, was finally engaged to go, and great efforts were made to fortify him with documents to enable him to meet the charges against the Rulers in Boston successfully.† But nearly two years elapsed before he could be got ready.

Things being thus arranged, it was not important that the offences of Dr. Child and his associates should be considered in so heinous a light as hitherto they had been. But, how soon after they were allowed to proceed on their journey to England, does not appear, though probably towards the close of the present year. Mr. Vassall, and Mr. Fowle, it

* From *New England’s Jonas*, p. 24, it appears his bail was £800, and that he was confined to the house of “ Mr. Leder,” — perhaps Mr. John Leder.

† Mr. Winslow undertook to answer Major Hubbard says, “ Mr. Vassall was a man of a pleasant and facetious wit, but in his title is concerned, the Answer is tolerably actings and designs of a busy and factious conclusive. His Answer was entitled *New England’s Salamander Discovered*. It is by disposition, that could take content in no element but the fire.” — *Hist. N. Eng.* See also slow’s reasoning faculties. He contents him- Winthrop’s *Journal*, ii. 321.

is supposed, went at the time Dr. Child and the two others were attached, and had their papers seized.

Nov. 5. They went in a ship named the Supply.* About the time of her sailing, Mr. Cotton preached a Thursday lecture sermon, with special reference to persons going over in her with written complaints against the late transactions in Boston. Some belonging to the ship, or going in her, were his hearers at the lecture, and he warned them against the bearers of such communications; that any such papers would prove a *Jonas*† to the voyage, and recommended, if a storm did arise, that certain trunks should be searched for a *Jonas*. A storm did arise, and a certain female on board, who had heard Mr. Cotton's late sermon, ran about the ship in much consternation, insisting that if any passenger had a *Jonas*, it should be produced, and the ship delivered of it. She gave Mr. Vassall a call at midnight. He asked her why she came to him? "Because," she said, "it was thought he had some writings against the people of God." He told her he had only a petition to Parliament, merely praying that they might enjoy the liberty of English subjects; and surely that could be no *Jonas*. She next paid Mr. Fowle a visit, "in like distracted manner." He told her he had only a copy of the petition, which himself and others had presented to the Court at Boston. This he produced and read to her, and then said, that if she and others judged that that was the cause of the storm, they might have it, and do what they would with it. She took the paper to her companions, who, after a consultation, decided that it should be cast overboard. But it is remarked, that though it was thus ceremoniously committed to the waves, there was no immediate cessation of the tempest; nor did it prevent another‡ which seemed to have doomed them all to certain destruction near Scilly, fourteen days after.||

Notwithstanding those and other storms during the voyage, and notwithstanding the real *Jonas* continued in the ship, and was "cast up at London" in safety, as were all the ship's company; yet, it was reported that they owed their safety to the destruction of the petition to Parliament, when, as Major Childe says,§ it was only a copy of a petition to their own Court at Boston; still the petition to Parliament, with a copy

* From *New England's Salamander*, &c., the following persons appear to have sailed in this ship with Mr. Vassall, and Mr. Fowle: Capt. Wm. Sayles, then late Governor of Bermudas, Mr. William Golding, minister of the same island, Herbert Pelham, Esq., Capt. Leverett, Capt. Harding, and Mr. Richard Sadler. Mr. Thos. Peters had his goods and bedding on board to go also, but hearing Mr. Cotton's lecture, he took them out and went in another ship by way of Spain.

† Hence the name given to the Book before cited.

‡ Mr. Winslow complains much of the account given by Child, although he omits nearly all the charges stated. Childe's statement had the good effect to draw out many

valuable facts from his opponent, who speaks thus of the stormy passage. "After they had come to sea," he says, they "had the terriblest passage that ever he heard on for extremities of weather; the mariners not able to take an observation of sunne or star in seven hundred leagues sayling or thereabouts." It was then that "certaine well-disposed Christians called to mind the things delivered by Mr. Cotton," &c., as in the text.—Hubbard, in his *Hist. of N. Eng.*, is quite at random in his account of these affairs.

|| *New England's Jonas*.

§ *Ibid*.

Hubbard (517) says this work was by Mr. Vassall, "assisted as was said by a Relation of Dr. Child."

of that thrown overboard, and other writings of that nature, were still in the ship, and safely delivered at London, as before mentioned.*

Amidst the difficulties with the Episcopalians, a deputation of June. Narragansets arrived in Boston. They had agreed to pay a certain amount of wampum as an indemnity for some alleged wrongs which they had done the English, and there was now due from them "above 1300 fathoms." The time for payment had expired, and they were not able to pay at this time but 100 fathom, and that chiefly in "old brass kettles." The English were likewise poor, and had endeavored to borrow money to enable their agent, Mr. Winslow, to proceed to London to oppose their enemies. This may account in part, perhaps, for their sharp dealings with the Indians, who were certainly much the poorer of the two. The Indians were accused of breaking their promise, and treated with an insolence but rarely extended to criminal debtors of a later age, and their small payment was refused. Whereupon they went to Mr. Henry Shrimpton,† the brazier, sold him their old kettles for what he would give, and to show the English that their honesty was as real as their poverty, left the amount in his hands for them, until they were able to bring an additional sum, that it might be worthy of the notice of their creditors.‡

There was an attempt by petition to obtain a repeal of the laws, or some of them, against Anabaptists at the previous court. The incentive to which is probably to be referred to certain steps of a very liberal character which had been taken by Parliament; that body had, by its Commissioners, sent directions, or recommendations, to all the English plantations in New England and the West Indies, that all men should enjoy liberty of conscience.§ But there was a party which succeeded in counteracting any such liberality towards "Anabaptists and other hereties." In answer to the petitioners for the repeal of those laws, the Court "ordered, that the laws in their petition mentioned, should not be altered or explained at all." Hence, that men with restless minds, should prefer to enter into the civil wars abroad, to submitting to such tyranny here, is not to be wondered at. Among those men were Emanuel Downing, Nehemiah Bourne, Robert Sedgwick, and Thomas Fowle.||

* There is a singular want, in Winthrop's *Journal*, of almost every element from which to make anything like a clear history of this disturbance, nor has his editor thrown any light upon it. Winthrop has pretty fully stated, though very diffusely, the part the Court acted; and its fears of the consequences, though somewhat disguised, are very apparent.

† Shrimpton's Christian name is not mentioned in the *Records of the U. Colonies* in Hazard, but there was living at this time in Boston, Henry Shrimpton, brazier, who, it is believed, is meant. See *ante*, p. 245, 250.

‡ This debt gave the Indians much trouble.

The English account of it may be found in the *Records of the United Colonies* in Hazard, and a condensed account in the *Book of the Indians*, Book ii.

§ See Backus', *Hist. N. Eng.* i. 188.

|| To cite Winthrop's *Journal* for every fact for which these pages are indebted, would be superfluous. No account of the early times of Boston would be of much value without its use. It is really a "Journal of Boston," and incidentally a "Journal of events in the country, having a special bearing upon Boston." This would have been something like a legitimate title to that work. It is for the most part almost exclusively of Boston affairs.

Some of the people of Boston, who had been at so much pains, formerly, to advance the interests of M. De La Tour, had cause this season to regret having made his acquaintance. Having been at Newfoundland, he came hence in a vessel belonging to Sir David Kirk. Some of the merchants fitted him out upon a trading voyage at the eastward, with goods to the value of 400 pounds. The crew consisted of twelve men, five of whom only were of Boston, and when they came to Cape Sable, which was in mid-winter, La Tour and his Frenchmen seized upon the vessel and cargo, drove out the five Englishmen, and went off with the booty. The men, thus turned ashore, would have perished, but for the kindness of the Indians in those parts, by whose assistance, after several months of sufferings and hardships, they were enabled to return to Boston.*

The distress and affliction of the family of Hutchinson, from banishment and the tomahawk of the Indians, has been noticed in a previous chapter.† Some of those banished, had become reconciled to the government here, and had returned, and were again residents of Boston. But there was a daughter of a murdered family, a captive among the Indians, if living, the thoughts of which must have saddened many of the hours of her near kindred. That she was living among the barbarians was probably a more dreaded thought than that she had early died by their cruel hands. From this long and painful suspense her relations were relieved

July. in July of this year, by the survivor of the murdered family being, in an unexpected moment, brought and delivered to them. The

Dutch having made peace with the Indians, this captive was restored, with other prisoners, in fulfilment of the treaty of peace. Her name, and her marriage with John Cole, of Boston, has been stated in the pedigree of her family. She had been upwards of three years a captive with the Indians, and had been so accustomed to them that she left them only by compulsion; had forgotten her native tongue, and looked upon her nearest friends as her enemies.‡

The commerce of Boston had become considerably extended, judging from the large quantity of wines brought here in English ships; there having arrived in the spring about 800 butts. It is however remarked, that it came to a "bad market."

The arrival of Captain Cromwell § in Boston, caused considerable sensation among the people. He was well known to many here June 10. ten years before, though then in the capacity of a common seaman. Having entered into the Civil Wars, "had been out divers years with Captain Jackson in a man of war;" and being deputed by

* Winthrop, who had been so taken with La Tour formerly, consoles himself with this reflection upon his late conduct:—"Whereby it appeared, as the Scripture saith, that there is no confidence in an unfaithful or carnal man. Though tied with many strong bonds of courtesy, etc., he turned pirate, etc."—*Journal*, ii. 266.

† See chap. xxiv. p. 228, *ante*.

‡ Her descendants are probably numerous at this day; few, if any, of whom, perhaps, are aware of the sorrows and sufferings of this their early progenitor.

§ Perhaps Samuel "Crumwell," who was a freeman of the Colony, 1634. Thomas C. of B., willed six bells to the Town, 1649.

Jackson, he took several Spanish vessels, and in them found great riches. As he was proceeding up the bay to Boston with three ships, he was forced by adverse winds to put into Plymouth. While there, an occurrence of a serious nature happened. Being on shore with many of his company, one of them drew his rapier upon him. To prevent his doing mischief the Captain gave him a blow, from the effects of which he died. The case was examined by the authorities at Plymouth, and the Captain was discharged. He presented Governor Winthrop with an elegant Spanish sedan, intended by the Viceroy of Mexico for his sister, of some fifty pounds' value. "He and all his men had much money, great store of plate, and jewels of great value; yet he took up his lodgings in a poor thatched house, notwithstanding he was offered the best in the town," saying, that the poor man who occupied it had entertained him when others refused to admit him into their dwellings, and now he would not slight him when he had it in his power to serve him; thus showing himself to be a noble-hearted seaman, of whom it was said, he never knew father or mother, nor did they ever know him; having been produced by the Cesarean birth.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by the Agents in England to excuse the proceedings against the Rhode Island people, the Commissioners for May. Plantations were well satisfied that the Government at Boston had been conducted in a manner which could not be justified by any sound principles of policy; and the following is the most favorable construction that Winthrop, as head of the Government, could make of the rebuke of the Commissioners, which was about this time brought over. He says, that on complaints preferred to those Commissioners by Gorton, Greene and Holden, who had gone to England* for the purpose, they ordered the Agents of Massachusetts to appear and answer the charges contained in the Petition of the Rhode Island men; "whereupon some appeared, but they having no instructions about the case, and the writings sent over to Mr. Welde the year before being either lost or forgotten, a full answer could not be given in the particular; and, the Petitioners being favored by some of the Commissioners, partly for private respects, and partly for their adhering to some of their corrupt tenets, and generally out of their dislike of us for our late law for banishing Anabaptists, they seemed to be much offended with us for our rigorous proceeding, as they called it, against them; and thereupon, without sending to us to hear our answer," they gave them an order† "to return with freedom" to their lands at Narraganset, "and there to

* What time they sailed for England does not appear. But they went not only armed with the complaints of their own grievances, but they carried over "the surrendering of the Narragansets, of themselves and lands to the King; but found him not able to help either himself or them. However, they published their case and a narrative of their sufferings, in 1645, under the title of *Simplicity's Defence against Seven-headed Policy*." Then applying

themselves to the Parliamentary Commissioners, they succeeded as above stated. — *Backus*, i. 195.

† The Order is given in full in Winthrop, notwithstanding it must have been very offensive to him to have recorded it. It bore the "Seal of Warwick, Governor and Admiral," and was signed by the Commissioners: Nottingham, Fra. Dacre, Fer. Rigby, Cor. Holland, Sam. Vassall, George Fenwick, Fran.

inhabit and abide without interruption;" also requiring the Government at Boston, "and all others whom it might concern, to permit Mr. Samuel Gorton, Mr. Rendall Holden, Mr. John Greene, and others, goods and necessaries carried with them out of England, to land at any part of New England, and without any molestation to pass through any part of the country to Narraganset Bay, and hereof to fail not."

On the arrival of the Rhode Island men in the harbor of Boston, one of them, Mr. Holden,* sent the order of the Commissioners to Governor Winthrop; who, finding himself thus disarmed, submitted with what dignity he could. He sent Mr. Holden word Sept. 13. that he had not authority of himself to give them leave to land, but the Council were to meet in two or three days, when he would lay the subject before them; at the same time he thought it prudent to assume responsibility enough to give Mr. Holden to understand, that he would not be looked after in the mean time. Thus ended these very serious difficulties, the progress and termination of which necessarily form a portion of the History of Boston, of deep interest; and not only to Boston, but to the people of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and to the whole country.

Being thus thwarted in their measures towards Rhode Island by the officers of the Parliament of England, it naturally enough caused the Government here to change its tone somewhat towards that body. So long as Parliament did not interfere with any of their determinations, all was very well, and its ships were protected in preference to those of the Crown. Now it was thought best to consider the relation in which the "Colony stood to the State of England, and what subjection it owed to that State," with many other similar reflections.†

Allein, Wm. Purefoy, and Geo. Snelling. Another order, going more into particulars, bearing the same date, viz., 15 May, 1646, has these additional signatures: "Northumberland, Pembroke and Montgomery, Manchester, Wm. Waller, Dennis Bond, and Ben. Rudyer. — Winthrop. *Journal*, ii. 272-3, 280-2. The names to the "Order," as found upon the *Providence Records*, differ somewhat from these as given by Winthrop, according to the copy in *Berkus*, i. 198; the latter, however, gives but five names, "Warwick, Northumberland, Nottingham, John Holland, H. Vane, &c."

* Mr. Holden is only mentioned by name, as arriving at this time. Mr. Gorton continued in England till 1648, as before stated.

† The important town affairs deserving a record, this year, follow: —

Feb. 23. — Edward Harrison admitted a townsman. Thos. Scotto to see "y^e y^e graves be digged five foot deep," and to be Pound keeper. Christopher Lawson may "wharfe afor his howse, being y^e w^{ch} was Sampsons Shoors, by Walter Merry's," maintaining a highway. Barnabas Favour and Arthur Perry may wharf before their doors, maintaining a cart-way. Alexander Adams may wharf be-

fore his house on like terms, and to be "y^e breadth of all his ground." Geo. Griggs and Will. Blanton to make their garden fence between them by —, or pay 20s. Walter Merry to make a highway 16 feet broad from his house to the water side by 15 May, or pay 20s.

Mar. 23. — Nicholas Willis, James Everell, Thomas Grubb, Robert Turner, constables. Wm. Colbron and James Penn to lay out the footway from Mr. Nicholas Parkes' house through the gardens to the Mill lane or street. Propositions about a fortification at the North End, "att Walter Merry's point."

Mar. 30. — John Berry apprenticed to Edwd. Keyley; Wm. Brisco and Tho. Buttolfsee for the town. Mr. Cuddington to set up his garden fences by the 14 Apl. next, between John Odlin and himself and others, or pay 5s. a rod. Henry Duglice admitted a townsman. Geo. Halsoll may make a "cawsey" 10 feet square from his wharf at the north end of it, to low water mark, to be free of access.

Apr. 27. — Wm. Blancher admitted to inhabit, and to follow his trade — a tailor. Thos. Jones cowkeeper, at 2s. a cow. "A ratt of £100 for y^e Countrey's debts." One "for y^e Towne's ocations mad £133, 12s." Maj. Gib-

CHAPTER XXXI.

D'Aulnay comes to Boston. — His Reception and Business. — Makes a Treaty with the Commissioners of the United Colonies. — His Departure. — A Ship launched. — Unfortunate commercial Adventures. — John Eliot begins to preach to the Indians. — Winslow sails on his Embassy. — Death of Canonius — of Thomas Hoeker — of Mrs. Winthrop. — Quarantine. — A Marriage. — Ambassador from New Netherland. — Law against Romanists. — Other curious Laws. — Election. — Arrival of Gorton. — Execution of Margaret Jones for Witchcraft. — Order of Court about Witches. — The Rocking Ship. — Thomas Jones. — Synod. — Cambridge Platform. — Second Church. — New Brick Church. — Death of Governor Winthrop. — Commerce. — Bazaleel Payton.



OLIVER.

THE difficulties experienced by the people of Boston, growing out of the contentions between La Tour and D'Aulnay were not yet at an end. The unwise course taken by the Government to sustain the former in his pretensions, justly incurred the displeasure of the latter. He accordingly came to Boston to demand satisfaction. His manner of reception is thus described

Sept. 20. by Mr. Winthrop, then Governor of the Colony. "It being Lord's day,* and the people ready to go to the assembly after dinner, Monsieur

Marie, and Monsieur Louis, with Monsieur D'Aulnay, his Secretary, arrived at Boston in a small pinnace, and Major Gibbons sent two of his chief officers to meet them at the water-side, who conducted them to their lodgings, without noise or bustle. The public worship being ended, the Governor repaired home, and sent Major Gibbons, with other gentlemen, with a guard of musketeers to attend them to the Governor's house, who, meeting them without his door, carried them into his house, where they were entertained with wine and sweetmeats, and after a while he accompanied them to their lodgings, being the house of Major Gibbons, where they were entertained that night. The next morning they repaired to the Governor, and delivered him their commission, which was in form of a letter directed to the Governor and magistrates. It was open, but had a seal only let into the paper with

bons and Capt. Keayne Deputies to the Gen. Court. Wm. Halston admitted to inhabit.

May 18. — All persons admitted to inhabit to have equal right of Commonage. All admitted hereafter not to have that right unless they heir it. Ordered that but 70 milch kine be kept on the Common. Elder Oliver's horse may go there. No person allowed to sell his right of Commonage. A fine for any cow or horse except the 70, if "found upon y^e Neck."

Oct. 19. — Bro. Tho. Marshall, bro. Chaffy, bro. Neghouse and Wm. Franklin, late Constables, ordered to be presented to the Gen. Court for not paying "y^e w^{ch}. is behind on y^e Gar-

rison wages." A "ratt of £60 to be forthwith made by the townsmen for y^e satisfieing of y^e Garrison at y^e castle this year ensuing."

* "The Governor acquainting them with our manner, that all men either come to our public meetings, or keep themselves quiet in their houses, and finding that the place where they lodged would not be convenient for them that day, invited them home to his house, where they continued private all that day until sunset, and made use of such books, Latin and French, as he had, and the liberty of a private walk in his garden, and so gave no offence, &c." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 275.

a label. Their diet was provided at the ordinary, where the Magistrates use to diet in Court times ; and the Governor accompanied them always at meals. Their manner was to repair to the Governor's house every morning about eight of the clock, who accompanied them to the place of meeting ; and, at night, either himself or some of the Commissioners, accompanied them to their lodgings." *

It was three days before the Commissioners had assembled, and were ready to hear the complaints of Monsieur D'Aulnay. To the charge that the Government had lent assistance to La Tour, it was answered that leave was only granted that he might hire people to conduct his ships home ; and that the Government had no hand in the action complained of. The matter was discussed two days, but there is no full report of the arguments advanced on either side. D'Aulnay laid his damages at 8000 pounds, but did not insist upon pecuniary satisfaction entirely ; while the Commissioners would not admit "any guilt" on their part. As an offset, some charges were brought against D'Aulnay. Finally it was agreed that the wrongs charged on one side should balance those charged on the other ; but as the Commissioners disclaimed the actions of the volunteers who went with La Tour, they agreed "to send a small present to D'Aulnay, in satisfaction of that, and so all injuries and demands to be remitted," and peace to be concluded. A treaty was accordingly signed by the parties. The proposed "small present" was in due time sent to the Frenchman.

Sept. 23. It consisted of the sedan, "very fair and new," which Captain Cromwell had given to Mr. Winthrop † a few months before, and which was now given to D'Aulnay, as Winthrop says, because it was of no value to him ! Thus cheaply was Monsieur D'Aulnay got rid of, and his 8000 pounds claim.

D'Aulnay and his suite left Boston the same day the treaty was signed ; "the Governor and our Commissioners accompanying them to their boat, attended with a guard of musketeers, and gave them five guns from Boston, three from Charlestown, and five from Castle Island ; and we sent them aboard a quarter cask of sack and some mutton. They answered all our salutations with such small pieces as they had, and so set sail ; Major Sedgwick and some other gentlemen accompanying them as far as Castle Island."

Oct. 17. The launching of a ship in this early day was no ordinary event in the affairs of Boston. One is launched at this time of 300 tons burthen.‡ The ships belonging to Boston were this year not

* "The two first days after their arrival their pinnace kept up her flag in the main top, which gave offence both to the Londoners who rode in the harbor, and also to our own people, whereupon Monsieur Marie was put in mind of it. At first he excused it by a general custom of the King's ships, both French, English and Dutch, &c., to use it in all places ; but being now under our government, if we would so command, he would cause to be taken down. We desired him not to put us to that, but seeing he knew our minds he would do it of himself. Whereupon he gave order to have it taken down." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 275.

† See *ante*, page 301.

‡ Now, Oct. 4th, 1853, one of 4000 tons is launched, and although its launching was witnessed by a vast concourse of people, it is not so important an event in the history of Boston at this time, as that of 300 tons was in the period under notice ; yet the "Great Republic" of Mr. McKay marks an era in shipbuilding.

very prosperous. Major Gibbons and Captain Leverett had a ship cast away at Virginia, and lost, as near as could be estimated, 2000 pounds. A small craft that was fitted out to trade at Barbadoes, was found cast ashore at Scituate, but her crew were all lost. Another, which went to trade about the Gulf of Canada, was taken by D'Aulnay, as trespassing on his rights.*

Oct. 28. Mr. John Eliot, Minister of Roxbury, having with great labor and perseverance so far learned the language of the Indians as to be understood by them, began to preach to them. He preached constantly in two places; one week at the wigwam of Waban, near the mill in Watertown, and the next week in the wigwam of Kutshamokin, near the mill in Dorchester. To show the Indians that what Mr. Eliot was doing was approved of by the best people, Governor Winthrop and other gentlemen of Boston often attended at the wigwams to give countenance to his undertaking.

Mr. Eliot had a happy faculty of winning the love and respect of the Natives, and he soon became their temporal as well as spiritual adviser and guide; and, by his mildness and moderation, he often saved those who would listen to him, from impositions, and prevented altercations among them, and between them and their white neighbors. He began early with the little Indian children, by asking them simple catechetical questions, whom he would induce to answer by giving them at first a cake, an apple, or something of which he knew them to be fond. These Indian labors became very extensive; even from the Merrimack river to Cape Cod. To carry on this work he suffered almost every privation and hardship, and if the good he did passed away with the generations to whom it extended, he had his reward in the consciousness of having benefited great numbers of the benighted race, and elevating them in the scale of humanity. It is unjust, in view of Mr. Eliot's labors, to inquire, as some have done, "Cui bono?"† The same inquiry will apply to all the good that has been done in the world, with equal justice. Mr. Eliot continued his labors through a long life. He died in Roxbury, on the twentieth of May, 1690, in the eighty-sixth year of his age.

Dec. It was about the middle of December before Mr. Winslow was ready to sail for England. He went prepared in the best possible manner to counteract the efforts of Dr. Child, Mr. Gorton, and others; who, as has been observed, were using their endeavors to give an impression unfavorable to the Government at Boston. Mr. Winslow failed to accomplish all that was hoped for, while he succeeded quite as well as any one acquainted with the case, could have expected.‡

*It was agreed, in the late treaty with D'Aulnay, that the people of Boston should not trade within his territories without license. When it was known at Boston that this ship and cargo was confiscated, the merchants interested were for making reprisal, but were restrained by the Government, which had profited by former experience. The ship taken by D'Aulnay was commanded by Capt. Dobson. She was "double manned," and fitted for war. Her cargo was valued at £1000.

† Douglass, i. 172. — Rogers, *Ch. Disc.*, 63.

‡ A law was made this year forbidding any person to swear, under a penalty of 10s., and

June 4. Among the remarkable occurrences of this year was the death of the great Indian Chief, Canonieus; "a very old man," says Winthrop. There is nothing by which his exact age can be determined, but it may be remembered that he was the most important Chief in the country when the Pilgrims arrived at Plymouth. The death of Miantonimo undoubtedly affected him much, as he put all his dependence on him, in conducting his public affairs with respect to other tribes and foreigners. Though Miantonimo was not his son, he was his nephew, and was regarded by him with all the fondness of a father. Canonieus was never at Boston, probably, although he had much indirect intercourse with the Government here.*

Other deaths of remarkable persons are recorded; among them Mr. Thomas Hooker, of Hartford,† and Mrs. Winthrop, wife of the Governor, "a woman of singular virtue, prudence, modesty and piety, and specially beloved and honored of all the country."‡

June 14. She was ill but a single night; "having fell sick on the thirteenth of June, in the afternoon, died the next morning." These deaths were occasioned by an epidemic, which "took them like a cold, and a light fever with it. Such as bled or used cooling drinks died." It extended "throughout the country, among Indians, English, French and Dutch." Some forty or fifty only died of it in Massachusetts. There was great mortality in the West India Islands, and there was much fear in Boston that ships from those islands would import it. The arrival of Captain

July. George Dell§ from St. Christopher's caused a good deal of excitement, as he ran his vessel in under a false pretence to avoid a sort of rude quarantine which then existed. Other arrivals about the same time caused considerable uneasiness.

Aug. 4. A marriage, which took place at Boston on the fourth of August of this year, gave the chief Magistrate some concern, and he signifies his displeasure by calling it a "great marriage;" which, because the bridegroom, Mr. Samuel Danforth, being of Hingham, the marriage was to be solemnized by a Sermon from "Mr. Hubbard" of that town. On Mr. Hobart's (for that was his name) arrival in Boston, "the Magistrates sent to him to forbear." The reasons alleged for the order to "forbear" were, that "his spirit had been discovered to be

if any Indian presumed to powwow, he should pay 10s. and stop powwowing. If a child, over 16 years of age, curse his parents, it shall be put to death. John Eliot was allowed £10 for instructing the Indians, out of the £20 granted by the Lady Armine. Persons absenting themselves from public worship to pay 5s. If any renounced the Church, and pretended to be spiritually illuminated, they were to be fined 40s. a month.

* Several years after the death of these Chiefs, Roger Williams thus testifies of one of them: "It was not price nor money that could have purchased Rhode Island. It was obtained by love; by the love and favor which that honorable Gentleman Sir Henry Vane and

myself had with that great Sachem Miantonimo, about the league which I procured between the Massachusetts English, &c., and the Narragansets in the Pequot war." — *Backus*, i. 91.

† Though Mr. Hooker's death is recorded by Winthrop in his *Journal* (ii. 310), before that of his wife, it is believed to have taken place after it; viz., July 7th.

‡ See the Winthrop pedigree, page 72, *ante*.

§ He was admitted a freeman of Boston, 7 May, 1651, and died about two years after, leaving a good estate for those times, which, by his inventory, amounted to £1506, 14s., 7d. His will is printed in the *Antiquarian Journal*, v. 442-3.

averse to our ecclesiastical and civil government, and he was a bold man, and would speak his mind, and we were not willing to bring in the English custom of ministers performing the solemnity of marriage, which sermons at such times might induce; but if any ministers were present, and would bestow a word of exhortation, &c., it was permitted.*

It appears, however, that the objections did not lie so much against sermons at marriages, as to the officiating Minister who preached them; for Mr. Cotton was allowed to preach a sermon at Mr. Danforth's marriage with "the virtuous daughter of Mr. Wilson."†

About the same time Governor Peter Stuyvessant, having arrived at New York, and on assuming the government there, sent his Secretary to Boston with letters to Governor Winthrop, "with a tender of all courtesy and good correspondency."‡

A law was made by the General Court this year, providing, that "no Jesuite or spiritual or ecclesiastical person ordained by the authority of the Pope or See of Rome," shall come within its jurisdiction. The occasion of the law at this time, was "the great wars and combustions" in Europe.§ Another law of far greater moment was made at the October term of the same court. This was the law establishing Public Schools — believed to be the first legislative enactment of the kind in

* Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 313. — Lincoln's *Hist. Hingham*, 77.

† Mather, *Magnalia*, Book iv. p. 155. But Mather says the marriage of Mr. Danforth with Miss Wilson took place "in the year 1651." Mather is not exact in dates of this description. See a pedigree of the Danforth Family in the *Antiquarian Journal*, vii. 321.

‡ Jan. 25. — It was ordered by the Town that William "Dauice the apotecary" have leave to set up a "pajll afor his hall window and parlor window three foot from his house." Mr. Tho. Oliver to have £9, for curing Rich. Berry, that was Tho. Hawkins' man. George Halsell shall make up the Town's highway between his garden and the sea, that he hath digged away, by the 6th of May next. The same shall keep a passage boat between his wharf and "y^e ships wher the ships rid," and may take a penny a person for passage.

Mar. 18. — Select men for this year, Wm. Colbourne, Mr. Anthony Stodder, Jacob Eliot, Wm. Davie, Tho. Marshall, James Everill and James Penn. Major Gibbons and Wm. Tinge, deputies to the Gen. Court. Constables, Mr. Wm. Dauice, Robert Hull, Tho. Buttolf, and James Penn. Surveyors, James Oliver, Wm. Hudson, Richd. Gridley, and Edwd. Fletcher. Sealers of leather, bro. Copp. Evan Thomas, Wm. Courser, and John Stevenson.

Mar. 29. — No inhabitant shall entertain man or woman from any other town or country, but shall give notice of any such sojourners if they intend to reside in the Town, within eight days after their coming, upon penalty of 20s. No house shall be sold or let without

first informing the Selectmen. "No person shall goe about" to dig a cellar or erect any building "in y^e face of y^e street," till they have notified the Selectmen. "Heniry Weeb" to enjoy the wharf he bo't of Edwd. Tinge without disturbance. Wm. Brisco and Ralph Roott to see to making up the fences at Muddy river. No pson shall dig "soods out of y^e Common vpon p'll y^e may ensue on y^e damage soe done." A highway 12 feet [wide] to be made "through Mr. Stoughton's ground along y^e rayle side and soe thro Rich. Cook's and Tho. Batolffs ground to y^e farder end of y^e lots to Tho. Munt's ground on y^e farthest side."

Apl. 26. — Benjamin Ward may wharf before "his on p'prietie." The 8th pt of y^e marsh he bo't of y^e Town next to him "for £3 p. an. this too years," he shall pay £4 a year for after that, if the remainder be not let to make up £20 a year. John Anderson may wharf as above, and take wharfage. John Milam may wharf "afore y^e highway y^e lys next him."

May 31. — John Jibson [Gibson], John Chandler and Tho. Leader may inhabit. Mr. Edwards may live in the town. Martin Stebbin forbid to brew any more beer to sell, save only this week. Isaac Goose forbid to sell any beer by the quart any more within doors.

July 26. — Martin Stebbin fined 20s. for brewing beer to sell without order. Robt. Nash shall not kill beasts in the street now laid out, and shall remove his slaughterhouse on penalty of 19s. and 6d.

§ Hazard, *Historical Collections*, i. 550

New England. It is an object now of pleasing curiosity, to observe the origin of this law. The wise fathers of that time were fully sensible that knowledge was of great importance to all men; that the strong hold of "Satan" consisted in their ignorance; that, therefore, all means should be employed by them to counteract the "chief project of that ould deluder;" and hence this early resort to a law for universal education.*

May 10. At the general election for 1648, Mr. Winthrop is again re-chosen Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy Governor, Mr. Endicott Sergeant Major, who, with Mr. Bradstreet, is chosen a Commissioner of the United Colonies. Mr. Symmes, of Charlestown, preached the Sermon. Captain Keayne and James Penn, Deputies for Boston.

As an occurrence not often happening, it is observed that there arrived at Boston from London three ships on one of the days of the month of May. In one of them, probably, came Samuel Gorton, on his return to his Patent in Rhode Island. The Authorities excused themselves for allowing him to land in Boston and to proceed on his journey unmolested, alleging that if they attempted to execute their old sentence upon him, such act might prejudice their cause in England; thus entirely keeping out of sight the real cause,—the order of the Commissioners of Parliament, already noticed in these pages.

June 15. The first execution for witchcraft in the Colony took place in Boston. The victim was a female named Margaret,† the wife of [Thomas ?] Jones of Charlestown.‡ Such proceedings as are found recorded about it show that the minds of people were then in a most melancholy state of superstitious slavery. Margaret Jones perished on the gallows, as much for her good offices, as for the evil influences imputed to her. She had been, like Mrs. Hutchinson and many of the early mothers of the Colony, a physician; but being once suspected of witchcraft, "she was found to have such a malignant touch, as many persons were taken with deafness, or vomiting, or other violent pains or sickness;" her medicines, though harmless in themselves, "yet had extraordinary violent effects;" that such as refused her medicines, "she would tell that they would never be healed, and accordingly their diseases and hurts continued, with relapse against the ordinary course, and beyond the apprehension of all physicians and surgeons." As she lay in prison, "a little child was seen to run from her into another room, and being followed by an officer, it was vanished." There was other testimony against her, more ridiculous than this. To

* The General Court ordered that if a young man paid his addresses to a young woman without consent of her parents. or, in their absence, the consent of the County Court, he should be fined £5; if repeated, £10, and for a third offence, to be imprisoned. An order was passed to cause a uniformity of weights and measures throughout the Province.

† Winthrop says her name was Margaret,

and I have no doubt he is right. The error in Danforth's Almanack, that her name was *Alice*, may have arisen from confounding the wife of Thomas Jones with the wife of Richard, whose name was *Alice*. The latter was a widow in 1643. — See *Suffolk Reg. Deeds*, i. 41.

‡ There is nothing, says Mr. Frothingham, on the Records of Charlestown relative to this affair. — *Hist. Charlestown*, 117.

make her case appear as bad as possible, and that there could be no mistake about it, the recorder of it says, that "her behavior at her trial was very intemperate, lying notoriously and railing upon the jury and witnesses;" and that, "in the like distemper she died"! It is not unlikely that this poor, forsaken woman was indignant at the abominable testimony against her, and that her denial of the charges was construed into "lying notoriously." And in the honest belief of witchcraft, the same recorder notes, in the most complacent credulity, that "the same day and hour she was executed, there was a very great tempest at Connecticut, which blew down many trees, &c."!

Terrible forebodings were spread abroad in the community respecting the visitation of witchcraft, and the General Court made an order for the watching of suspected persons; and some, probably, thought seriously of sending to England to procure "witch finders," as May 18. that profession was, about this time, in high repute under the notorious villany of one Matthew Hopkins.*

The case of Margaret Jones opens to the reader of the history of the Fathers of Boston a page which must cause a sigh of sorrow in this age, and doubtless many in ages to come. It presents them, nevertheless, as they really were, laboring under the most abject influence of the monster—superstition. And yet they were no more its subjects than all the rest of the world; but such was the actual state of the minds of men two hundred years ago. Margaret Jones had gone down to a disgraceful grave, but her husband, probably despised for the sins of his wife, resolved to leave the country. He accordingly took passage

June 23. in a ship for Barbadoes. That ship, called the *Welcome*, was a Boston ship of three hundred tons, and concerning her it is honestly told, that "as she was riding before Charlestown, having in her eighty horses and one hundred and twenty tons of ballast, in calm weather, fell a rolling, and continued so about twelve hours, so as though they brought a great weight to the one side, yet she would heel to the other, and so deep as they feared her foundering." The County Court was now in session in Boston, and the fact of the rolling ship "coming to the knowledge of the Magistrates, and withal that one Jones, the husband of the witch lately executed," had taken passage in her, but that there was some question about his ability to pay his passage, and hence some unseen spirit was thus troubling the ship. The Court therefore sent an officer and arrested Jones. One of the magistrates remarked, upon the issue of the warrant for his arrest, "that the ship would stand still as soon as he was in prison. And as the officer went, and was passing over the ferry, one said to him, 'You can tame men sometimes, can't you tame this ship?' The officer answered, 'I have that here, that, it may be, will tame her, and make her be quiet;' and with that showed his warrant. And, at the same instant, she began to stop, and presently staid, and after he was put in prison, moved no more."†

* See Caulfield's *Memoirs of Remarkable Persons*, ii. 122. — Also Butler's *Hudibras* (Part ii. Cant. 3) and his Annotators.

† Winthrop, *Journal* ii. 326, 327. Other equally strange things about this ship are told with as much faith and minuteness by the

While the community was agitated by fears of witchcraft, there was one of the most important Synods* convened at Cambridge to establish a Rule of Faith for the Churches. It was adjourned from June Sept. 30. to the fifteenth of September,† and, at the end of the month last named, a Platform was unanimously adopted.‡

Until this year there was but one Meeting-house in Boston; now the population had so much increased, that another was absolutely necessary for their accommodation. It was therefore agreed that one should be erected at the North End, and the following year its foundation was laid at the head of what is since North Square. Another year elapsed before preaching became constant in it. This was the "Church of the Mathers." Samuel Mather was its first minister. He was son of Richard of Dorchester, and brother of Increase Mather.§ The first|| sermon was preached on the fifth of June, 1650, and the members who were on that day united by covenant, were Michael Powell, James Ashwood, Christopher Gibson, John Phillips, George Davis, Michael Wills, and John Farnham.

The Second Church, to distinguish it from the other, was called the North Church, and in time the Old North. It was burnt "to ashes" in 1676, and rebuilt the following year. These were of wood. When the last had stood ninety-eight years, the town was in possession of a hostile army; which being in want of fuel, it was, with other edifices, torn to pieces, to supply, as far as it might, that purpose.¶ After the

same author, but I have not room for them. They may be read with harmless embellishment in the *Magnalia Christi Americana*.

* "An Ecclesiastical Council, or Synod, is a Convention of duly qualified persons, called to consult, and judge about affairs, in which Churches, one or more, are concerned." — Dr. Increase Mather's *Disposition concerning Ecclesiastical Councils*, p. i. Boston, 18 mo., 1716. This Synod now met, is considered, in the Ecclesiastical History of New England, as a continuation of that convened in 1646. At the conclusion of its present session, it was dissolved.

† Mr. Allen, of Dedham, preached a sermon at the opening in September, which, according to Winthrop, was one of superior excellence. In connection with his account of the Sermon, he relates the following curious incident, rendered doubly curious from its peculiar application: — "It fell out about the midst of his sermon, there came a snake into the seat, where many of the Elders sat, behind the preacher. It came in at the door where people stood thick upon the stairs. Divers of the Elders shifted from it, but Mr. Thompson, one of the Elders of Braintree (a man of much faith), trode upon the head of it, and so held it with his foot and staff with a small pair of grains, until it was killed. This being so remarkable, and nothing falling out but by Divine Providence, it is, out of doubt, the Lord discovered somewhat of his mind in it. The

serpent is the Devil; the Synod the representative of the Churches of Christ in New England. The Devil had formerly and lately attempted their disturbance and dissolution; but their faith in the seed of the woman overcame him and crushed his head." — Winthrop, *Journal*, ii. 330.

‡ This is agreeable to the Preface, page 4, of the Saybrook *Confessions of Faith*, in 1708. Published at N. London, in 1710, 12mo.

§ In 1716, Dr. Increase Mather said, "My dearest brother, Samuel Mather (whose successor I am here in Boston, he having been the first that preached the Gospel to that Church unto which I have been related for more than fifty years, and after his removal from New England, became the Pastor of a Congregational Church in Dublin, where also he was succeeded by another brother, the well known Nathaniel Mather), wrote an *Itinerary*," &c. — *Disp. concern. Eccl. Councils*, p. xi.

|| The first sermon of which any knowledge is found. See the splendid and able history of this Church, by the Rev. Chandler Robbins, who says, "No account has been discovered of the first occupancy of the edifice, or of its formal consecration." — Page 6.

¶ Dr. Lothrop wrote in the Records of the Church, "The house which was built in 1677, was in very good repair, and might have stood many years longer, had not those sons of violence, with wicked hands, razed it to the foundation. A number of evil-minded men of



SECOND CHURCH.

destruction of their house in 1775, the Congregation went to the New Brick,* to worship with Dr. Lathrop, in Hanover Street, and formed one Society; taking, together with their Pastor, the name and records of the Second Church. This house, which stood from 1721 to 1844,† has given place to one of stone, in the Gothic style of architecture, which was dedicated on the sixteenth of September, 1845.‡

The first Minister of the New Brick Church, was the Rev. William Waldron, son of Colonel Richard Waldron, of Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, and grandson of Major Richard Waldron, of Dover, in the same state,§ whose life was so tragically ended by the Indians, on the night of the twenty-seventh of June, 1689. Contemporary with him in the Old North, were the venerable Dr. Increase Mather, his son Cotton, and the Rev. Joshua Gee. The Rev. William Welsteed succeeded Mr. Waldron, and the Rev. Ellis Gray was his Colleague, and died before him. Mr. Welsteed died in 1753, and was succeeded by the Rev. Ebenezer Pemberton, son of a distinguished father of the same Christian name, many years Pastor of the Old South Church. It was with Dr. Pemberton's Society that Dr. Lathrop and the Society of the Old North united, as already stated. The war had driven Dr. Pemberton into the country, and he died the same year that the Churches of the Old North and New Brick were united.

Oct. 20. There arrived in Boston one Mr. Harrison, from Nansemond in Virginia. Being a Nonconformist Minister there, and having attracted many followers, he and Mr. William Durand, their Elder, were banished by the Governor, Sir William Berkley. He came here to seek advice, as to where they should go, or what they should do. Mr. Durand had before resided in Boston. Mr. Harrison returned to England, after "a year or two," but what became of Mr. Durand does not appear.||

the King's party, obtained leave of Gen. Howe to pull it down, under a pretence of wanting it for fuel, although there were then quantities of coal and wood in the town."—Mr. Robbins' *History*, 129.

* The origin of this Church will be related in its order of time.

† For an interesting account of it, see Mr. Robbins' excellent description, in his *History* before cited, p. 178-9. The engraving of the New Brick Church here represented, is copied from one in Bowen's *Picture of Boston*.

‡ The Ministers of the Second, or Old North, succeeded in the following order: Samuel Mather, John Mayo, 1655 to 1672; Increase

Mather, 1669 to 1723; Cotton Mather, 1685 to 1728; Rev. Joshua Gee, 1723 to 1748; Samuel Mather (son of Cotton) 1732 to 1741; Samuel Checkley, Jr., 1747 to 1768; John Lathrop, 1768 to 1816; Henry Ware, Jr., 1817 to 1830; R. W. Emerson, 1829 to 1832; Chandler Robbins, 1833 —.

§ See *Antiquarian Journal*, v. 182.

|| *Jan.* 31.—There are but few entries in the Town Records for 1648. Deer Island is let to Edward Bendall for seven years, at £14 a year, which rent is for "ye schoole's use in pvison and clothing;" but the inhabitants of the Town to cut wood on said island for their own use.

Mar. 13. — "Townsmen" chosen, Colbron,

The most memorable occurrence of this year was the death of Governor Winthrop. He died on the twenty-sixth of March,* having just entered upon the sixty-second year of his age. He continued his Diary or Journal to within about one month of his decease; the last entry being, "11, (11.) 1648," which corresponds to the eleventh of January, 1649. He made no entry in December, and but two in November.

^{1648.}
^{Nov. 2.} Dutch hoy, of about thirty tons, with cordage and other goods. She had in her seven men, and came from the Isle of Wite to Boston in five weeks. The other entry for this month is an account of the remarkable escape from shipwreck of Bazaleel Payton, a member of the Church of Boston, who, in a vessel of sixty tons, on ^{Nov. 18.} arriving in the Outer Bay, was taken with a great easterly storm in the night, lost all his anchors, was driven among Cohasset rocks, and by the immense waves out of water upon the sand. This fortunate little vessel was not thus abandoned by the tempest. A sea, more overgrown than that by which she had been placed upon a high ridge of sand, came and wafted her landward of her resting place, and left her safely floating in a smooth lake beyond!

^{1649.}
^{Jan. 11.} Under this date, as above noticed, Winthrop makes the last record in his Journal. It is merely a note of accidents and providences; detailing the particuilar manner in which "about eight persons were drowned this winter, all by adventuring upon the ice but three;" but as he does not accompany his details with the names of any of the sufferers, the record is nearly valueless. And, judging from the few entries in the Town Records this year, there was not much worthy of special notice.†

Eliot, Anth. Stoddard, Edward Tinge, Tho. Marshall, James Everill, Jas. Penn. Constables, Jeremye Howchin, David Phypeny, Nicholas Bushy, Wm. Beamsley, Surveyors, John Button, Beni. Fawer, Walter Merry, Wm. Blanton, and Mr. Cole for Rumney Marsh. Sealers of leather, Tho. Marshall, Edmond Jackson.

^{Mar. 27.}—Robt. Renolds paid his 6s. and 8d. due the Town for land, which "Leift. Sau-idge recieued for a debt due to him." Wm. Phillips paid £1, 16s. 8d., due from Chr. Stanley to the Town for land, which Lieut. Savage received as above.

^{May 29.}—Thomas Emims [Emons?] and Michail Wills admitted inhabitants. Benia. Ward shall pay £3 a year, and not £4, "for y^e marish y^e bea hyers of y^e Towne," which his contract did bind him unto. John Hurl pays 10s. "for a small peece of ground at y^e end of his howse plat."

* "About 10 o'clock."—*Morton's Memorial*, p. 130.

† ^{Jan. 29.}—Hugh Gunison may "payle in for 40s." six foot of ground in width, and twelve in length, "downe to his signe post." Isaac Walker may set "vp a porche afore his

dore foure foot into y^e street from his howse dore, and sixe foot from his howse side."

^{Feb. 26.}—Mr. Richd. Bellingham may wharf "afor his pprietye," between Walter Merry and Wm. Winbourne; but not to "piudic the battery." Jeremye Howchin may set up a porch four feet from his house, all along by his house to put up a pale before it. Jacob Eliot may have the swamp next his allotment at Muddy River, next Cotton Flax [Flagg? The same spelt Flack by a former Recorder.—See *ante*, p. 253] house. Bro. Bendall's request about Deer Island, which the Town let him for seven years, to have it fourteen more, is granted,—to pay £14 a year, and "to leave a supply of wood for on family forever," and any fruit trees he may plant. James Johnson to have 16 feet of ground from his house southward along down to his garden pale post; for which he shall make and "maintaine for ever a sufficient high way for foot and cart over y^e watercourse w^{ch} runs from Mr. Hutchinson's yard alonge by his howse end." "John Baytman, John Burrill, Tho. Hawkins, James Hawkins and y^e rest of y^e nayhours" may remove "that crose worke y^e is set over the milne creeke,

CHAPTER XXXII.

Character of Gov. Winthrop. — Death of the King. — Labors of John Eliot among the Indians noticed in England. — Action of Parliament relative thereto. — Origin of the Society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. — Some Account of it. — Hon. Robt. Boyle. — William Pynchon. — His Book upon Redemption, &c., ordered to be burnt in the Market Place. — He returns to England. — His Death. — The Founder of Roxbury and Springfield. — Overtures to the French of Canada. — Town Affairs. — Streets and High-ways laid out. — Lands at Braintree. — Gift of Capt. Cromwell. — Clock. — Trade prohibited with Places which favored the Cause of the King. — Law against Extravagance in Dress. — Lands granted at the Blue Hills.



ELIOT.*

THE death of Governor Winthrop forms an important era in the history of Boston. Of the character of that great man much has been written, yet generally by those who have but very superficially studied his character. The attentive reader of these pages of the history of his place of life and death, cannot but perceive, it is believed, the justness of this remark. John Winthrop had some noble traits of character, and he had that constitution of mind which peculiarly fitted him for a leader of a body politic. He was conscientious, and at the same time somewhat credulous; honest, but artful; accomplishing his purposes as though they were the purposes of others; though practical, he was not a man of genius. In his circumstances it were better so. He was of more value to a new country than twenty men of genius; men who would have thought the existence of the Commonwealth depended upon untried projects. John Winthrop set on foot no discovery, nor did he invent anything. It is well that he did not. His day and place were better without them. There is enough to do in a new country for a century, before a century of discoveries and inventions should begin. John Winthrop was remarkable for his frankness and candor. When he was in the wrong he did not require frequent promptings to cause him to confess his error. This gave the people great confidence in him. His own Diary is a record of his fail-

we^b hindreth y^e passage of boats," but shall make the creek "goe alonge out to loe watter marke." Mr. Wm. Brenton may "set vp a portch afore his howse, to hang ouer in the street with Mr. Hills and Mr. Hardings." Ensign Hutchinson Benia. Gillum, Benia. Ward, Jona. Balston, John Compton, Tho. Smith, Steeven Butler, and Rich. Richison, may make a highway from their houses over the marsh to the bridge, and over Mr. Hill's ground, at their own charge, "which was £8, 16s.," and they are to be free from highway charges nine years. Ordered that a highway of twelve feet between Capt. Harding's and William

Dauice's houses shall go along to the bridge which the town and Mr. Hill set up, being to be made by the Town and Mr. Hill; and for that highway Mr. Hill to have a way to his ground by the sea side, along by the house of Wm. Hudson, Sen., and a cartway below the wharf.

* It is not ascertained with certainty, to what family of Eliot or Elliot, our "Apostle to the Indians" belonged. The above coat is the earliest given by Guillim, and was borne by the Elliots of Surry, as early as the time of Edward III. Sir Gilbert Elliot, father of Lord Heathfield, bore similar arms.

ings as well as of the failings of other men. This is a proof of his general sincerity. He was remarkable for his steadiness of purpose. His mind once made up for an undertaking, no common obstruction could prevent his carrying it on. This was strikingly observable throughout his course in planting himself in New England. He never altered from the time he came into the Massachusetts Company till he breathed his last on this peninsula. He felt that he was the great Man of the Colony, and in time it was conceded that he was the first* of the great men of his time in it. In putting down the Antinomians he acted a singular part; while he was the head of their opponents, he almost induces the belief that what he did he was compelled by circumstances to do; thus seeming to follow where in reality he led. Hence, he sometimes adroitly accomplished his ends by making, apparently, a shield of others.

While the letters of Governor Winthrop breathe the warmest domestic affections, his records of the punishments visited upon supposed offenders are remarkable for their want of feeling. The late execution of a woman charged with the crime of witchcraft, is the record of one with a heart of marble coldness. This is but one of many instances to which reference might be made; but it must be remembered that Mr. Winthrop made his record under the fullest convictions of the awful nature of the crimes for which the accused suffered; and that they were clearly guilty of those crimes; that his was the day of burning, maiming, and drawing and quartering, in obedience, as was conceived, to the laws of God.

Mr. Winthrop has been called the father of the country.† He was emphatically the father of Boston, and no death had happened in it since its settlement which caused so deep a sensation amongst the inhabitants. "His funeral," says Captain Edward Johnson, "was very sadly and solemnly performed, by a very great concourse of the greater part of this Colony; whose mournful looks and watery eyes did plainly demonstrate the tender affection and great esteem he was in."‡

It has been said of Governor Winthrop, by a writer of much discernment, § that his virtues were many and his errors few; that opposition to his views made too great an impression upon him; that before he left England he was of a more catholic spirit than some of his brethren, but afterwards he grew more contracted, and was disposed to lay too great a stress upon unimportant matters; that he pursued with great vehemence the adherents of Mr. Vane, probably from political motives; and, it may be added, that he made intolerance subservient to his ambition. In his last sickness he gave evidence of the commission of such errors. Being requested to sign an order for the banishment of some person for heterodoxy, he declined, saying, "I have done too much of that work already."

* And here originated that error of ignorance, that he was the first Governor of Massachusetts. — See *Ante*, p. 57.

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 151.

‡ *Wonder-Working Providence, &c.* 212-13.

§ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 151.

In his personal appearance, Mr. Winthrop is supposed to have been erect, rather spare in flesh, though muscular, somewhat long-favored, or of a countenance regularly oval, blue eyes and dark hair, and about six feet in height. He was interred in the burying ground rendered memorable as the resting place of Mr. Isaac Johnson,* now King's Chapel burial place, in the northerly side of it. There are two ancient portraits of Winthrop; one is still to be seen in the Capitol of the Commonwealth, and the other in the hall of the Antiquarian Society at Worcester.†

The residence of Governor Winthrop stood on the westerly side of what is now Washington Street, very nearly opposite School Street. It was a two story wooden structure, and was standing in 1775. In that year it was destroyed by the soldiers of the British King.‡ What time the family of Mr. Winthrop vacated it does not appear. It was afterward the residence of the Reverend Thomas Prince, and in it he chiefly wrote, probably, his invaluable "Annals." Hence the spot on which that house stood will ever be held in veneration as the place where were composed two of the most important works upon the early history of New England, which have ever appeared.

On the death of Mr. Winthrop, Mr. Endicott succeeded to the place of Governor, Mr. Dudley to that of Deputy Governor, and Mr. Edward Gibbons was made Major-General. The custom of wearing long hair appears now to have become very obnoxious to the Magistrates, and other sober people, and a sort of an association is formed against it. Several of the prominent Magistrates signed a protest denouncing the practice, in which they say, that "Forasmuch as the wearing of long hair, after the manner of Russians and barbarous Indians, had begun to invade New England, contrary to the rule of God's word, which says it is a shame for a man to wear long hair, do declare and manifest our dislike and detestation against it."§

Next to the death of Winthrop, the most stirring event in Boston was doubtless that occasioned by the death of Charles the First, who was beheaded at Whitehall, about two of the clock in the afternoon of the thirtieth of January, in the forty-ninth year of his age.||

Jan. 30. The appalling news reached Boston very soon after the inter-

* The writer of the "Introduction" to Bridgman's *Memorials*, &c., p. 13, has a remark of doubt as to whether Mr. Johnson was buried here. He evidently had not weighed the evidence of Judge Sewall and the Rev. Thomas Prince, against the opinion of some moderns, who by their doubts of such authorities suppose they are becoming authorities themselves. — See *ante*, p. 99-100. There is in the book of Bridgman, a very neat and concise notice of the Winthrops, prepared, I presume, by the able hand of a talented descendant, Hon. R. C. WINTHROP, of Boston.

† This last is said to have been painted by Vandylke, but when that artist could have done it, is not, perhaps, easily settled. From his

known career in England, it can only be among the possible things that he might paint the portrait of our Governor.

‡ Shaw's *Description*, p. 290, Snow's *History*, 104.

§ The signers of the Protest were Governor Endicott, Dep. Gov. Dudley, Mr. Richd. Bellingham, Mr. Richd. Saltonstall, Mr. Increase Nowell, Mr. William Hibbins, Mr. Thomas Flint, Mr. Robt. Bridges and Mr. Simon Bradstreet. — Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 152.

|| Some one of Dr. Holmes' authorities seems to have misled him in saying Charles was 51 when beheaded. All agree, I believe, that he was born on the 19th of November, 1600. — See *American Annals*, i. 289.

ment of Winthrop, but at what precise date does not appear. Those were days when the death of a King was viewed to be an awful dispensation, especially when Subjects took the responsibility of bringing it about; for then it was a generally received opinion that the King was amenable to no human tribunal, and that it was treason in a Subject to impeach his motives or question his conduct.

Notwithstanding the violence and desolation which had hitherto spread their shroud over England, the day of agony had no sooner passed, but the labors of Eliot among the Indians caused every devout Christian to think earnestly upon some plan for their advancement. Some, it may be, thought the souls of this benighted race of as much importance as the souls of Kings. The Civil War being now at an end, many found time to turn their thoughts towards the wilderness of New England; and, in less than six months after the death of Charles, plans for improving the condition of the Indians were so far matured, and there was sufficient interest in them in Parliament, to cause that body to pass an act "for promoting and propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England;"* being moved thereunto, they say, "by the testimonial of divers faithful and godly ministers and others in New England." The Act established a Corporation, consisting of a President, Treasurer, and fourteen assistants, with power to purchase lands in mortmain to the amount of 2000 pounds a year, to have a common seal, make by-laws and receive contributions. At the same time a collection was ordered to be made throughout England and Wales, and the ministers of every parish were required to read the Act to their Congregations, and to exert themselves to procure contributions, and to go from house to house for that purpose.†

This was the origin of the Society for propagating the Gospel among the Indians—a Society of great importance so long as the race for which it was instituted were of any account. And it is specially noticed here, because it "has all along had its Commissioners at Boston."‡ The Corporation chose Judge William Steel, President, and Henry Ashurst, Esq., Treasurer. He was the father of Sir Henry Ashurst, Baronet, and Sir William Ashurst, Alderman of London. Of this Society the Honorable Robert Boyle was the first Governor under its Charter, which Charter was not obtained, however, until the fourteenth of

* *Parliamentary History of England*, xix. 156.

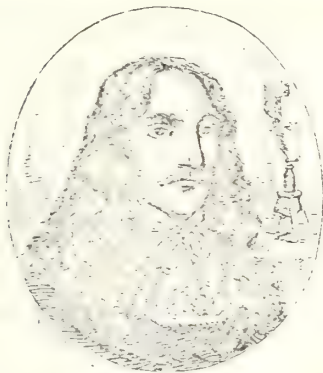
† *Ibid.* 157–8. By this means a sum was realized sufficient to enable the Society to purchase estates of the yearly value of about £600. — Oldmixon, *Brit. Empire in America*, i. 99.

‡ Turell's *Life of Colman*, 64. Of the sixteen members authorized by the Act, five had been resident here: — Herbert Pelham, Richard Hutchinson, Robert Tomson, Richd. Floyd, and Edward Winslow. The names of the others were James Shirley, Abraham Babbington,

Robert Houghton, George Dun, William Mullens, John Hodgson, Edward Parks, Edward Clud, Thomas Aires, and John Stone. These and the others were all denominated citizens of London. They were to choose their President and Treasurer from their own number. — See an abstract of the Act in Hazard's *Hist. Colls.*, i. 635–6. The Act provided that the Commissioners of the United Colonies of New England, or such as they might appoint, should have power to receive and dispose of moneys, &c. — See also Morton's *Memorial*, ed. Davis, sub anno 1649, and Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 164.

Charles the Second,* 1662. The appointment of Mr. Boyle was made by the King without his knowledge, and he generously contributed to its funds while he held the office, and by his will after he was compelled "by sickness and infirmity" to resign it.†

By the Charter of this Society its members were not allowed to exceed the number of forty-five.‡ These had power to fill vacancies, and to appoint Commissioners, residents in New England. § One hundred years after the date of the Charter, there was an attempt to establish another Society here, with a title or name somewhat different to that of the mother Society, which was authorized by an Act of the Government of the Province, but the King refused to sanction it, and it was abandoned. But, in 1787, a number of Boston gentlemen, and a few others in its vicinity, procured an Act of incorporation for "Propagating the Gospel among the Indians, and others in North America." Under this Act a Society has continued to the present time.



HON. ROBERT BOYLE.

It was mainly to enlighten the Society incorporated in 1662, that the Honorable Daniel Gookin composed his invaluable "Historical Collections of the Indians," as appears by the "Epistle Gratulatory and Supplicatory" prefixed to that work, and addressed to the Corporation "residing in London, and particularly for the Hon. Robert Boyle, Esquire, Governor thereof." ||

* See Birch's *Life of the Hon. Robt. Boyle*, 235. Most writers give a wrong date to this Charter. Dr. Holmes among others. It is dated February 7th.

† *Ibid.* page 389. The above portrait is from a rare folio print engraved by "FR: DIODATI." Mr. Boyle was distinguished by his contemporaries as the great Christian Philosopher, "not more distinguished for his noble extraction than eminent piety and universal learning." — Humphrey's *Hist. Account of the Soc. for Prop. Gospel in For. Parts*, p. 5.

‡ As an object of much interest their names are here given from the Charter: — Edward, *Earl of Clarendon*; Thomas, *Earl of Southampton*; John, *Lord Roberts*; George, *Duke of Albemarle*; James, *Duke of Ormond*; Edward, *Earl of Manchester*; Arthur, *Earl of Anglesey*; William, *Viscount Say and Seal*; Francis Warner, *Alderman of London*; Erasmus Smith, Esq., Henry Ashurst, Richard Hutchinson, Joshua Woolnough, George Clarke, Thomas Speed, Thomas Bell, John Rolfe, *citizens of London*; ROBERT BOYLE, Esq., Sir William Thompson, Sir William Bateman, Sir Anthony Bateman, Sir Theophilus Biddolph. Sir Law-

rence Bromfield, *Knights*; Tempest Milner, William Love, William Peake, *Aldermen of London*; Thomas Foley, Esq., Thomas Cox, John Micklethwait, Edward French, *Doctors in Physic*; Charles Dayley, Thomas Staynes, John Jurian, William Antrobus, John Bathurst, Harman Sheafe, Thomas Gillibrand, James Hayes, John Benbowe, Lawrence Brinsley, Barnabas Meares, John Acrod, John Dockett, Edward Boscawen, and Martin Noell, *citizens of London*.

§ The following is a list of the resident Commissioners early appointed: — Gov. Samuel Shute, Dep. Gov. Wm. Dummer, Increase Mather, D.D., John Foster, Esq., John Higginson, Esq., Edward Bromfield, Esq., Elisha Hutchinson, Esq., Simeon Stoddard, Esq., Samuel Sewall, Esq., Penn Townsend, Esq., Jonathan Belcher, Esq., Cotton Mather, D.D., Rev. Nehemiah Walter, Mr. Daniel Oliver, Mr. Thomas Fitch, Adam Winthrop, Esq., Thomas Hutchinson, Esq.

|| It is dated 7 December, 1674. The work of Gen. Gookin forms the principal part of the 1st volume of the *Mass. Hist. Collections*.

The same Deputies were chosen to serve in the General Court this year as last, but the "Select Men" varied.*

Mr. William Pynchon, of Springfield, having published a book upon Redemption and Justification, the General Court ordered it to be publicly burnt in the Market Place, under the conviction that it contained doctrines of a dangerous tendency. But the burning of the book (if it were burnt), did not satisfy the Court, probably, for Mr. John Norton was appointed to answer it, and the Author was put under restraint. The next year the Answer was ordered to be sent to England for publication. At the May term of the Court, Mr. Pynchon handed in a paper containing a sort of recantation, "upon which an order was passed, that he might have liberty to repair home some time the next week,

* *Mar. 12.* — They were "Wm. Colborne, Jacob Eliot, Anthony Stoddard, Jerimj Howehin, Tho. Marshall, James Everill, and James Penn." For clerks of the market, Jerimj Howehin and James Penn. For Constables, Mr. Thomas Clarke, Theodore Atkinson and Barnabas Fawer. Surveyors of the high ways, Christopher Gibson, Walter Merry, John Butten and Wm. Blanton. Sealers of leather, Rich. Webb and Robert Turner. Mr. Thos. Clarke is fined 20s. for refusing to serve as Constable. — "Ordered, that the highway on the south side of the water mill shall run along by the corner of said mill a rod in breadth, as it is laid out in a straight line to the Mill Hill that lies to the ferry to Charles-town."

April 19. — Isaac Walker is chosen Constable in place of Mr. Thomas Clarke. William Phillips agreed to give 13s. 4d. a year for the school for land that Christopher Stanley gave in his will for the school's use. John Barrill, John Odlin, Wm. Ludkin, James Browne, Benjamin Negroose, Ralph Masson, James DAVIS, Edward Dinis, Thos. Munte, Richd. Cartter, Abell Porter, Thos. Grube, John Strange, Thos. Wegborne, James Jemson, to have Spectacle Island forever, by paying 6d. an acre a year "to the use of the school." On neglecting to pay the rent to the Treasurer of the Town on the first of February, they were to forfeit the land. John Jackson, Gamaliel Waigbt, James Hudson, Wm. Kerby, Tho. Bell, Robt. Linchorne, Anthony Harker, Abell Porter, Tho. Spalle, Tho. Munte, Water Senot, Wm. Coope, Rich. Hollige, Nicholas Baxster, Wm. Lane, Edwd. Browne, Benjamin Negroose, Benjamin Warde, Francis East, Henirye Allin, Edwd. Rainsford, Tho. Venner, John Odlin, Wm. Ludkin, Geo. Griggs, James Davis, Richd. Richardson, Robt. Blote, Mathew Jones, Mawdit Ingles, Rich. Flud, Jona. Balstone, Tho. Stanberrye, Christopher Parrise, John Viall, Mathew Chaffey, Micaell Wills, come under the same obligation with respect to Long Island. Mr. Bowen and Peter Oliver to perambulate at Muddy River. Alexander Becke cow-keeper, at 2s. a head. Ensign

Hutchinson, Benj. Gillum, Benj. Ward, Jona. Balston, John Compton, Tho. Smyth, Steven Butler, and Richd. Richardson, may make a highway from their houses over the marsh to the bridge, and over Mr. Hill's ground, at their own charge — they to be free from highway charges till £8, 10s. be run out, which they have disbursed. A highway is laid out 11 feet wide between Capt. Harding's and Wm. Davis' houses, "along straight to the bridge which the town and Mr. Hill set up, on the condition" that the highway at the seaside is demolished only away by the house of Wm. Hudson, senior.

June 26. — Richd. Taylor agreed with the Selectmen "to ringe the bell at 9 of y^e clocke at night, and half an hour after four in the morninge, and to have for his recompense £4 a year." Martin Saunders, Saml. Basse and Mathew Barnes on behalf of "Brayntrey," agree, that, whereas Boston hath certain land between the bounds of Dorchester and Weymouth, being commonly called Mount Wollaston, it shall belong to "Brayntrey;" Boston reserving the right of allotting all lands therein not allotted, Brayntree paying therefor £50, in four years, "in corne, as wheat, rye, pease and Indian at 50s. in each of them." Brayntree to enjoy for a Common the 1500 acres formerly laid out as such, and to lay taxes on the lands, excepting on the farm of Mr. Wilson. The next year it was agreed that "all the land at Brayntree undisposed of, besides the 2000 acres for the school's use, is not hereafter to be allotted to any particular persons, but to be improved for the public service of Boston."

John Loo, John Scotto, Wm. Hanbery, Isaac Walker, Edmond Jackson, John Shaw, Joseph Wormewall, Leonard Buttolfse to pay £3, 3s., 2d. yearly forever for the schools' use, for their land in Bendall's cove, "as their evidences will show it forth." Benj. Ward to pay £3 a year for land by his house, for the same use. Edward Bendall "hath Deare lland for 20 years, he and his to pay £14 a year" for the same.

Aug. 27. — Anthony Stoddard may sell his land to Moses Payne, of "Brantre," and may

if he pleased, and that he should have Mr. Norton's answer to his book to take with him to consider thereof, until the following October session of the Court." *

By these proceedings another valuable and enterprising man was lost to the country. Mr. Pyncheon returned to his native land in 1652, then more tolerant than this he had adopted,† and returned not again. He died at Wraysbury, near Stanes, a hamlet on the Thames, in October, 1662, aged about seventy-two years. Two very important places in the Commonwealth justly consider him their father; Roxbury, always a place of much consideration, and now a large city; and flourishing Springfield, nothing behind her sister towns, and soon destined to become a city also.

The French Governor of Canada had two years before been sent to with an offer of friendship and proposals for a free intercourse between that Government and New England, and had good encouragement of reciprocity on the part of Governor D'Aillebout. This had been continued by correspondence till the present year, when the French in their turn sent messengers to Boston. They were influenced to form an alliance with New England, by which they might act with more certainty of success in a war against the Iroquois, whom they accused of breaking the most solemn leagues. But the Government here wisely declined entering into a war; and at that day the interposition of an immense wilderness was a sufficient excuse for no immediate commerce.

"take it next unto y^e hee hath hired of y^e Towne, or else where, if he see cause." Robt. Nash is fined 19s. 6d., "for his leaving his slaughter house with noyesome smells, to y^e offence of y^e Towne." Mr. Souther is admitted a townsman. Tho. Painter may erect a "milne at Fox Hill," and must finish it in two years, "and at the first peeke of corne it grinds he is to begin his rent of 40s. p. ann. for ever," for the Town's use. James Pilbeam is admitted an inhabitant. Wm. Franklin is fined 20s. for setting up his howse and coming out on the Towne's ground, and not calling y^e Selectmen to view it," and to be fined 20s. every ten days till "y^e abuse be reformed." Vallentine Hill shall make up his ground at y^e bridge with in 14 days, or else he is fined 20s." Geo. Hulsell is fined 20s. for not making up his high way afore his shop sufficiently." Daniel Turant shall erect his wharfe for y^e high way before his howse," before 3: 11: or pay 20s. Mr. Clarke, mariner, must clear the highway at his cellar, "y^e noe harme be done bye it," within six days, or pay 20s. Wm. Beamsley shall remove his oyster shells from the high way before his door by the 1st of the 11th mo., or pay 20s. John Baker ordered to remove his house which stands on the high way by the 1st of the 11th mo., or be fined 20s.

Nov. 31. — "John Milam fined 20s. for y^e defect of his way before y^e milne, and 20s. for defect of y^e bridge by John Butmans," if not mended in four days. Edmond Jackson fined

20s., "for defect of his way by his cellar, between James Euirill and himself," if not mended by the 5th of the 11th mo. Edward Belcher chosen "watter Bayley," to have half the fines accruing. Owners of the Wind-mill to secure it from doing damage to cattle or swine, or make satisfaction "sufficiently." Wm. Franklin fined 20s., "for disabling y^e passage way over y^e creeke by John Butman's howse." The Select-men sold the reversion of "Bendall's Deeke or Cove," and the flats belonging to it to James Euerill, 31st, 9th, 49, for £6, 16s., 10d. a year forever; not to include the land at the head of the Cove, "roundabout by John Glover's, George Burden's, Hugh Gunison's, Capt. Wm. Ting's, Wm. Franklin's, and Robt. Nashe's, and eight foot to the eastward of it," which is high way; as also from the eastward side of the eight feet, and "roundabout bye y^e corner of Edward Bendall's bricke house, and so by Samuell Col's howse, as alsoe to Edward Ting's wharfe shall goe a high way of 20 foot in breadth."

* Fragment of an *original paper*, dated 7 May, 1651.

† Mr. Eliot seemed disposed to do justice to Mr. Pyncheon's memory, in his *New Eng. Biography*, but he remitted his usual research to gain any information respecting him, and has confounded him with his son John. It is difficult to understand how Dr. Allen could have omitted him. — See Bliss' *Historical Discourse at Springfield*. — See also *ante*, p. 90.

Mer. 11. The Town chose Mr. Anthony Stoddard and James Penn to serve in the General Court as Deputies. Select men were the same as last year, also the Clerks of the Market. The Constables were Robert Button, Edmund Jackson, John Phillips and Christopher Gibson. George Halsell and William Cotton, Surveyors of high ways, and Nathaniel Bishop and William Courser Sealers of leather. At the same time it was agreed that Peter Oliver should have fifteen pounds a year for seven years, "to maintain the high-ways from Jacob Eliot's barne to y^e fardest gate bye Roxsbury towne's end, to be sufficient for cart and horse, to y^e satisfaction of y^e countrye." It was "agreed on y^t theire shall be a carte bridge by John Milame * set up by John Bateman's howse, according to contract." Mr. Adam Winthrop, William Phillips, and William Beamesley were "chossen to ioynue wth y^e Select men of y^e Towne to lay out the high-ways by y^e new Meeting-house."

Mar. 18. James Penn was chosen Treasurer for the Town, Anthony Stoddard, Recorder, and Thomas Bell and David Hickborne to "execute the order about swine. Sergeant Scoott had notice that Captain Hardings pale before his house be taken away within a month upon penalty of twenty shillings." †

At the annual Election, Mr. Endicott was rechosen Governor, and Mr. Dudley Deputy. There was no change in the chief magistracy till 1654.

Nov. Captain Thomas Cromwell, of Boston, left by his will, the last year, for the benefit of the Town, "six bells." It was agreed that the Select men should now dispose of those bells "to the

* Feb. 26. — He had been fined 20s. for not making a cart bridge at John Bateman's howse, "and if hee goeth not aboute it within sixe dayes hee is fined 20s. euery sixe dayes till it bee finished." The Towne could not impose a fine above 20s. (*Hutchinson*), but they made it up by imposing it often.

† Mar. 25. — Thomas Painter may sell his house to Ephraim Hunt. Tho. Munt may mow the marsh at Bird Island. Bro. Becke to receive 45. 4s. for keeping Tho. Rand.

April 12. — Mr. Adam Winthrop, William Phillips and William Beamesley, to lay out high ways at the north end of the Town. A way of a rod wide ordered to be made by the water side from the Battery to Charlestowne ferry, that another two rods wide "be preserved by Will. Philips in the feild that was Mr. Stanley's, and soe to the ferry point at Charlestowne leading vnto the crosse way that leads from the water mills vnto the water side betwene Good Douglas and Water Merrye's garden," as this day staked out, and "vntill buildings be there erected gaites and stiles may suffice." The rod wide way formerly ordered "from Gallop's point to the Battery, being interrupted by Mrs. Hawkins her house,

it shall turne vp from the water side through Mrs. Hawkins her garden, and soe by Mr. Winthrop's house betwene Maior Bornes house and his garden before Mr. Holiock's to the Battery."

April 22. — Thomas Marshall is chosen to take the place of James Penn in the General Court; the latter being chosen by the Church "for other service."

April 29. — "Ordered that Elias Maverick and James Johnson, chosen by George Burden, Deacon Eliot and Thomas Clarke, who were chosen by the Townsmen, in the presence of Mr. Newgate and with consent of him, should lay out a cart and horse way at Rumley Marsh from Mr. Holiock's farm towards the mill."

Dec. 1. — Mr. Vener and the neighbors thereabout may dig a well and set a pump in it near the shop of William Davis, if without "anoyance to the street passage for waste water." Mr. Glover and bro. Burden have "set vnto them the ground before their proprieties, soe fare as from the corner of Mr. Web's house to the corner of Goodman Hurd's shop vpon a straight line for which they are to pay 30s. a year for euer."

best advantage," and to lay out the proceeds "for one bell for a clocke." *

Oct. 3. The General Court passed an order bearing more heavily upon Boston, than upon any other place within its jurisdiction; this order was to prohibit commerce with Barbadoes, Bermudas, Virginia and Antigna, because these places held out for the King against Parliament. The next year, on learning that an armament was sent to reduce them, the Court modified their former order, so as to admit trade with them, provided Sir George Ayscough succeeded in his attempt to reduce them; he having the command of the expedition.



ONE IN GREAT BOOTS.†

A disposition among the common people to be extravagant, caused the General Court to enact that if a man was not worth two hundred pounds he should not wear gold or silver lace or buttons, or points at the knees; and, because of the scarcity of leather, they should not walk in great boots. Women not enjoying property to the value of two hundred pounds were forbid to wear silk or tiffany hoods or scarfs.

Dec. 30. The town disposed of 500 acres of land at Brantree to Moses Payne, and is to "ioyne this 500 acres with the former 500 set to him, taking in all the land betwixt the two great Blew Hills and the next hill to them;" what there is over 1000 acres, "he is to pay proportionably after the rates of forty shillings a year for 500 acres forever," and the land to be bound for the rent. ‡

* See an abstract of Cromwell's will in the *Antiquarian Journal*, iii. 268. His wife was named Anne, whom he made "sole executrix;" mentions daughter Elizabeth, but no other children. The "six bells" were in the custody of Henry Walton, a witness to his will, which is dated 29 Aug., and proved 26 Oct. 1649.

† This cut of "one walking in great boots" against the statute, is an exact copy of a person fashionably dressed at that period. I do not find that any belonging to Boston were "dealt with" for offending this law. Jonas Fairbanks and Robert Edwards, two individuals of Essex County, are the only offenders mentioned. — See *Antiquarian Journal*, vi. 30.

‡ Dec. 30. — Bro. Fletcher may make a cellar door two feet and an half "rysing from his house."

CHAPTER XXXIII.

The Country again disturbed by Witchcraft. — Case of Hugh Parsons. — Misfortune in his Family. — He is accused of Witchcraft. — His Examination. — Testimonies against him. — His Wife's Confession and Death. — His Acquittal and Character. — Prosecutions for Heresy. — Case of Clarke — of Crandall — of Holmes. — Severe Punishment of the latter. — Sir Richard Saltonstail's Reproof. — Mr. Cotton's Defence. — Law against Dancing at Taverns. — Boston described by Capt. Edward Johnson.



SUPERSTITION.†

THE year now commenced was by no means a quiet one. Witchcraft and heresy were busy to disturb the peace of the country. On the late execution of a witch in the Town, some may have flattered themselves that by that execution a stop was put to their mischiefs, while many others, doubtless, fancied those imaginary beings were busy in the region of the clouds, deputizing some of their number to prowl nightly about the dwellings of the poor and friendless. These fancies were soon turned to realities, for, so well had the witches succeeded in an interior town, that a second execution would have taken place here, had

not the accused died in prison before the time set for execution arrived. The present case, to which allusion is made, was, if possible, more deplorable than that of Margaret Jones. Mary,* the wife of Hugh Parsons, of Springfield, upon giving birth to a child in October of the last year, was, by her sickness, thrown into a deranged state of mind. Her husband was a sawyer, which avocation took

him from home, and his wife did not receive the care and attention which her situation required. Being neglected and much alone with her child, she caused its death, under the conviction that she was commanded to do so. Not long after this, in her bewildered state of mind, and, it may be, at the instigation of some enemy of her husband, she alleged that he had caused the child's death by witchcraft. The chief Magistrate of Springfield, William Pynchon, Esquire, in the line of his duty was obliged to investigate the cause of the death of the child.† A large number of the inhabitants came before him and gave in their testimony, and Mary Parsons among them. The minutes taken by Mr. Pynchon at the ex-

* Her maiden name was Lewis. — *Springfield Town Records.*

† The above engraving is intended to represent the dispersion of superstitions as the light of knowledge breaks in upon them.

‡ The first dates in Mr. Pynchon's minutes are "March 12, 18, 22, 1650." — *Original Manuscript.*

aminations, make a somewhat formidable volume, all of which were transmitted to Boston. Here the Jury found the accused guilty. After he had lain long in prison, "the cause coming legally to the General Court for issue, the Court on perusal of the evidence" decided that he was not "legally guilty of witchcraft, and so not to dy."* This decision was induced, no doubt, in consequence of the confession of his wife, and the previous action of the Court upon her case. She had been finally imprisoned upon two indictments, "the one for hauing familiarity with the Devill as a witch, to which she pleaded not guilty;" and the second "for willfully and most wickedly murdering her own child, to which she pleaded guilty, confessed the fact, and according to her deserts was condemned to dy."† But, as before remarked, she perished in prison, and thus escaped the ignominious death which awaited her.

The proceedings and strange evidence‡ given in the case of Hugh Parsons, are probably the most extraordinary of any upon record. At his examination, Parsons demeaned himself in the most commendable manner, nor was there, throughout the whole proceedings, anything impeaching his conduct, excepting the charge of witchcraft. This charge he quietly, and with becoming dignity, repelled, as he did also the same charge against his wife. But he was reproached for this, and

* *General Court Records*, iii. 347.

† *Ibid*, page 295.

‡ Here follow specimens of the evidence:

"John Stebbings testifies vpon oath (Hugh Parson being present) that as my wife was entering into one of her fitts, she looked vp the chimney. I asked her what she looked at, and observing her ey fixed on something, asked her again (for she did not answer at first) what she looked on, and she said with a gesture of strange wonderment, O deere, there hangs Hugh Parsons vpon the pole (for there stood a small pole vpright in y^e chimney corner) and then she gave a start backward, and said, O, he will fall vpon me; and at that instant she fell downe into her fitt. Rowland Stebbing being present doth also testifie the same vpon oath." William Brooks testified, "that, the same day that Hugh Parsons was apprehended, and about the same tyme of the day that the Conestable brought him alonge by the dore of Goody Stebbing, she was first taken with her fitts, and cryed, Ah. witch, Ah witch, iust as he was passing by the gate. Goodman Lankton and Hannah his wife do ioyntly testifie vpon oath, that on Friday last, being the 21 February, they had a pudding in y^e same bagg, and that as soon as it was slipped out of the bag, it was cut lengthwise like the former pudding, and like another on y^e 23 Feb. as smoth as any knife could cut it, namely, one slice al alonge, wantinge but very little from end to end. A neighbor came in and she shewed it to him, and that neighbor took a

peace of it and threw it into the fire; that about an hower after she heard one mutter and mumble at the dore; then she asked Goody Sewell, who was then at her howse (and neere y^e dore) who it was; she said it was Hugh Parsons, and that he asked whether Goodman Lankton were at home or no. I said no, and so he went away, but left not his errand." The accused being present, was asked what he had to say to this; "he spake to other thinge, and not to the question; being asked the 2d tyme, what his errand was, he spake again of other by matters: the third time, being charged to make a direct answer, he then said it was to gett some hay of him," &c. John Lumbard said that Hugh Parsons had been told before that Goodman Lankton had no hay to sell, and that "to gett hay was no true cause of his coming thither, but rather that y^e spirit that bewitched the pudding brought him thither." Thomas Burneham swore that he told Hugh Parsons, a little before his apprehension, "here is strange doings in towne about cutting of puddinge and whetting of sawes in y^e night tyme," and the said Parsons was much agitated, "and wholly silent, but at last he said he had not heard of it before, but he tooke occasion to speak of other matters as pleasantly as anybody else, but to the matter of the pudding he would say nothing. This matter about the puddinge and whettinge of sawes was often tossed vp and downe betwene seuerall persons, and many said they never heard the like."

found his own troubles were increased by it, as she soon began to believe herself a witch, and confessed accordingly.*

In their written verdict, under the hand of their Foreman, Mr. Edward Hutchinson,† the Jurors, in the usual form declare, that, "Hugh Parsons, not having y^e feare of God before his eyes, in or about March last, and diuers times before and since, as they conceue, had familiar and wiced conuerse with y^e Deuil, and did vse diuers deuilish practises and wichecrafte, to y^e hurte of diuers psons," &c.; and declare him guilty according to the evidence, and leave him to the "Corte for his further tryal for his life." But they say, "considered wth y^e testimony of diuers y^e are at Springfield, whose testimonys were only sent in writing, as also y^e confession of Mary Parsons, and y^e impeachment of some of y^e bewitched psons of y^e said Hew Parsons;" that is to say, if the Court judged the testimony to be sufficient, taking into consideration the above facts, then they "finde y^e saide Hugh Parsons giltie of y^e sin of wichecrafte."

After his acquittal, Hugh Parsons resided a while in Boston, where he received some small proceeds of the little estate which he left at Springfield. He is believed finally to have gone to Long Island, and nothing further is known of his fortunes.

His behavior, throughout his extraordinary trials and vexatious afflictions, was that of an honest and conscientious man; one, whose desire it was to do justly, and to speak and act with prudence and discretion in all things and at all times. He evidently was a man having a superior mind to most of those with whom his lot was cast, and hence it is not unlikely, that, owing to this circumstance, as is often the case, a jealousy was excited against him, the lamentable consequences of which have here been briefly related.

The heresies, to which allusion was made, were promulgated by several of the people of Rhode Island. These began the preceding year to preach "from house to house," in the Colony of Plymouth, doctrines since owned by the denomination called Baptists. The Authorities of that Jurisdiction did not deal with them with much rigor, allowing them to depart under their own cognizances. This mildness on the part of Plymouth encouraged some of them to accept of an invitation to preach

* In the course of the examination of Mary Parsons, Thomas Cooper testified that she told him she should have been a witch before that time had she not been afraid to see the Devil. At length, however, she ventured to have an interview with him, at which interview, she said, "the Deuill told me that night I should not fear, for, said he, I will not come in any apparition, but only come into thy body like a winde, and trouble thee a little while, and presently go forth again; and so I consented. And that night [she went to a sort of general meeting of witches, which she describes thus:] I was with my husband and goodwife Mericke and Bessie Sewell in Goodman Stebbings his

lott, and we were sometymes like catts and sometymes in our owne shape, and we were plodding for some good cheere; and they made me go barefoote and make the fires, because I had declared so much at Mr. Pynchons." It may even now be thought wonderful, that the men in authority, in that day, should never have harbored a suspicion that persons under such circumstances were insane.

† His autograph, as it stands to the verdict

Edward Hutchinson

of the Jury. He was a prominent man in Boston, as will often be seen by these pages.

in Massachusetts. Here they fared very differently. The disturbance
 July 19. began at Lynn, at the house of William Witter, "an aged brother of the Church," who, not being able to go to Newport to hear what he considered the word of God truly preached, had therefore invited Mr. John Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and John Crandal to his house, there to enjoy a season of communion agreeable to their opinions of divine worship. The officers of Government soon learned where they were, and the object of their visit. A writ was therefore issued for their apprehension, and they were apprehended accordingly. Their
 July 20. arrest was on Sunday, in the midst of a sermon, which one of them, Mr. Clarke, was delivering; who, in his Narrative* of the affair, says, "two Constables with clamorous tongues, made an interruption in my discourse, and more uncivilly disturbed us than the pursuivants of the old English Bishops were wont to do." Being thus apprehended "they carried us away to the ale-house or ordinary." This was about noon. In the afternoon one of the Constables proposed to them to go to Mr. Whiting's meeting. To which it was answered, that being in his hands they would not resist, but if they were carried to meeting, then they should "be constrained to declare themselves."

Accordingly, as the custom of the times was, they were "carried" to meeting. On entering the assembly, Clarke says he "showed his dissent from them by his gesture." It being prayer time, he took off his hat as he entered, and "civilly saluted them, and turned into the seat he was appointed to." Then he says, "I put on my hat again, and sat down, opened my book and fell to reading. Mr. Bridges [the Magistrate who issued the warrant] being troubled, commanded the Constable to pluck off our hats, which he did, and where he laid mine there I let it lie." At the close of the services Mr. Clarke stood up and begun "to declare himself," but was soon silenced. They were then taken to the Ordinary, and there "watched over that night as
 July 21. thieves and robbers." The next day they were sent to Boston, and "cast into prison." Ten days after, Clarke was brought
 July 31. into Court "and fined twenty pounds, or to be well whipped."

After a short imprisonment he paid the fine. Mr. Crandal was fined but five pounds, which he paid, and with Clarke returned to Rhode Island. Mr. Holmes would not pay the fine imposed on him, which was thirty pounds, and he was kept in prison till the Court met in the beginning of September; and then, after the public Lecture, "when I heard the voice of my keeper," he says, "come for me, even cheerfulness did come upon me, and, taking my testament in my hand, I went along with him to the place of execution."† Here he requested the privilege "to give an account of the faith" for which he was to suffer; but, he says, "in comes Mr. Flint, and says to the Executioner, 'Fellow, do thine office, for this fellow would but make a long speech to

* In Backus', *Hist. New Eng.*, i. 215.

† The "place of execution" was that now occupied by the Old State House at the head of State Street. There, or in that immediate vicinity, was the Market, and near the Market stood the Whipping Post.

delude the people.'” Yet he attempted to speak, “still Mr. Flint calls to the man to do his office. So before, and in the time of his pulling off my clothes, I continued speaking, telling them that I had so learned, that for all Boston I would not give my body into their hands thus to be bruised upon another account, yet upon this I would not give the hundredth part of a wampum peaque * to free it out of their hands.”

Mr. Holmes was whipped with exceeding severity, † yet he told the Magistrates it was as with rods of roses. The spectators were many of them moved with pity. Two persons, ‡ for expressing sympathy, and taking the bleeding victim by the hand after his punishment, were fined forty shillings each, which if they refused to pay they were to be whipped also.

Nov. Soon after these troubles Mr. Clarke went to England, and the following year published a narrative of them; upon which Sir Richard Saltonstall wrote to Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wilson, “that it did not a little grieve his spirit to hear what sad things were reported daily of their tyranny and persecutions in New England; as that they fined, whipped and imprisoned men for their consciences.” Mr. Cotton replied to him, in which reply he attempted a justification of the proceedings against the Rhode Island men. His defence will not be regarded more satisfactory, at this day, probably, than it was at that day to Sir Richard Saltonstall. §

Among the laws passed this year, there was one against dancing at taverns, under a penalty of five shillings. An act was made empow-
Oct. ering the town of Boston to choose seven Commissioners who, together with one Magistrate, were to hear and determine all civil actions, not exceeding ten pounds. They had jurisdiction in criminal cases also, where the penalty or fine did not exceed forty shillings. ||

* Indian money, and current then and above one hundred years later among the English. To the time of the American Revolution of 1775, a *peag* or *peaque* was of the value of the 6th part of a penny.

† In an account of his sufferings in Boston, which Mr. Holmes sent to the “well-beloved brethren, John Spillsbury, William Kiffin and the rest in London,” he wrote, that the spectators of the scene said “the man striking with all his strength, yea spitting on his hand three times, with a three-corded whip, gave me therewith thirty strokes.” — *Backus*, i. 236. In a manuscript of Gov. Joseph Jencks it is remarked, that Mr. Holmes was whipped “in such an unmerciful manner, that in many days, if not some weeks, he could take no rest but as he lay upon his knees and elbows, not being able to suffer any part of his body to touch the bed whereon he lay.” — *Ibid.*, 237. Holmes had a brother Robert living in the parish of Manchester, Lancashire, in 1617. — *Ibid.*, 261.

‡ John Hazel and John Spur. Hazel was imprisoned seven days, and escaped the lash

only by having his fine paid by a friend. The following day he “went to visit a friend about six miles from Boston, where the same day he fell sick, and within ten days ended his life.”

— Holmes in *Backus*. Spur's fine was also paid by a friend. He belonged to the Church of Boston. He left a narrative of the affair, which is in *Backus*. Hazel was of Rehoboth, and between 60 and 70 years of age.

§ They may be read in Hutchinson's *Colls. Orig. Papers*, 401–7, and *Backus*, i. 245–50. Hutchinson remarks upon the letter of Mr. Saltonstall, that “it discovers a good deal of that catholic spirit which too many of our first settlers were destitute of.” — *Orig. Papers*, 401. Yet it is surprising that Hutchinson seems to have been ignorant of the cases of persecution detailed in the text, and that Morton, Hubbard, and Dr. Cotton Mather scarcely allude to them at all.

|| This was probably a sort of experimental Court, made to relieve the County Court of small causes; for Hutchinson says it was only authorized for a year, and he did not find that it was revived. — *Hist. Mass.*, i. 174–5.

Four years before, the General Court had become too much encumbered with small matters, and it ordered that houses of entertainment should be licensed by the County Courts. *

The Town sent Captain John Leveritt, and Mr. Thomas Clarke, for Deputies to the General Court. The Selectmen were "Mr. Richard Parker, Captain Leveritt, Mr. Thomas Clarke, Mr. Edward Ting, Mr. Houchin, Deac. Marshall and Anthony Stoddard." Mr. Hezekiah Vsher, Edward Fletcher, George Davis, John Sinderland were Constables. William Cotton and George Hailshall were Surveyors of Highways. William Courser and Robert Read, Sealers of Leather. Jeremy Houchin, Sealer of Weights and Measures; Edward Ting Treasurer; Anthony Stoddard, Recorder. †

One who was present at the first settlement of Boston, and had seen its progress for the twenty years in which it had existed, thus describes it: "Invironed it is with the brinish fouds, saving one small istmos, which gives free accesse to the neighbor townes, by land on the south side; on the northwest and northeast, two constant faires, ‡ are kept for daily traffique thereunto. The forme of this Towne is like a heart, naturally situated for fortifications, having two hills on the frontice part thereof next the sea; the one well fortified on the superfeices thereof, with store of great artillery well mounted. The other hath a very strong battery built of whole timber and filled with earth, at the descent of the hill in the extreme poynt thereof betwixt these two strong armes lies a large cave or bay, on which the chieftest part of this Towne is built, overtopped with a third hill; all three like overtopping towers,

* The order was as follows: "It is ordered by the Authoritye of this Court, that hence forth all such as are to keepe houses of comon entertainment, and to retayle rume, beer, &c., the Clerks of the writts and such as are to ende small causes, shalbe licenced at the County Courts of the shire where they live, or the Court of Assistants; so as this Court may not be thereby hindered in their more weighty affayres." — *Original Paper*, dated 28 May, 1647. Signed by "Jo: Winthrop, Govr.," and on the part of the house by "Bozoun Allen."

† Mar. 31. — Goodman Leader, Sen. to yoke and ring all the swine. Henry Rust admitted to inhabit.

Apr. 28. — Thomas Alcocke appointed cow-keeper, at 2s. a head.

May 26. — John Button paid a fine of 20s. for letting a "forriener have a shop and entertainment in his house," and was ordered to discharge him forthwith out of his house, or pay 20s. more.

June 20. — If Francis Smith dont remove his house out of the Highway in three days, he shall be fined 20s. and 10s. a day after. If Wm. Frainklin dont "fill vp the ground he hath digged in the Townes Highway at the north end of the bridg near the house of Humphrey Milam" in ten days, he shall pay 20s.

June 30. — James Jimson to see "that noe stones nor tymber shall lye vpon the Flats above 48 hours." Wm. Pollard to see that no stones or timber lie in the streets at the South End of the Town, and Richd. Bennet the same at the North End; agreeable to an order of 31 Nov. 1649.

July 28. — Wm. Baker, carpenter; John Chamberlin, currier; and Wm. Talbot, sail-maker, admitted to inhabit.

Aug. 11. — The Select men are ordered to "take care from tyme to tyme for the prevention of danger of fyer by defectiue chimneys."

Nov. 6. — Martin Stebins is fined 20s. unless he secure his chimney from danger of fire in ten days.

Sept. 29. — Hope Allen, currier, admitted an inhabitant.

Oct. 27. — Nicholas Parker may wharf before his property by Charlestown ferry.

Nov. 24. — John Web, brasier, admitted to inhabit for six months, "and if he behave himself well for longer tyme." Saml. Norden fined for entertaining a foreigner, ignorantly, 6s. and 8d. "and to discharge them of his house." If any chimney "be on fyer, so as to flame out of the top," the party inhabiting the house to be fined 10s.

‡ This is no doubt a printer's error, and should be *ferries*; otherwise it is nonsense.

keepe a constant watch to fore see the approach of forreign dangers, being furnished with a beaçon and lowd babling guns, to give notice by their redoubled eecho to all their sister townes. The chiefe edifice of this citylike Towne is crowded on the sea-bankes, and wharfed out with great industry and cost, the buildings beautiful and large; some fairely set forth with brick, tile, stone and slate, and orderly placed with comly streets, whose continuall enlargement presages some sumptuous city. The wonder of this moderne age, that a few years should bring forth such great matters by so meane a handfull. But now behold, in these very places where at their first landing the hideous thickets in this place were sich that wolves and beares nurst up their young from the eyes of all beholders, where the streets are full of girles and boyes sporting up and down."*

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Mint Established. — An assumption of Authority. — Favored by the state of Affairs in England. — John Hull appointed Mint-Master. — Some Account of him. — Coining unnoticed by Parliament, and Cromwell. — Death of John Cotton. — Had ordered his Papers to be burnt. — Incidents of his last Sickness. — John Norton named as his Successor. — Personal Appearance of Cotton. — His Portrait. — Laws against Extravagance in Dress. — War declared against the Indians. — The Dutch and Indians accused of plotting the Destruction of the English. — Death and Character of Gov. Dudley. — The Great Fire. — Another Clamor against the Indians. — Maj. Willard sent against them. — They avoid Hostilities. — Maj. Willard censured. — Heretical Books. — Muggleton and Reeves.

THIS year money was begun to be coined in Boston. The increase of trade made a home currency necessary. Money in bullion had flowed in from the West Indies, owing in some measure to the success of the buccaneers among the islands in that region. Therefore "it was thought necessary for preventing fraud in money to erect a mint for coining shillings, sixpences and three-pences."†



BRENTON. †

It was no small stretch of authority for a Colony or Province to presume to coin money; but this Colony was now very peculiarly situated, and its presumption in taking this step was greatly favored by the recent state of affairs in the mother country. Things had been so overturned there that the people

*Johnson, *Wonder-working Prov.*, chap. xx. p. 42. This description of Johnson is copied nearly verbatim in Ogilby's great folio "America: being the latest and most accurate Description of the New World," p. 159-60, printed twenty years after Johnson wrote. He mentions one fact not in Johnson, namely, that it (Boston) "was anciently called *Accomonticus*!"

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 78.

‡ The above are the Arms of Brenton, of Hertfordshire. They are still borne, with augmentation, by the naval commanders of the name in England, all descended from Mr. Wm. Brenton, of Boston, freeman 14 May, 1634, one of the principal inhabitants, and afterwards Governor of Rhode Island, of whom hereafter.

here felt that they were under little or no control from that Government, and even their allegiance hung only by a thread of very questionable strength and durability.*

It appears that "for some years paper bills" had been used for money; but as these "were very subject to be lost, rent or counterfeited, and other inconveniences,"† a supply of hard money was resolved upon. Accordingly, the General Court authorized John Hull, June 10. "a silversmith," and Robert Sanderson, of Boston, officers of its "Jurisdiction," for "melting, refyning and coining of silver." They took an oath that all money coined by them should "be of the just alloy of the English coine; that every shilling should be of due weight, namely, three penny troj weight, and all other pieces proportionably, so neere as they could." Measures were then taken to provide a suitable "mint howse and all tooles and implements necessary for carrying an end of the order; that the said mint howse should be sett vpon the land of the said John Hull;"‡ that when he should cease to be Mint Master, the Country was to have the ground on which the house stood at the valuation of two "indifferent men equally chosen by the Countrje and said John Hull."

The pieces at first coined had only the initials of New England on one side, and on the other the Roman numerals expressive of their value. But the General Court soon ordered that all pieces of money should have a double ring with this inscription, "MASSACHUSETTS, and a tree

* "No other Colony ever presumed to coin any metal into money. It must be considered, that at this time there was no king in Israel."

—Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 78.

† Mr. Felt from *Mass. Archives*. See his *Hist. Acad. Mass. Currency*, 33.

‡ His land is not described in the *Book of Possessions*. He died intestate, and, after his death (which took place 29 Sept., 1683, aged 59, according to *Hist. Ant. and Hon. Art. Co.*), his estate was distributed between Judith his widow, and his daughter Hannah, wife of Samuel Sewall, as follows: 12 Mar. 1683-4 — Widow to have the mansion house, late bought of Mr. Edward Rawson, and the little orchard adjacent; one moiety of all the warehouses, yard and wharf on the Mill Creek in Boston, near the Little-bridge, called Oliver's-bridge; lands at Muddy River (Brookline) now occupied by Simon Gates; Swamp-line land occupied by Geo. Bairstow; Hogscote-land, occupied by Andrew Gardner; a third of the dwelling houses in Boston held by mortgages: one from Hudson Leverett, occupied by him; one from Richd. Woodde, occupied by his widow; and one from Wm. Hour, baker, occupied by him; also the dwelling house and land bo't of Robt. Walker; the small pasture bo't of John Damerill, fronting on the street leading towards Fort Hill in Boston; all the lands in Sherborn alias Boggastow. At the death of said Judith to be equally divided amongst the three children of her daughter, Hannah Sewall, viz.

Samuel, Hannah and Elizabeth. At the decease of said daughter Hannah and her husband, said children to have the reversion of all lands at Muddy River; lands in Boston formerly Mr. Cotton's at Cotton-Hill, warehouses, wharf, &c.; a small tenement leased by Capt. Daniel Henchman, with pasture adjoining Mr. Robert Sanderson, purchased of Sarah Phippen. This document was subscribed by Saml. Sewall and his wife, 13 Mar., 1683-4, and witnessed by "Daniel Quinsey, John Alcocke and Eliakim Mather."

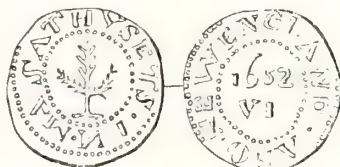
John Hull is styled silversmith in legal papers. It was doubtless owing to his skill in that business that the General Court selected him as its Mint Master. In one of Judge Sewall's interleaved Almanacks, he wrote against 14 Aug. 1683, "My father watched his last." The Almanack is by Cotton Mather. — See *Antiquarian Journal*, vii. 345. Mr. Hull had other children besides the wife of Sewall, but they all died before their father. The first recorded are Elizabeth and Mary, twins, born 23 Jan. 1652; Hannah (who became the wife of Sewall) b. 14 Feb. 1657. She was married 28 Feb., 1675-6. It is not probable that the father of the Mint Master ever came to this country; but that this son came over with an uncle or grandfather. Farmer learned by *Sewall's Diary*, that Robert Hull, of Boston, blacksmith, freeman 1637, was his grandfather. John no doubt learned his trade of silversmith before his emigration.

in the centre on one side, and NEW ENGLAND and the year of our Lord on the other side." * This was strictly adhered to by the Mint Master, but the General Court did not probably contemplate, that all the money which might be coined for thirty years should have the "year of Our Lord 1652," on it, yet such was the case.†

It has been long since remarked, that it was singular Parliament took no notice of this infringement of one of its vital prerogatives, but it only proves one of two things; namely, that Parliament was too much occupied to consider of the matter, or that it did not care to disturb the quiet of New England, as its loyalty was no doubt considered beyond question; nor does Cromwell appear to have alluded to the subject. And "there was a tacit allowance of it even by Charles the Second for more than twenty years; and although it was made one of the charges against the Colony when the Charter was called in question, yet no great stress was laid upon it. It appeared to have been so beneficial that, during Sir Edmund Andros' administration, endeavors were used to obtain leave for continuing it; and the objections against it seem not to have proceeded from its being an encroachment upon the prerogative, for the motion was referred to the master of the Mint, and



12d.



6d. PIECES-



3d. PIECES.



2d.

* Mr. Felt says, "A pine tree appears to have been a favorite symbol with the authorities of Massachusetts." The rudeness of the impression on the early coins may render it rather uncertain whether a pine tree was intended to be represented, or some other tree. I am of the opinion that simply a *tree*, of no particular genus, was originally intended; and that at length it received the name of one of the most common tribe of trees of New England. When the people "declared themselves free from British rule, they had it appointed on the State flag, April 11th, 1776. It continued to the adoption of the thirteen stripes. Even before this appointment, it was under the colors with such a tree that the battle of Bunker Hill was fought by our forces." — *Hist. Mass. Cur.*, 35.



It may be just to infer that the same Flag or Colors was used on the land as on the sea in the early period of our history.— Such being the fact, and the Sea Colors being truly described in an English work published before 1700, we find a *tree* in the colors then in use no more representing a *pine* than it does a *cabbage*. It is exactly copied in the annexed engraving. The ground is red, also the Cross. The tree is green.

† It may have been the policy of the Rulers not to alter the date; willing, perhaps, that it might be thought in England a matter only

the report against it was upon mere prudential considerations." * A great sum was coined, and Master Hull realized a large fortune; so advantageous was his contract with the Government.† But it was remarked by a cotemporary, that his good fortune was well deserved; in that "he was the son of a poor woman, but dutiful to and tender of his mother, which Mr. Wilson, his minister, observing, pronounced that God would bless him; and although he was then poor, yet he should raise a great estate." ‡

The Town sent the same Deputies to the General Court this year as last. § The other officers varied. ||

resorted to in a single year, for a temporary relief, and which had been probably laid aside the same year.

* Hutchinson, i. 178.

† "He was to coin the money of the just alloy of the then new sterling English money, and for all changes which should attend melting, refining and coining, he was to be allowed to take 15*d.* out of every 20*s.* The Court were afterwards sensible that this was too advantageous a contract, and Mr. Hull was offered a sum of money by the Court to release them from it; but he refused to do it. He left a large personal estate and one of the best real estates in the country. Samuel Sewall, who married his only daughter, received with her, as commonly reported, £30,000 in New England shillings." — *Ibid.*

‡ Mather, *Magnalia*, B. iii. 47.

§ Jan. 5. — Thomas Noble admitted an inhabitant.

Jan. 26. — Wm. Whitwell may keep an ordinary till the next 7th month. Martin Stebbins allowed the same liberty. Richd. Wooddy admitted an inhabitant "upon promise not to be offensive by his trayd."

Feb. 23. — Joshua Scottto may wharf before his property, "by the north east end of the Mill Bridge." John Vyall may keep a house of common entertainment, "provided he keepe it nere the New Meetinghouse, or northward of it." James Davis may keep a house of common entertainment.

|| Mar. 8. — Select men were Mr. Adam Winthrop, Capt. Savage, Mr. Thomas Clarke, Mr. Jeremy Houchin, Deacon Marshall, Ensign Hutchinson and Mr. Wm. Brenton. The Constables were Jacob Sheaffe, Mr. James Astwood, Samuel Bitsfeld, and Wm. Ludkin; for Rumley Marsh John Tuthill; for Muddy River John Kenerick. "Ordered that James Euerill and the neighbors w^{ch} set up the Conditt by the Dock, shall have on of the bells (which were given by Capt. Crumwell) for a clocke, and enioy it whiles they make that vse of it there."

Mar. 16. — Ensign Hutchinson chosen Treasurer, and Thomas Savage Recorder. Deacon Marshall sealer of weights and measures.

Mar. 29. — "Thomas Alkok" to keep the cows "w^{ch} goe one the Common one this

Neck," and to have 2*s.* and 6*d.* each, and to pay for wintering "of the Town bull." "Sargt. Richd. Cooke" may set a house on the Town's ground, between the house Mr. Woodmansey lives in, and the Town "skoole" house, extending from the street to Henry Messenger's ground, behind the "skoole house downe along by the burying-place; 67 foot wide behind the skole house," and 60 next Henry Messenger; trees planted or to be planted, and buildings to be holden as security for the rent. Enlargement of the school-house was provided for.

April 3. — Ens. James Oliver and Sergt. Peter Oliver may set up a wind mill on the "tope of the hile between the Towne and the hile called Fox hile;" to pay 12*d.* a year to the Town, or forfeit 5*s.* a quarter. Said "mile to stand stile" when the "cheef military commander of this Towne or of this regiment" shall order it.

April 2. — John Anderson may wharf before the high-way adjoining his land on one side and John Crabtre's on the other; may take wharfage of strangers but not of the inhabitants of the Town. Wm. Franklin shall make good the bridge by John Batman's house, over the Mill-creek; and to make it passable both for carts and horse, in ten days, or be fined 20*s.*

May 31. — Edward Flecher requested that Tho. Sewal might reside in the Town, and "Rich. Greedly, Jno. Parker, Miles Tarne, Richard Thayre, all of Boston," became security against his becoming chargeable to the Town.

July 26. — Richd. Waite may set a porch before his house, 3 ft. into the street, and 6 ft. wide, and pay the Town 6*d.* every 25th of March "henceforth and for euer." James Pitney allowed to inhabit, but Theodore Atkinson had to become bound for him in £20. Wm. Shattoke, shoemaker, allowed to inhabit; also Silvester Harbert.

Aug. 9. — Robt. Feeld may keep a "cook's shopp and draw beare," and Wm. Courser may also keep a cook shop. Oct. 5. — Wm. Whitwell and Martin Stebbin allowed the same privilege.

Aug. 30. — Awgoston Lindon and James Westmorland admitted inhabitants.

Nothing since the death of Governor Winthrop had caused so great a sensation in the Town as the death of Mr. John Cotton. He was in his sixty-eighth year ; * of whom, one † eminently qualified to draw his character, says, " His excellent learning and profound judgment, eminent gravity, Christian candor and sweet temper of spirit, whereby he could very placidly bear those who differed from him in their apprehensions, made him most desired whilst he was amongst them, and the more lamented when he was removed hence. So equal a contention between learning and meekness, magnanimity and humility, is seldom seen in any one person. He was a famous light in his generation, a glory to both Englands ; one in whom was so much of what is desirable in a man, as the consciences of all that knew him appealed unto, is rarely to be seen in any one conversant upon earth. And as concerning any tenet, wherein he may be thought to be singular, it must be remembered, that although he was a star of the first magnitude, yet he was on this side of that place and state where the spirits of just men are made perfect, and where the ' wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament.' "

It is related, that on his death-bed Mr. Cotton ordered his son to burn all his papers which related to the unhappy controversy in Sir Henry Vane's time ; and that " he had bundled them all up " with the intention to do it himself, but had omitted it till he had not strength to go into his study where they were. His son complied reluctantly with the injunction of his dying father, but not till he had taken the advice of Mr. Norton. That advice was in obedience with the injunction. ‡

Nov. 21. Mr. Cotton preached his last sermon about one month before his death. His final sickness was occasioned by a cold taken while passing the ferry to Cambridge ; whither he went to preach a sermon to the students at the College. An inflammation of the lungs followed, and he expired on Thursday, about noon, or " between eleven and twelve o'clock, after the bell had called to the lecture." When upon his death-bed, the members of his Church, aware that his dissolution was near at hand, requested him to name some one to succeed him, and he desired them to apply to Mr. Norton, of Ipswich. §

The personal appearance of Mr. Cotton, according to his grandson, ||

Oct. 5. — Sergt. Robt. Turner may let his new house jet into the street further than his old one is, and to pay 2s. and 6d. a year for ever.

Nov. 29. — Thomas Bligh is allowed to live in the Town, " he carrying himself without scandall." Mr. Thomas Broughton may wharf before his ground at the ferry towards Charlestown, if he do it " within a year and a day." Good. Arnal and Sergt. Wm. Cotton fined 5s. for committing nuisance. " Those whoe " paved the lane from the Cove at Mr. Hamberye's, north-west to the house of Robt. Bradford's, to be paid 40s.

Dec. 10. — Mr. Edward Hutchinson is cho-

sen gentleman of the Great Artillery of Boston.

Dec. 27. — William English is admitted a townsman. Richard Taylor may set a shop at the south end of Mrs. Hamblo's house.

* He was born 4 Dec., 1585, and was therefore just entered upon his 68th year.

† Hubbard, *Hist. New Eng.*, 553, ed. Harris.

‡ Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 179.

§ Dr. Pond's Preface to his edition of the *Life of Cotton*, by John Norton, p. 8. For several of the above facts I am indebted to this work.

|| Dr. Cotton Mather, in the *Magnalia*, B. iii. page 28.

was as follows: "The reader," he says, "that is inquisitive after the prosopography of this great man, may be informed, that he was of a clear, fair, sanguine complexion, and, like David, of a ruddy countenance; rather low than tall, and rather fat than lean, but of a becoming mediocrity. In his younger years his hair was brown, but in his latter years as white as the driven snow. In his countenance there was an inexpressible sort of majesty, which commanded reverence from all that approached him." *

The laws which had been passed against extravagance in dress at a previous Court, had been pretty rigorously enforced. One woman was fined for wearing "broad bone lace," one for wearing tiffany, and another for wearing a silk hood. Alice Flint was complained of for this last offence, but as she made it appear that she was worth £200, the law did not reach her case; but Jonas Fairbanks did not escape censure for wearing "those great prohibited boots," although he escaped without being fined.

1653. Captain Leverett and Captain Clarke are again chosen Dep-
Mar. 14. uties to the General Court.†

The war between England and the Dutch caused much alarm in Boston, and a war with the Narraganset Indians also broke out this year. It was declared by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, and 250 men were ordered to be raised. Owing chiefly to the relation
Sept. 20. of England to the Dutch, a jealousy had sprung up here, that the people of Manhattan had leagued with the Indians to distress and break up the settlements of New England. This jealousy was strengthened when the Rulers considered the part they had acted in causing the death of Miantonimo. Ninigret was now a leading Chief among the Narragansets, and he had spent much time of late at New York. It turned out, however, that the fears of the English respecting a plot between the Dutch and Indians against them, was without sufficient foundation upon which to make war; and, after long and tedious examinations, the Commissioners learned that Ninigret had been sojourning at Manhattan for the benefit of his health.‡ From the information elicited, however, it appears not unlikely that the Dutch Governor at

* His portrait accompanying this history very well agrees with this description, and may tend to dispel any doubt of the genuineness of the picture from which it is copied, should there be any who might wish to appear wise by expressing doubt. It has, I believe, never before been engraved. It is copied, as its inscription imports, from a painting in possession of JOHN ELIOT THAYER, Esq., of Boston, who is a descendant of Cotton.

† "Select men, Ens. Edwd. Hutchinson, Ens. Jeremy Howchine, Lieutt. James Oliuer, Tho. Marshall, Mr. Wm. Brenton, Mr. Saml. Cole, Cornet Peeter Oliuer. Comissioner to carry in the voats for Magistrats, Mr. Nathill. Dunkom. Constables, Mr. Joseph Roeko, Henry Bridgham, Bartholmew Chevars, Wm.

Wenborne; John Doelittell, at Rumley Marsh; Peeter Ashpinall at Muddy River; Clarkes of the Market, Tho. Buttalls and Corporall Henry Pownding; Seallers of leather, Wm. Corser and Robt. Reade; Surveyors of High-ways, Mathew Barnes, Richd. Benit, Thomas Wiburne; at Rumley Marsh, James Pemerton; packers of flesh and fish, Serjt. John Barrell; Wm. Dinsdall and Isack Collimore to looke to carriages and wheels of the great artillery."

"Granted Isack Collimoor a houselot at the northwest end of Mackallin Knights ground towards the house of Mr. Howchins."

‡ "In Anno 1653, there were great troubles and commotions raised in the spirits of men, with reference to the Indians, it being generally believed that there was an horid conspi-

New York was laying plans by which he could avail himself of the Indians' services, should his situation require them.*

Mr. Endicott had held the office of Governor since the death of Governor Winthrop, and Mr. Dudley had served as his Deputy for the last two years. Now the labors of the latter were come to an end. Mr.

July 31. Dudley died in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and thus passed away another principal founder of the Colony; one of the most energetic and active men who had ever lived in it. His firmness was fully equalled by his fidelity; and though he was highly intolerant, according to more modern ideas of toleration, yet his integrity, and honesty of purpose, in carrying out that which he conceived to be the true interests of the people, will never be questioned by those who have attended at all to his character.†

A fire, known for many years after as "The Great Fire," occurred this year; but neither its extent nor locality is known. The Town may be said to have been very fortunate in respect to fires hitherto.‡ The immediate affairs of the Town are important and interesting.§

raey amongst the Indians throughout this land to cut off all the English, and that they were animated thereto by the Dutch, there being, at that time, war between England and Holland." — Dr. I. Mather, *Relation of the Troubles, &c.*, p. 67-8.

* The war would have been prosecuted but for the influence of Boston. Dr. Mather says, "The Commissioners of the United Colonies did apprehend themselves called upon to wage warr against Ninigret and such Indians as should adhere to him in his bloody proceedings; but the Council at Boston not concurring in those conclusions, the intended expedition failed at that time." — *Ibid.*, 69.

† There is believed to be no portrait of Governor Dudley in existence. This is very singular, and much to be lamented by his numerous posterity at the present day; one of whom, bearing the name, has within a few years, travelled over a great part of England to make researches respecting his ancestry, but, it is believed, not with entire success. His biography is of the deepest interest, and may be read in Eliot and Allen, and most of our histories. The family arms have been given in this work. — See *ante*, p. 137.

‡ Capt. Robert Keayne, who wrote his will, or the first part of it, on the 1st of August this year, is supposed to refer to this fire in the following passage: "Haveing thought of the want of some necessary things for the Towne of Boston, as a Market-place [house] and Condit; the one a good helpe in danger of fyre, the want of which we have found of sad experience." — *Antiquarian Journal*, vi. 90. From the following Town orders it would seem that the Great Fire happened not long before 14 Mar. 1653. Also from the Town Records:—

Mar. 14. — "Ordered that there be a ladder or ladders to every house within this Town,

that shall reach to the ridge of the house, which every houshowlder shall provide for his house by the last day of the 3d mo. next, one the penaltie of 6s. 8d.; that every householder shall provide a pole of about 12 foot long with a good large swob at the end of it, to reach the rofe of his house to quench fire; that the selectt men shall provide six good and large ladders for the Towne's use, which shall hang at the outside of the Meetinghouse, to be branded with the Town mark; that a bell man goe about the Town in the night, from 10 unto 5 a cloke in the morning."

§ Jan. 31. — William Ware is admitted a townsman.

Feb. 28. — William Gifford, bricklayer, admitted to inhabit, but Mr. Richd. Bellingham was obliged to "secur the Town fro all damage for one whole year." Goodm. Waters must remove his fence from "crose the old hie way" leading from Tho. Hawkins house over the little bridge behind the water mill to the ferry to Charlestown before 7 Mar. next, or be fined 20s. Wm. Foxley, and Mr. Pig-hogg [Piggot] "chururgeon," are admitted to inhabit. Francis Hudson may wharf before his ground near the ferry at Charlestown, if he do it within a year, and leave a way a rod and an half between his house and said wharf. John Lowes fined 5s. for entertaining Francis Burges without the liberty of the "Selekt" men. Good. Watters fined 10s. for entertaining Roger Sowers without the liberty of the "Selekt" men.

Mar. 28. — Thomas Rider fined 20s. for receiving John Lightfoot as an inmate, but it was afterward remitted. [Joseph Rocke was fined several times for not acting as Constable, until the General Court ordered his fines to be returned.]

April 25. — Mr. Simon Aires fined 10s. for

Mar. 12. Captain Thomas Clarke and Captain Thomas Savage were chosen Deputies to the General Court. The "Townsmen" chosen at the same time were Mr. William Brenton, Mr. William Davis, Mr. Jeremyah Houchin, Mr. James Oliuer, Mr. Samuel Cole, Mr. Peter Oliuer, and Mr. Thomas Marshall.*

May 3. At the General Election, Mr. Richard Bellingham was chosen Governor, and Mr. Endicott Deputy Governor. There is no record that a sermon was preached at the Election, nor is it at present known whether any sermons were preached from 1650 to 1655, inclusive.†

The troubles and complaints against the Indians were louder this year, if possible, than they were the last year, and nothing short of an extermination of the Narragansets seemed likely to satisfy the Connecticut people. One of the most serious complaints against them was, that they kept up a war upon the Long Island Indians; and this, enforced with other accusations, caused the Commissioners again to declare war.

Oct. A force of 270 foot and forty horse were therefore ordered to proceed into the Narraganset country to take satisfaction. Of this "army" Major Simon Willard had the chief command. On his arrival Major Willard found, doubtless, what he expected to find, namely, that the Indians had all run away into the swamps and hiding-places; and hence, if he and his men were disposed to fight, there was nobody to fight with. In due time the army returned home, having effected nothing of importance.

There was considerable clamor raised against Major Willard, and there were some that supposed he had secret instructions from the Gov-

his chimney being on fire "contrary to order."

May 30. — David Hichbone fined 20s. for receiving James Robinson into his house as an inmate, but on "his sorrow for the same," the fine was not exacted. Robert Sanders may inhabit, and Mr. Thomas Ruck may "retayle strong water."

June 27. — Roger Else admitted an inhabitant. Mr. Robtt. Woodmaneye to be paid 40s. "as part of his repayres of his house," [which had probably been injured in stopping the progress of the late fire. Immediately following this order to remunerate Mr. Woodmaneye, the Town Records state, that] "Forasmuch as sad events have been by fire, when it breaketh out beyond its due bounds, to the damage and losse, nott only of estate but life also, for preventyon whereof it is hereby ordered that noe fire shall be kindled within three rod of any warehouse or wharfe or woodpile," &c., upon certain penalties: From which it is probable that the great fire originated from a fire made in the open air near some building or woodpile, &c.

Aug. 28. — Mr. Foot shall fence his "seller from the highway neare the bridge over the mill stream," or pay 20s.

Oct. 26. — Walter Senett may dig a cove in the Marsh near Mr. Ransford's to lay his boat in.

J.R. Ransford

Dec. 26. — Joshua Scotto and Wm. Franklin may alter the draw bridge, "to make it rise in two leaves," it being heavy and dangerous in one leaf.

* Mar. 12. — Habacuck Glover, Tho. Mattson, — Farnham, and Thomas Wilbourne, were chosen Constables. Richard Crichley, Hough Drury, — Goose, and Nathl. Adams, surveyors; for Rumney Marsh, Thomas Stocker; searchers and packers of flesh and fish, Wm. Dinsdayle and John Barrell. "The Select Men have liberty to agree with Joseph Jynks for Ingins to carry water in case of fire, if they see cause soe to doe." Wm. Hearsey was Constable of Rumney Marsh, and Garrett Bourne, of Muddy River.

† Mar. 27. — Mr. Wm. Davis, Mr. Peeter Oliver, John White and Peeter Aspinwall to join with Cambridge to lay out a High way through Muddy River to Cambridge. Mr.

ernment at Boston, which prevented his fighting the Indians; but it would have been more just had the Indians been accused of acting under "secret instructions," by which Major Willard's army found none of them to fight with. Nevertheless, it may be that there were influential men in Boston who regarded a war with the Narragansets altogether unwarrantable and unnecessary. Mr. Roger Williams was, doubtless, consulted, and there is a letter of his extant in which he reminds the English "that the Narragansets were their first friends; that they had been true in all the Pequot wars, and had been the means of the coming in of the Mohegans, too; that a Narraganset had never stained his hand in English blood; but that the Long Islanders had, as well as the Pequots; while many hundreds of the English had experience of the love and desire of peace among the Narragansets."

Before retreating from the Narraganset country, Major Willard endeavored to bring Ninigret to hold a treaty, but the Chief was afraid to venture among so many soldiers. Two gentlemen, however, who accompanied the expedition, Captain Davis and Captain Seely, procured an interview with him, and he made certain promises, which it is said he kept *fidem Punicam*; for the very good reason, probably, that they were extorted from him, and that it was out of his power to perform

Samuell Cole, sealer of weights and measures. The grant to Mr. Thomas Broughton to wharf or make a "Carroecadd before his land at Center Haven is continued." Mr. Willm. Davis, Treasurer for the Town, and Thomas Marshall, Recorder. Mr. James Oliver and Robtt. Turner to run the line between Cambridge and "Rocksbury," and Boston, "in pambulation." Capt. Robt. Kayne and John Touchill to run between Boston, Charlestown and Linn "in pambulation."

April 24. — "Thomas Olcott shall kepe the cows, and to have 2s. a head for every cow that goes upon the comon, and 6d. a head for the hire of 2 bulls w^{ch} he hath hereby power to gather vpon every cove."

June 23. — The Town agreed with Wm. Ireland and Aron Waye to make good the High way, as now laid out by Lin, leading thence to Wenesemett; the part newly laid out, partly in the land of Mr. Newgate, and partly in their own; to keep it in repair seven years, and to be paid £5. Wm. Bruff admitted an inhabitant; Willm. Wenbourne being bound for him. Mr. Dean Winthrop and Amos Richardson, agents "vnto Mr. Steaven Winthrop doe lay out a highway through the marsh from Henry Bridgham's house to Benjamin Ward's wharf;" thence through the Town's marsh, in a line with the street as staked and marked. Richd. Norton fined for receiving Geo. Palmer into the Town.

July 31. — Tho. Smith and Mrs. Bridgett Sandford admitted inhabitants. Mr. Hezekiah Vsher, and Thos. Clarke, shopkeeper, to collect the money for the College, subscribed by the Select Men. Thos. Hawkins to pay 2s.

and 6d. for the use of the Lane that leads to the Mill Cove, by the year; and may fence it in as long as the Town sees good. It was a rod and half wide.

Aug. 28. — On Hugh Williams security, Mary Hayle may "reside with us." Mathew Barnes shall remove the pales at the corner of the Mill, and his wood from the High way, or be fined 20s.

Sept. 25. — Mr. Wm. Davis, Mr. Jeremy Houchin, and Mr. Peter Oliuer, to view the land at the end of the house that was Geo. Bennitt's, and determine whether it belongs to said house or the Town. "Simon Rogers chosen bellman; to begin the 1 Oct. and soe to contyneue till the 1st of 3d mo." Edward Greneclef admitted to inhabit. Mr. John Floyd fined 5s. for receiving Mrs. Pacey into his house as an inmate. — Farnham fined 5s. for receiving Goodman Wales as above. Joseph Swett admitted an inhabitant. If any persons take earth out of the Lane leading from "Theoder Atkinsons house to Rich. Gridleys, they shall bring two loads of gravel for every load of earth."

Oct. 31. — Richard Green admitted an inhabitant, and Jasper Rawlins became bound for him. Robert Brooks admitted to inhabit.

Dec. 10. — The order of 24: 9: 51 is repealed, but it is ordered that "iff anye chimney shall be fired soe as to flame out att the topp," its owner to be fined 5s. The bridge leading over the Mill stream near John Bateman's house shall be mended up, by the owners, so as people may pass safely over, within a week.

them. This is a fair inference, when it is known that Davis and Seely told him, that if he did not do as they had ordered him, "he must expect that ere long his head would be set upon an English pole."

As nothing was effected against the Indians, and as the army had returned, many apprehended that they would be encouraged to commit depredations. Hence soldiers were kept in readiness to act against them. Boston ordered that the soldiers which were pressed for the expedition against "Ninircraft," should be in readiness to march at Dec. 25. two hours' notice. The number of Boston men "impressed" was thirty-two, and William Hudson, Evan Thomas, William Blanton and Nicholas Upsall, were allowed seventeen pounds and fifteen shillings for billeting them. This allowance was in January following.

Aug. 22. To prevent the scarcity of coin, the General Court ordered that persons should not carry away with them, out of the country, more than twenty shillings each, which it judged would be sufficient to pay their expenses; and searchers were appointed to carry out the order.

There had been a recent importation of books, which were pronounced heretical by the Government. An order was therefore passed forbidding all persons having in their possession books bearing the names of John Reeve and Lodowick Muggleton;* and they were ordered to Oct. 18. be delivered to those authorized to receive them, who were directed publicly to burn them in the Market Place, which doubtless was accordingly done.

At the same Court there was an order made that no man should be a Deputy to the General Court, "who was not correct in the main doctrines of religion." It was also ordered that taxes might be paid in barley at five, rye and peas at four, and corn at three shillings the bushel.

Nov. The General Court came to a regulation respecting their board in times of Sessions; namely, that they should take their meals, especially their dinners, in the Court House chamber. Lieutenant Phillips agreed to give each, beside their meals, a cup of wine or beer, with two meals, and a fire and a bed, for three shillings a day.

Dec. 9. The death of Major General Gibbons, which happened on the ninth of December of this year, was a great loss to the Colony.†

* A synopsis or abstract of Muggleton's books would afford much amusement, if not instruction, at this day. He was as wild and sanguine in his theories as any enthusiast probably ever was before or since his time. His portrait in one of his books now by me, has under it this inscription:—"LODOWICK MUGGLETON, Dyed the 14 of March 1697; then aged 88 years 7 months: and 14 Days." Another of his books has this title:—"The Acts of the Witnesses of the Spirit, in Five Parts; by Lodowick Muggleton, one of the two [Reeve was the other] Witnesses, and True Prophets of the only High, Immortal, Glorious

GOD, CHRIST JESUS."—He seems to have agreed with the Rulers here in one respect; namely, in waging war against the Quakers. William Penn fell under his rebuke, whom he calls a "Lyon-like Quaker," who had come out "with another thundering letter" "The great mystery," he says, "that God become flesh, is hid from the eyes of the seed of the serpent, such as William Penn the Quaker is."

† There is a good sketch of him in Dr. Eliot's N. E. Biog. Dict. He is also noticed by Dr. Allen, though Mr. Savage says he is not. (*Note in Winthrop, new edition*, i. p. 228.)

I am not aware of any data, by which the

He was the chief of the military men in the country ; having been kept in his office of Major General by annual elections. The other important offices which he held will have been observed in the previous pages of this history.* He was probably the greatest adventurer among the Boston merchants, in La Tour's expedition, by which he lost a large amount, so that, at his death, his estate was rendered insolvent. There was, at his decease, a debt due him from the Town. Its consideration was referred "to the Selectmen" of the following year, "together with the help of the ancient Townsmen." Mr. Thomas Lake, and Mr. Joshua Scottow were Administrators to Major Gibbon's estate, who, the records say, had frequently demanded the debt of the Town, the amount of which was but forty-five pounds. It was finally adjusted, and twenty pounds were paid, "because y^e whole debt appears nott so clearly due."

age of Gen. Gibbons can be learned. He was probably not above sixty. He had sons Jotham and John. Jotham had lands given him by Squaw Sachem and Webeowit on the west side of Mistick ponds in 1637. Charlestown afterwards claimed those lands, and a tedious lawsuit grew out of it. The cause was decided 24 : 1 : 1661-2. The jury gave Charlestown "three parts," and "one part" to the defendant, Thomas Gleison, "as the land belonging to Jotham Gibbons, and for the defendant costs of Court. os. and 2d." Gleison lived upon the land at the time of the suit.— *Court Papers*. By the same papers it appears that Major Gibbons understood the Indian language and was an interpreter between the English and Indians.

* See *ante*, pp. 200, 231. — The voyage of Capt. Gibbon (as he was then styled) to the

West Indies was noticed in the latter page. During that voyage he probably fell in with some European voyager, who, on his return to his country, manufactured the absurd tale of Gibbon's being met with about the Arctic regions, and that he had discovered a North-West Passage, &c. ; which fabrication deceived many. Among others, Capt. Arthur Dobbs was rather disposed to credit the legend, as late as 1744, who prints the story in his *Account of Hudson's Bay*, 123, &c. — The reader will find more of this matter, if he will take the trouble to examine an article in the *N. Amer. Rev.*, vol. xlviii. p. 129, &c. (No. CH. Jan., 1839.) The anachronism in the fabrication, making Gibbon's voyage two years later than it was, may have arisen from accident or intention.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Gov. Endicott removes to Boston. — Death of Edward Winslow. — His Character. — Law about Home Manufactures. — Improvement in Scythes. — Movement for a Reduction of Duties. — Sale of Irish Servants. — Scotch Prisoners sent over. — Various Town Regulations. — Arrival of Quakers. — Seizel and Imprisoned. — Their Books Burnt. — Proceedings against Heretics, how far Justifiable. Mary Fisher. — Laws against Quakers. — Nicholas Upsall. — Banishment and Sufferings. — Cromwell. — People invited to remove to Jamaica. — Decline it. — John Leverett. — Execution for Witchcraft. — Death of Capt. Kenyne — of Miles Standish. — Farts Repaired. — Samuel Sharp. — Transfers of Real Estate not hitherto regularly Recorded. — Removal of the Gallows — The North Battery Repaired.



WINSLOW.

THE election this year resulted in the choice of Mr. Endicott for Governor, and Mr. Bellingham for Deputy Governor, which offices they continued to fill for the ten following years; at the end of which period Mr. Endicott died. At this Court an order of request was made, that the present and future Governors would reside in Boston; or, within four or five miles of the Town, "out of respect to strangers."

With this request Mr. Endicott complied; he had hitherto resided at Salem. His place of residence was on what is now Tremont Street, near the house of Mr. Cotton.*

Another of the great men of New England died this year. This was Governor Edward Winslow. No death could have cast a greater gloom over the country; and although he belonged to Plymouth Colony, yet he was much identified with the affairs of Boston. There had not lived in New England, perhaps, a man of greater talents, or one of higher moral worth. He had no superior among that band of worthies who gave an imperishable name to the MAYFLOWER; and he is the only one of all the "one hundred and one" who came to Plymouth in 1620, of whom the hand of an artist has left any painting, bearing the character of an authentic portrait.† He was in England chiefly as an agent for this Jurisdiction, when he was appointed by the Lord Protector a Commissioner to superintend or to direct the naval operations against

* Shaw's *Description*, 291. Mr. Endicott's oldest son was named John, whose wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Jeremy Howchin, a distinguished inhabitant. He died without issue in 1668, leaving all his estate to his wife. His house was in the vicinity of Sudbury St., adjoining the land of George Bates on the west. — *W. H.* His widow m. (Aug. 1668) Rev. James Allen, who arrived in N. Eng. in 1662. Their children were Hannah, b. 22 July, 1669; James, 21 Aug. 1670; John, 29 Feb. 1672; Jeremiah, 29 Mar. 1673. Mrs. Allen died seven days after the birth of this child, and Mr. A. m. again, 11 Sept. same year. Sarah Hawkins (Brett) and had Thomas, 20 May, 1675; Sarah, 13 Sept.

1679; both died infants. Jeremiah A., the son above named, had an only dau. who became the wife of John Wheelwright, and d. 12 Jan. 1717. Mr. W. died 5 Oct. 1760, a. 71. Mr. Allen's first wife was Hannah Dummer, whom he m. 18 Aug. 1663. She d. Mar. 1668. He was minister of the First Church. — *MS. Memoranda of Thos. Walcutt among Snow's papers.*

† The original was formerly in the Winslow Mansion at Marshfield, but is now deposited with the Historical Society in this city. It has been beautifully engraved for Mr. Young's "*Chronicles of Plymouth*," and recently by Mr. Bartlett for "*The Pilgrim Fathers*."

the Spanish West Indies, under the immediate command of Admirals Penn and Venables. A disagreement arose between those commanders, which gave him so much anxiety and uneasiness, that a fever was the consequence, and he died near Hispaniola, at the age of about fifty-nine years.* His body was deposited in the sea, upon the ceremony of which, "forty-two pieces of ordnance" were discharged.

A want of material for clothing had now begun to be considerably felt in the Colony, and to cause the people to supply themselves, the General Court made a law, "that all hands not otherwise necessarily employed, as women, boys and girls," should "spin according to their skill and ability." The Selectmen of the Towns were required to look to the condition of each family, and to "assess spinners" in it, according to circumstances. Thus people were enjoined by legal enactments to look to their own interests in the matter of home manufactures.

Before this period scythes for cutting grass were a very clumsy implement of husbandry, but this year Mr. Joseph Jenks introduced a great improvement into their manufacture. The nature of his improvement was such, that no one since his time has been able materially to improve upon him.

Oct. 25. There was a movement among the merchants of Boston this year to effect a reduction of duty on malt. Beer was an article of great importance, for the brewing of which malt was largely imported. Accordingly several petitions, signed by some of the most considerable importers, were presented to the General Court † In one of these they

* He was born at Droitwich in Worcestershire, October 19th, 1595. Few lines upon New England worthies are more familiar than those upon Mr. Winslow in Morton's Memorial:—

"The Eighth of May, west from Spinel's Shore,
God took from us our Grand Commissioner,
Winslow by name, a man in Chiefest Trust;
Whose life was sweet, and conversation just;
Whose Parts and Wisdom most men did excell:
An honor to his Place, as all can tell."

There is a pedigree of Gov. Winslow's descendants in the *Antiquarian Journal*, iv. 297, &c.

† The following are the autographs of such of the anti-tariff men of 1655, as signed the petition:—

Richard Harber

Wm Davis

James Bliss

WILLIAM HUDSON*

Richard Cooke

* See p. 239.

Evan Thomas

John Cutting

Tho. Lakett

Antijias Boy

William Hall

EDW. HUTCHINSON

Herediah White

say, "that whereas there is a law about the ymport or custom of mault brought over from other parts, which your Petitioners conceive to be pinditall to this Comon Welth, and also a discoridgmt to marchants," they therefore pray for a repeal of said law. In another they say, "The well knowne advantage accruing by freedome of ports and hindrance of trade, proportionally according to largeness of customs imposed, that this seeming good may not bring upon this Countrey a reall evell, and from custom upon one thing grow to custom on another, till step by step under spectous prefences we are insensiblie brought under taxes for every thing, as the wofull experience of other nations well known unto us sheweth." Therefore "for the good of the present, and to prevent this evell in future ages, we are become your humble petitioners to remove the customs upon malt, that after ages may remind you as fathers of their freedome, and the present may bow before you for their experience of your care of their welfare." *

Notwithstanding the evils arising from the duties complained of, as set forth by the Petitioners, the General Court could not or would not view the "evells" in the light which they did, and referred them to a former order of their body for such satisfaction as they might obtain from it.

From the Records of the Town, its progress and prosperity are very apparent; many new orders are adopted and new offices created. †

St. John

Thomas Broughton

ED. HUTCHINSON JUN.

Robert Oliuer

Henry Downing

* This petition seems to have been drawn by Mr. Thomas Broughton; that is, it is in his chirography, and is signed by him and Mr. Robert Pateshall, only.

Robt. Pateshall

Thomas Broughton

† Jan. 29. — Mathew Ians "approved of to keep a house of publique entertainment." — Land was taken of Tho. Munt to make a Highway "neare unto Mr. Farnesid's house." John Sumner may inhabit.

Feb. 26. — Upon the desire of "our sister Baxter" (her husband being "taken at sea and lost what he had in 1653"), his rate of 15s. was remitted. — Thos. Hill, and John Mosse, tailor may inhabit. — Ordered "that a distresse be leveyed" on the land that was John Shawe's, butcher, for rent due on Bendall's Dock.

Mar. 12. — Selectmen chosen; — Mr. Wm. Brenton, Mr. Saml. Cole, Mr. Wm. Davis, Mr. Peter Oliuer, Mr. James Oliuer, Mr. Wm. Paddey, and Tho. Marshall. — Constables, Bro. Shrimpton, Joseph Rock, John Webb, Hough Drurye. Bro. Shrimpton refusing, is fined 5s., and Rich: Hollidge was chosen. For Muddy River, John White, for Rumney Marsh, Simon Bird. — Surveyors, Nathaniel Adams, Richard Crichley, Goose the carter, and Sam. Sendall; for Rumney Marsh, Edward Weeden. Clerks of the Market, Wm. Cotten, Heugh Williams and Theodore Atkinson. Searchers and Sealers of leather, Wm. Courser and Robt. Reed. Searchers and Packers of flesh and fish, James Mattock, Sen., and Wm. Dinsdayle. Cordors of Wood, Tho. Leader, Rich. Taylor, Anthony Harker, Rich. Greene.

Mar. 30. — Wm. Davis chosen Treasurer and Recorder. — Peter Oliuer, Sealer of Weights and Measures. — Capt. James Oliuer, Robt. Turner, John Hull,

By order of the "State of England," many Irish people had been sent to New England. On their arrival they were sold by those at whose expense they had been brought over, to any of the inhabitants who were in want of slaves or servants. There arrived the last year a ship called the Goodfellow, Captain George Dell, with a large number of emigrants of the above description.* Many of the Scotch people had been sent before this in the same way. Some of them had been taken prisoners at the sanguinary battle of Dunbar. There arrived in one ship, the "John and Sara," John Greene, master, early in the summer of 1652, about 272 persons. Captain Greene had orders to deliver them to Thomas Kemble of Charlestown, who was to sell them, and with the proceeds to take freight for the West Indies.†

No sooner had one trial been gone through with, but another followed it closely. The Baptists had just been got rid of, and now came another strange sect. This was composed of people called Quakers.‡ There were but two of them at first, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin. § To

Jacob Elliott, Peter Oliver and John White "to run the line between Cambridge and Boston, and Roxbury and Boston, at Muddy River." Capt. Robt. Keayne, Mr. Edward Hutchinson, John Tuttle, John Delite and Tho. Stocker to run the line between Lyn and Boston, and Charlestown and Boston. Tho. Alcock to have 2s. 6d. a head for keeping the cows. Mrs. Richards allowed 20s. deduction on her rates. Tho. Jones may inhabit, but Robt. Sanderson to be security. Alexander Beck and Ralph Roote to oversee the fence of the Common field at Muddy River. An order was made to prevent the trees "planted on the Neck" from being spoiled. A well of "Robt. Nanave's" is much complained of, and ordered "to be made up secure;" also "his seller in the street." The legacy left by "Mis Hudson, deceased," for the school to be let to Capt Jas. Oliver at 10s. per an.

April 16. — The Commonage shall be laid out to the Commoners; the names of those entitled to Commonage to be taken.

Apr. 27. — The guns in the Market place shall be trimmed up against the Court of Election, annually, at the charge of the Town. — John Birchall may inhabit, also "Mis Pacy," if Mr. Bradstreet, or John Johnson and Mr. Parkes of Roxbury will be security. — The wife of Christopher Piggett to be sent to her husband at Muddy River by the Constable, forthwith.

May 28. — James Bill to sell no more wood at Dear Island, because there is no more left than is convenient for a farm. — Richard Otis, smith, may inhabit.

July 30. — Martin Stebbin may sell beer "upon his good behavior, for one year." — Christopher Avery may inhabit. Mathew Barnes to "mend y^e bridge at y^e mill doore in 4 dayes," or be fined 20s. Wm. Blanton may "dig six or eight load of earth outt of a swamp by y^e windmill, or where Mr. Cole and Mr. Peter Oliver allow." — Edward Greenliff

may "set a house of 18 foot deepe and 12 foot to y^e front from y^e end of Mr. Batts tan house," for 2s. 6d. per. an., "for a dying house." — A "noysome pitt by the house of Joseph How, copper," to be filled up in a month.

Oct. 29. — Thos. Duer, Christopher Clarke and John Barrett may make a "defence for y^e eaway before their houses," by setting down posts and rails or otherwise. Mathew Pries may inhabit. Wm. Whittwell may sell beer. Mauditt Ingles, Jno. Marshall, and Rich. Taylor "are chosen to be sworn measurers for all corn" brought by vessels. James Bates of Dorchester may buy the house and land which Wm. Lane gave his daughter, Eliz. Rider and her children, in Dorchester.

Nov. 27. — Isaac Walker, Saml. Norden, Robt. Nanny, Robt. Gibson and Samson Shore, "are fined 10s. a man for their chymneys being on fire." — Sam. Jewell may inhabit, Marke Humes being security in 40s. — Deacon Johnson may set up a porch before his house door, four feet into the street. — Robt. Wyatt and Wm. Lane to sweep chimneys, and to cry about the streets that they may be known. Lieut. Fisher to survey and draw a draft of all lands belonging to Boston in Braintree, also of all lands given by the Town to the Ironwork, "and confirmed to Mr. Leader on their behalf." "Mis Hanbury is fined 5s. for entertaining Francis Smith contrary to order."

* Original paper of the time in possession of Frederic Kidder, Esq.

† See *N. E. H. and Gen. Reg.*, i. p. 377, &c., where the names of those brought over by Capt. Greene may be seen.

‡ "The name Quaker was given first in the year 1650." — *Besse's Sufferings of the Quakers*, Pref. p. iii.

§ They came from Barbadoes. *Douglass, Sum.* i. 447. — From *N. Eng. Judged*, p. 8, it seems that they came from England by way of Barbadoes, which is doubtless the fact. They

Aug. 27. these, however, there was a large accession in the following August. Captain Robert Lock arrived in the *Speedwell* of London, bringing forty-one passengers; of which number eight were Quakers. Their names were William Brand, John Copeland, Christopher Holder, Thomas Thurston, Mary Prince, Sarah Gibbons, Mary Weatherhead and Dorothy Waugh.*

Sept. 8. These people had been landed but a few days when they were brought before the Court of Assistants. When they were apprehended they had certain books in their possession, containing the writings of some of the Quakers. These, to the number of about one hundred volumes, shared the fate of those of the Muggletonians; being made a bonfire of in the Market-place, and their owners were sent to prison. After informal examinations they were condemned as Quakers, and the Masters of the vessels who brought them into the country were compelled to give bonds to carry them out of it. They were kept in confinement several weeks,† and then were sent away. Mary Fisher and Ann Austin were put on board a vessel commanded by William Chichester, who came under bonds of one hundred pounds to transport them beyond this jurisdiction, and to allow no one to speak with them. Lock was bound to land the eight which he brought, "nowhere but in England."‡

The people of Boston, and the majority of the people of New England, had settled themselves in this country to maintain and perpetuate what they conceived to be the principles of true Christianity. They had made the greatest sacrifices thus to situate themselves, and they considered that they had the best possible right to keep out those who differed from them in those fundamental doctrines for which they had gone into exile. They had sought this asylum for the exercise of their opinions, and not for those who entertained opinions totally subversive of them. Hence, that, so long as they had the power to keep out intruders, it is not at all strange that they exercised it. And, in exercising it, they did no more than has been done in the present age in Boston, making but partial allowance for the distance of the periods of the transactions. That was not a day of charity for difference of religious opinions. And who can say that charity universally prevails even at this day among religious sects? Few sects indeed have arisen, where none of their members were fanatics in their origin. Few indeed which have not produced some whose pilgrimages to reform the world have not been as romantic as that of the maiden Mary Fisher.§

came in the ship *Swallow* of Boston, Simon Kempthorn of Charlestown, Master. — Besse, *Suf. of the Quakers*, ii. 177.

* The orthography of these names is given exactly as they stand on the original list, attested by the "Searchers" at Gravesend, dated 30 May, 1656, which list is now before me. They are very nearly the same in *Bishop's N. Eng. Judged*, p. 3. His only variations are *Gibbons* and *Thurston*. The entire list of passengers is printed in the *N. E. H. G. R. and Antiquarian Journal*, i. 132.

† About eleven, according to *Bishop, N. E. Judged*, p. 41.

‡ *N. Eng. Judged*, p. 8.

§ This remarkable female, "being moved of the Lord," undertook a journey to Constantinople, to warn the Turks to "flee from the wrath to come." This was at a time when the Grand Vizier laid encamped with a great army

In reviewing these early scenes it is very apparent, that, in general, the pioneer sectaries rather courted than avoided persecutions ;* and this should not be lost sight of when those branded as persecutors are held up to universal scorn.†

There was no law at this time against Quakers ; hence it was not untruly averred, that those who were seized and imprisoned were illegally proceeded against. Aware of this, the Authorities, at the next session of the General Court, made laws to meet the case of the Quakers.‡ Masters of vessels were subjected to a fine of one hundred pounds if they brought a Quaker into any part of the Colony, and to give security to take him away again ; and if a Quaker came within the Jurisdiction, he was to be sent to the House of Correction and whipped twenty stripes.

The next year other laws were made against Quakers, and against those who countenanced or befriended them. If any person entertained a Quaker an hour, he was to be fined forty shillings, and if persisted in, the offender was to have one of his ears cut off ; and if repeated he

near Adrianople. When she got to Smyrna the English Ambassador sent her back to Venice. Nothing discouraged, she proceeded by the coast of the Morea by land, and in due time, "without any abuse or injury offered in that long journey of about 600 miles," arrived at Adrianople. She found means to convey a message to the Grand Vizier, which was, that "an English woman had a message from the Great God to the Great Turk." She was soon allowed an audience, and was treated with respect. When she left, a guard was offered her, but she declined it, and proceeded in safety to Constantinople. "without the least hurt or scoff." Her historian compares her treatment among the Mahometans with that she received among the New England Christians ; by which comparison, he says, much glory redounds to the one, while to the other belongs "everlasting shame and contempt." — See *N. Eng. Judged*, 22-4. Even the philosophic Hutchinson could not forbear remarking, that Mary Fisher "fared better among Turks than among Christians." — *Hist. Mass.* i. 169.

* It is very certain that the Quakers acted, as they conceived, under the injunctions of the *higher law* ; nor were they the only people who have endeavored to obey that law, without stopping to inquire whether they were not defeating their own objects by sapping the foundations of all law.

† To set in as clear a light as we may how the early fathers of Boston viewed the Quakers, the following extract is made from Mr. John Norton's "Tractate," which he entitles, "The Heart of New-England Rent at the BLASPHEMIES of the present Generation, concerning the Doctrine of the Quakers," &c. 18 mo. London, 1660. Pages 83. — Mr. Norton was amongst the severest against the Quakers, and they did not forget him when they were able to speak through the Press, as may elsewhere be

seen in this history. — Mr. Norton says, page 2, "That the Doctrine of the *Enthusiasts* in Germany, and *Libertines* in the Low-Countries, was a dead sea of heterodoxy, consisting in a great degree of pernicious waters of old heresies, till then out of mind for many hundred years, and that the Doctrine of the Quakers (as to the substance of it) is but the opening of that vast and horrid sink (such as makes the Land to stink in the nostrils both of God and man, more than the Frogs that sometime annoyed Egypt) ;" &c. In another place the same Author says, "That the persons thus opinionated are called Quakers not from their tenets, but from the gesture wherewith they are acted, at or about the reception of their revelations ; or, when else, in reference to credit their Doctrines. This very gesture as circumstanced, renders their way in no small degree suspicious ; it being the ancient and known manner of Satan, when he inspired his *Enthusiasts*, to afflict the bodies of his instruments with pains, and those often in their Bowels, and to agitate them with *Antick and uncouth motions*, and in particular, with this of *quaking and trembling* ; thereby to amuse ignorant spectators with a superstitious astonishment, and so to dispose them to the expectation of some strange discovery, preter-humane, in pretence *divine*, but in deed *diabolical*." — Pages 7-8. For the opportunity to consult this rare work I am indebted to my obliging friend, MR. CHARLES DEANE.

‡ *Preamble* : — "Whereas there is a cursed Sect of Hereticks lately risen up in the world, which are commonly called Quakers, who take upon them to be immediately sent of God, and Infallibly assisted by the Spirit, to speak and write blasphemous Opinions," &c., "speaking evil of Dignities, reproaching and reviling Magistrates and Ministers," &c. — *Persecutors Maul'd*, &c., p. 2

was to lose the other ear. If this did not enforce an observance of the law, whipping and boring the tongue with a hot iron were to be the consequences. In 1658 there was an act passed causing a fine of ten shillings to be levied on any who should be known to attend a Quaker meeting; and five pounds upon a speaker at such meeting. And in October of the same year the penalty of death was decreed against all Quakers who should return to the Colony after they had been banished.*

It would be doing injustice to the body of the people to suppose that this law was unanimously sanctioned. The feeling among intelligent men out of the General Court had its effect. Two of the principal merchants of Boston, Capt. Edward Hutchinson and Capt. Thomas Clarke, members of the Court, entered their dissent against the law.†

How it happened that these gentlemen were not censured by the Court does not appear; while Nicholas Upsall, an aged and highly respectable inhabitant, for showing some compassion on those Quakers who had been thrown into prison, was himself cast into the same prison, as soon as they were put on board Captain Lock's ship for retransportation, as before mentioned. He was afterwards fined and banished, and endured incredible hardships for his interference in behalf of the Quakers. He was a freeman of the Colony as early as 1631; in 1634 was a Bailiff of Dorchester. He settled in Boston probably about 1644. His banishment was in the winter of 1656-7, from which he did not return for three years; and then it was at the peril of perpetual imprisonment.‡ He was therefore again thrown into prison. This last imprisonment continued two years. He did not long survive these protracted cruelties. He died in 1666.§ Such were the beginnings of the troubles with Quakers, and it will ever be lamented that here they had not ended.

After the enactment of the laws against "Quakers and Heretics," those laws were published in Boston with beat of drum through its streets; and the Rulers doubtless hoped that they should not be henceforth troubled with any more of those sects.

Notwithstanding the people here far outwent their brethren of the same faith in England in their intolerant proceedings, yet they cheerfully

* These laws may be seen in the *Persecutors Mould*, 2-41.

† See *New England Judged*, 101-2.

‡ Immediately upon his being banished he went to Sandwich in Plymouth Colony. When Governor Bradford heard he was there, he ordered the Town not to allow him to remain. But from some cause the Governor's mandate was not obeyed. He then ordered him to appear at Plymouth. But Mr. Upsall wrote him a letter stating that, owing to his age and infirmities, and the extreme inclemency of the season, he could not comply. And thus the humanity of the Governor took the place of law, and the poor exile was allowed to sojourn

at Sandwich until the spring permitted him to proceed to Rhode Island.

§ See *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, v. 465-6, where will be found some account of his descendants; a respectable branch of whom are citizens of Boston at this day. In *New Eng. Judged*, John Capen of Dorchester is said to be his brother. Bishop and others write his name Upsall, but his own autograph is as here annexed.

Nich Upsall

fell in with Cromwell's government,* knowing Cromwell had their welfare much at heart. He knew they had settled in this part of the country that they might enjoy what those of the same sect enjoyed at this time in England, and he knew how sterile the country was, and how incongenial the climate of it was also. He therefore, after the conquest of Jamaica, invited the people of New England to remove to that delightful island. But they had become too firmly seated in their chosen retreat, and had too many ties of interest to break from or to relinquish them for any uncertainties. They therefore declined the invitation, and few if any could be found to accept of it, notwithstanding Mr. Leverett of Boston, then the Colony's agent at Cromwell's Court, very much favored the proposition for a removal.

It was probably fortunate for Boston that it had at this period one of its greatest men at the Court of the Protector. It was owing to this circumstance, undoubtedly, that the proceedings against the Baptists and Quakers were passed over as they were; and that the claims and complaints of Patentees to the eastward were unheeded. Mr. Leverett, as formerly mentioned,† had been an officer in the Protector's army, and had very considerable influence with him, from an intimacy which appears to have existed between them from the first.

The Quakers were hardly out of sight before there happened an event in Boston, which they were ready to record as a judgment from heaven upon the place for the cruelty that had been practised upon them. This was the execution of Mrs. Anne Hibbins, for the imputed crime of witchcraft. She was the wife of Mr. William Hibbins, an early settler in Boston, one who had been among the fathers of the Town, and who, when his wife was accused, was in the service of the Colony, and had been so for many years. She was tried and condemned in the year June. 1655, but was not executed until this year. This woman, it is said, was possessed of an unfortunate temper, and when her husband, who had been prosperous, became somewhat reduced in his circumstances before his death, which occurred in 1654, showed herself turbulent, and perhaps troublesome. The proceedings of the Church against her caused her to be more obnoxious to her neighbors, until some of them, to show their sagacity, probably, accused her of witchcraft.‡

Mrs. Hibbins is said to have been a sister of Governor Bellingham, and was otherwise very respectably related, but at this time it seems that her friends had deserted her, and thus the poor widowed mother was sacrificed in accordance with the blind laws of the age.

* The General Court appointed the 11th of June for a day of humiliation, because "Ranters and Quakers" were disturbing England, for the preservation of the Protector, and for the success of his naval expeditions; and that Protestant armies might prevail against those of Antichrist.

† See *ante*, p. 289.

‡ Hutchinson, i. 187-8. — Capt. Keayne, in

his will (*Gen. Reg.*, vi. 158), says Mr. Hibbins was brother to Major Denison. His wife Anne, as appears from her will (i. p. 284), had had a former husband named Moore, and that by him she had three sons whom she left in England. To these she left her effects, in expectation that they would come over, or one of them, and receive them.

There were other memorable deaths this year, but they were in the natural course of human events. Among those recorded was that of Captain Robert Keayne. Captain Myles Standish died at Duxbury, and Mr. Samuel Sharp at Salem.*

Jan. 28. It is noted upon the records of the Town that a "greatt bell" was lent to Capt. Richard Davenport for the use of "Castle Island." William Dawes was paid three pounds for work done at Fort Hill, and ten pounds to Capt. Thomas Savage and Capt. "James Olliver" for that amount paid by them to Henry Blake for brick and lime used at the same place. "Sam. Syndall" was paid four pounds and ten shillings also for work done at Fort Hill.† Also Mr. Jasper Rawlins was paid twenty shillings for brick and lime used at the same place.

Feb. 25. Hitherto there does not appear to have been a systematic plan of recording the possessions of real estate among the inhabitants of the Town; for it is noted that "Isaake Culimore's" land "not being formerly recorded, is now orderly performed." Also the land of Macklin Knight, which he had exchanged with "Goodman Cullimore" for, formerly, "is acknowledged to be his proper right."

At the same time were recorded Capt. Thomas Clarke and Capt. Thomas Savage as Deputies to the General Court. The Select men were Mr. William Brenton, Thomas Marshall, Mr. Samuel Cole, Capt. James Olliver, Cornet Peter Olliver, Mr. William Paddy and Wm. Davis. The Constables were Wm. Toy, Daniel Turin,‡ Wm. English and Henry Allen. Wm. Ireland and Henry Stevens exercised the same office at Rumney Marsh and Muddy River. Wm. Toy requested that Hugh Drury might be admitted a Constable, which was granted. § William Davis was chosen Treasurer and Recorder.

On account of the "greatt inconveniencies by persons irregular riding through the streets of the Towne, and galloping," it was ordered that for every offence of this kind the delinquent should be fined two shillings and sixpence; except "vpon dayes of military exercise, or any extraordinary case require it." Ensign John Everell and

* From the connection of Capt. Standish with the affairs of Boston, his death is here properly noticed. He died 3 October, 1656. See *Gen. Reg.*, ii. 244. Although I here mention the death of Mr. Sharp, it may be found that he died in 1658, as Dr. Bentley states. He was one of the Fathers of Massachusetts; being an Assistant in England, and one of Gov. Endicott's Council in Salem. He had the direction "of the ordnance and artillery business generally," and was Mr. Cradock's agent. He came over with Mr. Higginson, bringing the (silver) Seal of the Company and a copy of the Charter. He was, with Mr. Skelton, authorized to assume the Government, should Mr. Endicott not be alive on their arrival.

† Henry Lee allowed to inhabit, "upon his good behavior," and Capt. Davenport to be his security to the Town for "any charge that may arise by his family." Wm. Spowell and David

Hitchbone to see that all the hogs were yoked and ringed.

Feb. 25. — Wm. Talmage allowed 6s. for land taken into the highway. — Nathl. Woodward and family may inhabit, and Thomas Harwood became their security.

‡ The fifth autograph on page 243, *ante*, I read *George Turen*.

§ At the same time Richard Samford, Sen., Robt. Wright, Jacob Elliott, and Sam. Norden were chosen Surveyors of highways. Habacuck Glover and Wm. Cotton, Clerks of the Market. Jno. Parker, Jno. Stinson, Wm. Dinsdale, Jno. Cuny, Tho. Leader, Richd. Taylor, Anthony Barker, Richd. Greene, Richd. Gridley, Mauduit Ingles, Alexr. Adams and Wm. Beansley, were chosen to fill several minor offices. "Wm. Davis is chosen Commissioner to receive y^e proxies for magistrates, and to carry them in att y^e County meeting."

Mr. Joseph Rock requested liberty "to stop carts from passing through the paved lane by their houses." They were allowed "to set up posts at the end of the lane," till the Select-men should take the matter in hand.

Mar. 31. The "Gallowes to be removed to y^e next knole of land before the next execution."*

July 28. The North Battery was ordered forthwith to be repaired. This Battery stood "at the lower part of the north end" of the Town. It was not demolished until after the war of Independence.† The site was then converted into a wharf for the accommodation of ships and merchandise, and it still bears the name of Battery Wharf. This was a very important point, as it commanded a great extent of the harbor, and much expense was laid out early this year to put it in a condition to be of service in case an enemy should appear.‡

* Mar. 31. — "James Everill is enjoined to secure y^e cellar where y^e old Meeting-house stood." — Henry Phillips, butcher, may repair the lane leading behind his house to the spring. The surveyors to repair one half of it at the Town's expense, for a foot way. Wm. Pearse admitted to inhabit. James Nabors and Michael Wills his security in £10. Tho. Reade admitted also, and Lieut. Wm. Hudson his security in £20. — Joseph Rock must remove his fence between his house and Mr. Lyndes in a week, or pay 20s. He must set said fence in a line from the corner post of his house to y^e corner of Mr. Lyndes. The piece of land formerly granted to Edward Greenliff, by the Spring, is let to Mathew Coy at 2s. 6d. a year, for the school's use. Richard Pittman fined 20s. and to depart the Town forthwith, if he put not in security; and "to secure his chimney from danger within a day on penalty of 20s." — "James Nabors is fined 5s. for his chimney flaming out."

April 28. — Richd. Gridley to be paid £10 for lime and bricks at Fort Hill. — Martin Stebbins may draw beer the ensuing year. John Poole admitted to inhabit.

May 26. — Walter Merry is fined 10s. for receiving an inmate. Wm. Beamsley fined 10s. for receiving an inhabitant without licence. Wm. Pollard chosen shepherd for the year, and to have 8d. a sheep.

July 28. — Tho. Harding may inhabit; Walter Merry and Tho. Munt his security in £40. "If any young persons or others be found without either Meeting-house idling or playing during y^e time of publick exercise on

y^e Lord's day," the Constable was ordered to bring them before authority.

Aug. 25. — Gabriell Tesherly may inhabit: Mr. [William] Brenton being security in £20. Butchers may throw their "garbidge" into the "Mill-Creek over the Draw-bridge, and in no other place." Richard Webb, shoemaker, set the frame of his house three feet on the Town's land without Liberty. John Parker may inhabit; Richd. Greene being his security in £20.

† Chiefly inferred from *Pemberton in Mass. Hist. Colls.*, iii. 249.

‡ Sept. 29. — Isaac Cullimore was allowed 50s. for work done on the Battery. — Oct. 29. Capt. James Olliver, Peter Olliver, Wm. Paddy, and Wm. Davis were paid £16 "for so much disbursed by them for repaying y^e North Battery." — Similar accounts were brought in and allowed the following year.

Robert Douch admitted to inhabit; Walter Merry and Tho. Munt security in £20. Capt. Tho. Savage may make cellar doors before his new house between the Draw-bridge and the Conduit; to come out 3 feet from his house and no more.

Oct. 29. — A Pound is ordered to be "sett vpp" at Rumney Marsh.

Dec. 29. — Application to be made to the next General Court to have the line between Boston and Lynn determined. — Goodman Wales to have 6s. and 8d. of his tax abated, "in regard of his poverty." "Care to be taken to pay Rich. Gridley for building y^e Schoole house chimney."

CHAPTER XXXVI.

A Town-House. — Sketch of its History. — Movement for Repairing the Fort on Castle Island. — Loss of many Persons at Sea. — Mr. Mayhew and others. — Other Quakers arrive. — Severity towards them. — Imprisoned, whipped, and banished. — Case of William Leddra and others. — Trial by Jury at first denied them by Gov. Endicott. — They appeal to England. — Their Appeal not allowed. — Endicott the Father of American Independence. — The Quakers denounce Woes upon their Persecutors. — Death of William Paddy. — Death of the Lord Protector Cromwell. — Earthquake.



SCOTTOW. †

THE Deputies to the General Court were the same this year as the last. The Select-men were Dea. Tho. Marshall, Mr. Wm. Brenton, Mr. William Paddy, Mr. Samuel Cole, Ens. Joshua Scottow, Ens. John Hall and William Davis.*

The subject of a Town-house had been agitated since the death of Captain Keayne, and perhaps before. It was known that that gentleman intended to do something towards such a building, and, in December last, it was ordered in Town meeting, that at the next meeting "some time should be spent to consider of Captain Keayne's will in respect of y^e legacyes given to y^e Towne." Accordingly, at the next meeting, it was recorded, that "vpon y^e perusall of Jan. 25. Capt. Keayne's will, itt is agreed y^t forthwith y^e executrix and ouerseers of y^e s^d will be advised with concerning said legacyes, withoutt delay."†

* Constables — Nat. Adams, Nat. Williams, Amos Richardson and Jno. Collins. At Rumney Marsh, James Pemberton, and for M. River, Tho. Gardiner. — It was ordered, that if Nat. Williams take a journey to England before his year be out, the Town will chose another Constable.

† Scottow of London. — Az. an estoile or. — Crest — A lion's head erased arg. collared gules. — There are in St. Swithins Church, Norwich, Eng., on a mural tablet, the Arms of Scottowe and Suckling. — Scottowe, fess or and az. a star counterchanged, and Suckling, per pale gul. and az. three bucks tripping or. — Richd. Scottowe was an Alderman of Norwich, and died 1616. — The name signifies the *lot* or *portion* on the hill, and such is the situation of *Scotthowe* in the County of Norfolk. Jeffery de Scotthowe held the manor of Scotthowe as early as 1129. — See Bloomfield's *Hist. Norfolk*, iv. 251, 292; v. 7; vi. 340.

‡ A complaint being made against a son of Goodwife Samon for living without a calling, it was ordered that if his mother "dispose nott of him" before the next Town meeting, then the "Townsmen" would do it. — Mathew Barnes to secure the Mill-bridge by a fence 4 feet high

within six days, or pay 20s. — Jno. Andrew's tax abated 6s. and 8d. — Robt. Harris to have 4 acres allowed him "out of the Towne's waste land," for "two highwayes" taken out of his land at Muddy River.

Feb. 23. — [John?] Frasy may inhabit. — Capt. James Johnson hired all the waste land belonging to the Town on the south side of the creek by Mr. Winthrop's warehouse, adjoining the land let to Ben. Ward, for £4, 10s. a year for the school's use. — Tho. Walker to be paid 40s. for bricks and lime for the Fort. — Richd. Woody 30s. which he disbursed on the bridge by Mr. Winthrop's warehouse.

Mar. 9. — The paved lane by Mr. Shrimpton's ordered to be laid open, and no more to be shut up. — Capt. Savage, Mr. Stodard, Mr. Howchin, and Mr. Edward Hutchinson, Sen., a Committee "to consider of y^e modell of y^e Townehouse to be built;" also of the expense and location, and to take up subscriptions "to propagate such a building." Mar. 26. — George Barrill, cooper, fined 10s. for harboring John Gilbert. Mar. 30. — Ralph Hutchinson, 10s. for the same offence. John Hart, 10s. for the same. — No persons to keep shop or set up manufactures unless first ad-

A Townhouse was the result of this movement, but at what time completed does not clearly appear. It is incidentally mentioned a few years later, as being entered by a flight of several steps. It was where the old State house now stands, at the head of State Street, and stood until the great fire of 1711, in which it was consumed. It was built of wood. The following year, 1712, a brick edifice was erected on the same spot. This the fire of 1747 destroyed, and, what is vastly more lamented now than even the loss of the building could have been then, many records and other public papers were burnt up with it!*. The building now standing was built the next year, but both its interior and exterior have undergone numerous changes, while the compass of its walls remains the same. As late as 1791, it was described as "an elegant brick building," situated "one mile and 297 yards from the Fortification" on the Neck; "110 feet in length, and thirty-eight in breadth. The ascent to the



OLD STATE HOUSE.†

lower floor, as fronting the Long-wharf is by an elevated flight of large stone steps, railed round with neat iron balustrades." There were side entrances as at the present day, and one from Cornhill, now Washington Street. In this building were accommodated the General Court of the Commonwealth, clerks of the Supreme Judicial Court, and Court of Common Pleas.

Sept. 23. It behoved the people of

Boston to look well to the defences of the Town, and now that the North Battery had been put in a good condition, Captain Clarke and Captain Savage, the Deputies in the General Court from Boston, moved

mitted inhabitants. John Vyall may "draw leisure" till 29 Sept. next. Clement Gross also. Wm. Pollard chosen Pound-keeper.

April 27. — "Richard Way admitted into the Town," if "his brother Aron Way" give security for him and his family, which he did by making his mark to a bond for £20, on the Town records. — Richard Smith admitted on the "commemoration" of Mr. Jno. Wilson, Sen.; but Henry Blague and John Pease had to give bonds in £20. — Edward Blake admitted to inhabit, on the security of John Blake, who wrote his name well to a bond for £20 on the records. He had a family.

June 29. — Tho. Dinsdale may hire a room of Capt. Tho. Savage. — John Clow having served an apprenticeship may follow his calling. Ens. Jno. Web to supply Richard Sanford wherewith to support the little infant Mary Langham till further order. — Geo. Broome re-admitted [to inhabit] "with caution of his future good behavior." — Joseph Belknap is to pay \$2. rent for land occupied by him.

July 23. — "Deac. Marshall and Ens. Hull

appointed to gaine liberty in writing of Mr. Seaborn Cotton and his mother, to bring water downe from their hill to y^e Conduitt intended to be erected." Workmen ordered to be employed to prepare for the conveyance of the water to the same. Edward Gold granted 4 rods of ground from the corner of Wm. Blanton's pale by the street seaward, at 4s. per an. Mr. Thomas Broughton fined 5s. for his chimney being on fire. Ben. Gillam fined 10s. for making a fire on the wharf. James Baulston for the same. — Wm Foster, seaman, Wm. Douglas, and Robt. Smith, tailor, admitted inhabitants; Deac. Marshall being their security.

* In the *Massachusetts Magz.* iii. 467, it is said, "A vast number of ancient books and early records, together with a collection of valuable papers, were destroyed; and to the ravages of this calamity we may attribute the imperfect accounts that are to be obtained of the first and second building."

† This view of the Old State House is reduced from one prepared for the *Massachusetts Magazine*, August, 1791. It is a south-easterly view.

that body to make an appropriation for completing the fort at Castle Island. A grant of fifty pounds was thereupon made.*

There happened a disaster at sea this year, which is not very circumstantially related. Captain Garret sailed from Boston with "many considerable passengers." Nothing was ever heard of them afterwards. Among the passengers were Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Junior, of Martha's Vineyard, Mr. Ince, Mr. Pelham, and Mr. Davis; all scholars and Masters of Arts, who had been educated at Harvard College. Mr. Mayhew had been of great service to the Indians, and was at this time upon a voyage to England, with one of them, to represent their condition to the people of that country, with the hope of procuring assistance towards their civilization.†

The severity with which some of the Quakers were dealt with the last year did not prove to be any security that they would avoid the jurisdiction in future. One Mary Clark, wife of John Clark, merchant
Sept. 20. tailor of London, venturing to New England to comply with what she conceived to be a spiritual command, was whipped in a cruel manner. In the mean time Christopher Holder and John Cope-land were seized in Salem, and, after being very roughly handled,‡ were
Sept. 21, 23. "had to Boston." Here the operation of whipping was performed "with a knotted whip of three cords," with all the physical ability the "Hang-man" could command. Another "Friend," Samuel Shattock, of Salem, had to suffer the same for interfering when Holder was gagged. He was imprisoned for some time in Boston before he was whipped. When this was done he was banished.§ These were by no means all who suffered punishments as heretics this year, in Boston. Lawrence Southick and his wife Cassandra, "an aged and grave

* John Phillips fined 10s. for entertaining — Stone and family.

Aug. 31. — Jno. Peirce admitted to inhabit, on the testimony of James Auerell and Isaac Colimore. Jno. Lewis must remove offensive matter by his slaughter house by Sept. 5th. — Graves fined for his chimney being on fire and flaming out, and his landlord for want of a ladder. — Hugh Stone and Thomas Thayer may inhabit. — Christopher Perrust to return the deed of his land, instead of that bill of £50, which the Town received of him, which was for the supply of his wife if he had gone to Jamaica. — Wm. Blanton must lay gravel in the little lane from Henry Phillips' house to Peter Duncan's. — Henry Mason, a brewer, may inhabit, Daniel Turell and John Baker security in £20, each of whom wrote his name handsomely, as the records testify. Sept. 28. — Gaudy James may inhabit, Capt. Johnson and Wm. Salter being security.

Oct. 26. — Wm. Ware, in consideration of his long sickness and low estate, has his rates abated.

Nov. 30. — Wm. Spowell to be paid 4s. 6d. "for looking to y^e boyes att y^e Meetinghouse." — Wm. Salter for keeping Christopher Hol-

land's wife 5 weeks, 12s. 6d. — Samuel Cole to be held accountable for Elizabeth Knap, as he took her into his house contrary to order. — Philip Curtis to be paid 20s. for killing a wolf at Muddy River last winter. — Joseph Wormall's rent to be half abated, and the other half paid by Capt. Savage to the Town's use; said land being lately in possession of said Savage. — Capt. Savage to preserve the fence about the buryingplace, and to enjoy title and use of said ground for 20 years.

Dec. 29. — Richard Seward may inhabit, Nat. Fryar being bound in £20. — Mr. Bushnell and Mr. Glouer had "liberty to set up a pump." Daman Mahoone fined 20s. for entertaining two Irish women, "and is to quit his house of them forthwith at his peril."

† Prince, in *Mayhew's Ind. Converts*, 291, from which it may be inferred, that the Master of the Ship, Capt. Garret, was Mr. Mayhew's wife's own brother. See also *Morton's Mem.*, Edit. Davis, 274-5.

‡ Holder, for attempting to speak after "the Priest had done, was haled back by the hair of his head, and his mouth violently stopped with a glove and handkerchief thrust therinto it with much fury." — *N. Eng. Judged.* § *Ibid.*

couple,"* inhabitants of Salem, and their son Josiah; † Richard Dowdney, of Dedham; William Shattock, a shoemaker of Boston, who had a wife and children. As John Small, Josiah Southick and John Burton were on their way from Salem to Rhode Island, "to provide a place for themselves and families," they were arrested at Dedham, where the "Constable with aid, and with a halbert and brazen-headed staff, conveyed them like murderers through the streets of Boston." When Governor Endicott understood that they were only passing quietly through the country, he ordered them to be set at liberty. That he should at the same time fine them twelve shillings, is far more unaccountable than his clemency. It was indeed making the poor Quakers pay for the blunders, or more inexcusable conduct of his officers.

Meanwhile, Sarah Gibbens and Dorothy Waugh found means to get back to Boston, for which they were imprisoned three days without food, and then "whipped with a three-fold knotted whip, tearing off their flesh." Then eight days more were added to their imprisonment, after which they were sent out of the jurisdiction. Horred Gardner, of Newport, with a child at her breast, and a girl named Mary Staunton, were taken up in Weymouth, and being sent to Boston were imprisoned, whipped, and again imprisoned; yet amidst her sufferings, "she kneeled down and prayed *the Lord to forgive them.*" Why Thomas Harris, of Barbadoes, should at this time make his appearance in the place does not appear, unless it were to invite persecution. If he came for this, he certainly did not go away without it; as to other business, it does not appear that he had any. At the same time came William Leddra ‡ and William Brend. The cruelties perpetrated on these poor, misguided men are altogether of a character too horrid to be here related. The following individuals came in for a share of suffering; — Humphry Norton, § John Rouse, || Samuel Gaskin, and Joshua

* On the 11th of May, 1659, Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, their son Josiah, Sarah Shattock, Nicholas Phelps and Joshua Buflum, were called before the Court, and banished on pain of death, and allowed but a fortnight to prepare for their departure. Three of them, Shattock, Phelps and Southick, the younger, sailed for England by the way of Barbadoes. Buflum, fled to Rhode Island, but the "aged couple," Southick and his wife, "went to Shelter Island, where, shortly after, they died within three days of each other." — *Besse*, ii. 198. *N. Eng. Judged*, 197.

† He returned from England, where he had been banished, about 1650-61, and "appeared manfully at Boston in the face of his persecutors." For thus carrying himself he was again imprisoned. After about nine weeks, namely, in Sept. 1661, he was sentenced to be whipt at a cart's tail, ten stripes in Boston, the same in Roxbury, and the same in Dedham. After these whippings were gone through with, "he was carried fifteen miles from any town into the wilderness, and there discharged." — *Besse*, ii. 224-5.

‡ He was put to death in Boston, March 14th,

1661. He is said to have been "of Barbadoes." — "Capt. Johnson, who led forth William Leddra to be put to death, was afterwards taken with a distemper which deprived him of his reason and understanding as a man." — *Besse*, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 271. *N. Eng. Judged*, 326-9. The Court do not seem to have desired to put Leddra to death, but he would not accept of life on any terms. He was banished in Sept. 1660, but returning, was apprehended. He then had liberty to go to England, but he would not go, and seemed to dare the Court in various ways. He said they were murderers, and their Ministers were deceivers, &c. — See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.* i. 202.

§ He was imprisoned some time in Plymouth colony, then banished; and at New Haven "was cast into prison and chained to a post, and kept night and day for 20 days, with great weights of iron, in an open prison without fire or candle, or any suffered to come to visit him, in the bitter cold winter, it being the 12th month, 1657," [Feb. 1658, N. S.] — *N. Eng. Judged*, 203-4. *Besse*, *Suf. Quakers*, ii. 196.

|| He was a young man without a family, as

Bulliam. Rouse was son of Lieut.-Colonel Rouse, of Barbadoes. The father had formerly lived in New England. Nicholas Phelps, who lived "about five miles off Salem in the woods," was doomed to suffer for allowing some Quakers to meet at his house. Anne Needham, being sick, was not proceeded against with the others. William Marston, of Hampton, an old man, was imprisoned and heavily fined for having Friends' books in his house, and for affording relief to some in prison.

The Quakers demanded a trial by Jury, and, being denied it, they "appealed to England," but Governor Endicott treated a demand for such an appeal with derision. Endicott, however much he may be condemned by the sectaries who differed from him, was the real father of AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE.* It was in vain that the poor Quakers demanded wherein they had broken any laws of England. They were answered by orders for their commitment, and additional stripes for their presumption. And not without good reason did they exclaim against "such monstrous illegality," and that such "great injustice was never heard of" before. Magna Charta, they said, was trodden down, and the guaranties of the Colonial Charter were utterly disregarded.

These persecuted people were fully persuaded that a day of wrath would overtake New England, and they did not fail to declare their belief from time to time. And indeed it was not long before their predictions were fulfilled. The terrible war with the Indians, which followed in a few years, was viewed by them as the vengeance of Heaven for their cruelties to the Quakers. That it was a visitation from the Almighty for the sins of the people, as their leaders believed, the writings of those leaders afforded the persecuted all the evidence they could require.†

Aug. Mr. William Paddy, merchant of Boston, died this year. He was an excellent man, and one highly esteemed by all who knew him. He settled at Plymouth, in which Colony he was made a Freeman in 1636. He was a Deacon of the Church of Plymouth. In 1657 he removed to Boston. He was a Deputy to the first General Court

were Christopher Holder and John Copeland. These men had their right ears cut off in the prison, Sept. 14th, 1658.—*N. Eng. Judged*, 91-2. This being a private execution, Katharine Scott, of Providence, being in Boston at the time, pronounced it the "works of darkness;" whereupon, "though she was a mother of many children and of an unblamable conversation, and a grave, sober, ancient woman," and some of the Court "knew her father and called him Mr. Marberry," she was publicly whipped, and then told that if she came again here "they were likely to have a law to hang her." She may have been a sister of Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. Mrs. Scott had daughters Patience and Mary, both at this time imprisoned and in 1659 also. The former was only about eleven years old.

* He was no sooner settled in the country than he began to show his independence by banishing the Brownes. The next and most prominent step was the cutting out the Cross of the national Colors. Those who took the laws into their own hands, and threw the tea into the harbor in 1773, were only putting Endicott's precepts in practice. But *that* early *American Independence* had as little to do with equal rights as can well be imagined.

† There were this year, according to a "Declaration to the Parliament, &c.," above one hundred and forty Quakers then in prison in England, and one thousand and nine hundred others who had suffered in the last six years, also twenty-one imprisoned till death.—*Besse, Suff. of the Quakers*, i. Pref. iv.

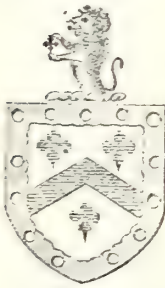
of Plymouth. His residence was in what is now North Centre street, then called Paddy's Alley, which name it bore above a hundred years.*

Sept. 3. This year died also Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, "who was buried with more than regal pomp." He was born on the twenty-fifth of April, 1599, and hence was in his fifty-ninth year.†

A "great earthquake" is recorded as having happened this year, but no particulars have been found.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Mistaken Policy of Rulers. — Troubles with the Quakers continued. — Case of Robinson and Stevenson. — Mary Dyar. — All three are hanged on the Common. — Accident at the Drawbridge. — Alice Cowland. — Many imprisoned, fined and whipped. — Retributive Justice foretold by the Quakers. — Instances produced. — Quakers complain to the King, who orders a stop to be put to further Punishments. — Some who were banished return with the King's Mandate. — Arrival of Whalley and Goffe. — Effect of the Restoration of Charles II. in Boston. — Agents sent to England to vindicate the Country. — It causes Agitation in the General Court. — Favorable Influence of Lord Say and Seale, and Mr. Chewne. — Return of the Agents. — Great Disappointment of the People. — Death of Major Atherton.



RUSSELL. ‡

THE blindness of rulers is sometimes as great, at least, as that of the ruled. In the persecution of the Quakers, the former must have seen that, in their steps from one severity to another, the evil they were endeavoring to crush increased rather than diminished; and yet they persisted in their course until they had taken the lives of several persons.

There can be but poor consolation to those who make laws in the consideration that they had notified all mankind of their sanguinary character, and that

* He is highly eulogized by Morton, in *N. England's Memorial*, 279. Morton's Editor found a record in which it is said that "The name is now extinct." His first wife was Alice, daughter of Edmund Freeman, of Sandwich, whom he married in 1639, and had sons Thomas and Samuel, born in Plymouth. He had nine children, and left a large estate for those days — near £3000, all of which was in debts except about £500. His will is dated, 20 Aug. 1658; proved, 21 Sept. following.

On the 18th of June, 1830, as workmen were digging up a portion of the foundation of the old State house, at the head of State street, to make alterations for the accommodation of the Post Office in that building, a stone was found which, from the inscription, must have been once

at the head of the grave of Mr. William Paddy. On one side, — "*Hear lyeth the body of Mr. William Paddy, Aged 58 years. Departed this life August the —, 1658.*" On the other side —

"Here sleeps that
Blessed one whose lief
God help vs all to live
That so when time shall be
That we this world must lief
We ever may be happy
With blessed William Paddy."

He was probably buried in the Johnson burying ground (now King's Chapel). His Autograph may be seen *ante*, p. 340.

† Noble's *Memoirs*, i. 91, &c.

‡ Some account of the family of Russell has been published by the writer in the *New Eng.*

whoever rushes upon the point of a sword is a self-murderer ; but thus did the rulers of those days with evident self-justification proceed to make and execute laws against heretics ; as though it were not the consciences of people that caused them to question the righteousness of such laws, but that through their wicked obduracy they had wilfully broken them ; thus, in effect, claiming that there could be no conscientiousness except in their own breasts. Such is the manifestation of human nature at a certain stage of civilization.

William Robinson, formerly a merchant of London, Marmaduke Stevenson, of the eastern part of Yorkshire, England, and Mary Dyar, of Rhode Island, who was banished formerly among the Antinomians, were sentenced to be hanged. The two men were hanged * on Oct. 20. the Common, † but Mary Dyar, after she was upon the ladder with her arms and legs tied, and the rope about her neck, was spared at the urgent solicitation of her son, and sent out of the Colony ; but she was so fully persuaded that her death was necessary in the cause she had espoused, that she returned again the next year, and was executed on the first day of June. ‡

Hist. Gen. Regr. vi. 274. Richard Russell, honorably mentioned in the present chapter, has now no male descendants in America, according to the investigations of Mr. H. G. Sommers, who was honored with the friendship of the late worthy Major Gen. L. C. G. Russell, C. B., of Ashland Hall, County of Salop, who took great interest in his researches, being the representative of the family, and born in Charlestown. See also Burke's *Landed Gentry*, ii. 1165-6. Autograph of the progenitor in America,

Richard Russell?

In 1820, Sir Isaac Hearn granted to James Russell, of Clifton, Gloucestershire, son of James Russell, of Charlestown, to be borne by him and other members of his family in New England, Ar. on a chev. betw. three cross crosslets fitchée sable, an eagle's head erased or, a bordure eng. gu. ch. l. with eight plates. — Crest — on a wreath of the colors a demi lion ramp. ar. charged on the shoulder with a saltire couped az. betw. the paws a cross crosslet fitchée erect sa.

* "So being come to the place of execution, hand in hand, all three of them, as to a wedding day, with great cheerfulness of heart ; and having taken leave of each other, with the dear embraces of one another," they were swung off under the direction of the Chief Marshal, Edward Michelson of Cambridge, the same who afterwards officiated in the same capacity in hanging the Indians taken in Philip's war. — "The bodies being dead, your Executioner," says Bishop, addressing himself to the Authorities. "and Officers were so barbarous, that when their dead bodies were cut down, they

were suffered to fall to the ground, with which the skull of W. Robinson was broke, his body being still ere it was cut down ; and when down their shirts were ripped off with a knife, and their naked bodies cast into a hole of the earth, which was digged, without any covering ; and when some Friends came and desired their bodies to be put into coffins, and so into some enclosed ground, where beasts might not turn them up, your Executioner suffered them to wrap them in linnen, and to put them in again, but to take them away he suffered them not. And when a Friend [Nicholas Upsal] had caused pales to be brought to fence the place, into which they were cast, that so their bodies might not be preyed upon by the brut creatures, seeing you would not suffer them to be removed : but there left their bodies together in a pit in an open field, which was soon covered with water." — *New Eng. Judged*, 125-6. — Southey has given the substance of the above in one of the volumes of his *Common Place Book*, but which, I do not remember.

† I suppose a branch of a tree was the gallows. Perhaps the "Great Tree" near the Frog Pond. While Stevenson and Robinson were awaiting their execution, they drew up a solemn warning, dated, "In the Common Gaol, in the Bloody Town of Boston, the 6th month, 1659." They commence by saying, "Hearken and give ear, thou Town of Boston, lend an ear, O ye Rulers, Chief Priests, and Inhabitants thereof ! Listen all you that dwell therein, Rich and Poor, Small and Great, High and Low, Bond and Free, of what sort soever, give ear," &c. — *N. Eng. Judged*, 235-6.

In a short exhortation by Robinson, he dates it "In the Hole of the Condemned, in Boston Gaol, the 16th day of the 8th Month, 1659." — *ib.* 261.

‡ "A comely grave woman, and of a goodly

As the people were returning from the execution of Robinson and Stevenson, the draw of the Draw Bridge fell upon a crowd of them, mortally wounding a woman, and severely hurting several others. This the Quakers and those who believed them wrongfully persecuted, readily declared to be a judgment from Heaven.

It being known that Robinson and Stevenson were to be put to death if they returned to Boston, and they being resolved to return, a number of their friends accompanied them, as Alice Cowland, "to bring linen wherein to wrap the dead bodies of them who were to suffer," and Oct. 13. Daniel Gould, of Salem, William King, Hannah, wife of Nicholas Phelps, Mary Trask and Margaret Smith,* of the same town, "to look the bloody laws in the face," as they professed. They were all taken up and imprisoned. Robert Harper, of Sandwich, and Edward Wharton, of Salem, were also thrown in about the same time; and, Nov. 22. after going through the prescribed forms, were severely whipped, † except Alice Cowland, Hannah Phelps, Mary Scott and Hope Clifton, who were "admonished." They all laid in jail until their friends paid the jailer's fees.

The Quaker historians seem to have been diligent to discover how their principal persecutors ended their days. They felt as sure that all those who participated in opposing them would meet with their reward in this life, as ever any sect did which had been persecuted; and they go on to enumerate a large number of cases to prove, not only that their belief is the true belief, but that Heaven had made it manifest to all men by its visitations upon such misguided and persecuting victims.

The representations of the Quakers in England, against the Government at Boston, ‡ caused Charles the Second to issue a letter to the Governor, requiring him to desist from any further proceedings against them. A ship was immediately chartered for £300, and Samuel Shattock, who had been banished, was appointed to convey the King's letter to the Governor in Boston. In the same ship came several other Quakers, and the master, Ralph Goldsmith, was a Quaker also. After a voyage of about six weeks they arrived in the harbor. Shattock himself had the satisfaction to deliver the King's letter to the Governor

personage, and one of a good report, having an husband of an estate, fearing the Lord, and a mother of children." — *N. Eng. Judged*, 157. — She returned to Boston, Oct. 8th, 1659, with Hope Clifton, also of R. Island. They came, says Bishop, to visit Christopher Holder, then lying in prison. — See also *Besse*, ii. 206. "John Webb, who with armed men led Mary Dyar to her execution, as he with others were busy in killing a whale, or great fish, was on a sudden, after a strange manner, carried into the sea and drowned." — *Ib.* 270.

* These two women "had been unjustly detained in the House of Correction at Boston, one of them about ten months, and the other about eight." — *Ibid.* ii. 211.

† "Daniel Gold was tied to the wheel of a

great gun, with his clothes stripped off, and there the skin was torn from his back, and his flesh beat on his bones." — *N. Eng. Judged*.

‡ Edward Burroughs was the principal instrument in procuring the King's Letter or Mandamus; for when the news of W. Leddra's death came to the ears of the Friends at London, and of the danger many others of their persuasion were in, they were much concerned, and Edward Burroughs speedily repaired to the Court, and having got access to the King's presence, stated that "there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which, if not stopped, might overrun all." Whereupon the King said, "I will stop that vein," and at once issued the Mandamus, &c. It was dated 9 Sept. 1661. — *Besse*, *Suf. Quakers*, ii. 226.

with his own hand. After perusing it, Mr. Endicott replied, "We shall obey his Majesty's command," and soon after issued an order for the discharge of all the Quakers then in prison. William Salter was the prison-keeper during the Quaker prosecutions.*

There were, a little previous to this, twenty-eight persons† lying in the Boston jail, one of whom, Wenlock Christison, was under sentence of death.‡ Not long before the time for his execution arrived, an order of Court was issued for the liberation of all of them. This order was occasioned, as the Quakers believed, by the receipt of some intelligence from London, that complaints against its proceedings were likely to succeed with the King.

These prisoners, however, did not all escape punishment. "Peter Pearson and Judith Brown were whipt with twenty cruel stripes through the town of Boston." "A guard armed with swords, were appointed by the Court to drive them all out of that jurisdiction into the wilderness country, which they performed accordingly." For some cause not stated, John Smith and his wife Margaret were ordered back to prison again. They had already been kept from their home in Salem near two years. Two others of those liberated, John Chamberlain§ and George Wilson, inhabitants of Boston, soon returned to the town. They were immediately arrested, and "sentenced to be tied to the cart's tail, and whipped through three towns into the wilderness, which was cruelly

* The following graphic account of the arrival and proceedings of Shattock and his companions, as given by Besse, are too characteristic of the times and people to be omitted; they therefore follow in his own words:—"The Townsmen [of Boston] seeing a ship with English colors, soon came on board and asked for the Captain. Ralph Goldsmith told them he was the Commander. They asked whether he had any letters. He answered, yes. But withal told them he would not deliver them that day. So they returned on shore again, and reported that there were many Quakers come, and that Samuel Shattock (who they knew had been banished on pain of death) was among them. [Capt. Oliver went on board, and supposing the seamen were most Quakers, he came into Boston, and said, as is reported, 'There is Shattock, and the Devil and all.'—*N. Eng. Judged*, 345.] But they knew nothing of his errand or authority. Thus all was kept close, and none of the ship's company suffered to go on shore that day. Next morning Capt. Goldsmith, with Samuel Shattock, the King's Deputy, went on shore, and sending the boat back to the ship, they two went directly through the Town to the Governor's house, and knocked at the door: He sending a man to know their business, they sent him word that their Message was from the King of England, and that they would deliver it to none but himself. Then they were admitted to go in, and the Governor came to them, and commanded Samuel Shattock's hat to be taken off, and having received the Deputation and the Man-

damus, he laid off his own hat; and, ordering Shattock's hat to be given him again, perused the papers, and then went out to the Deputy Governor's, bidding the King's Deputy and Capt. Goldsmith to follow him. When he had consulted with the Dep. Governor, he returned to Shattock and Goldsmith, and said 'We shall obey His Majesty's command.' After this the Master of the Ship gave liberty to his passengers to come on shore, which they did, and had a religious meeting with their friends of the Town, where they returned praises to God for his mercy manifested in this wonderful deliverance."—*Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 226.

‡ The names mentioned are John Chamberlain, John Smith and wife Margaret, Mary Trask, Judith Brown, Peter Pearson, Geo. Wilson, John Burstow, Elizabeth Hooton, Joane Brooksup, Mary Malins, Catharine Chattam, Mary and Hannah Wright, Sarah Burden, Sarah Coleman and three or four of her children, Ralph Allen, William Allen and Richard Kirby.

† Christison told the Court that putting him to death would only increase the people they intended to destroy; for, said he, "there came five in place of the last man you executed." Mr. Richard Russell opposed the sentence of death against Christison.

§ Chamberlain had been made a Quaker of by witnessing the constancy with which Stevenson and Robinson met death, as before narrated. Besides his imprisonment and banishment he had been nine times whipped.—*Besse*, ii. 224.

executed, especially at the last of the three, where the executioner had provided a cruel instrument, with which he miserably tore their flesh ; which instrument they would have bought and sent to England, but that was not permitted."

It is not strange that the agents, Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, did not succeed in their mission to the Court of England, after the Restoration, when the events just recorded were well known there. And it is said that one of the agents fled from London, on being informed that "William Robinson's father was coming up out of the North, to call him to an account for murdering his son." *

The General Court made a law forbidding the celebration of Chyristmas, under a penalty of five shillings. The law compelling all persons to attend meetings under the same penalty was still in force, and the Quakers were at this time great sufferers under that enactment. In many instances, the fines accumulated to a large amount against the same individual, and many were thrown into jail, and their cows, sheep, and other substance, were taken from them ; thus great distress was caused to many families.

The most memorable event which occurred this year in Boston, perhaps, was the arrival of General Edward Whalley and Colonel July 27. William Goffe, two of the individuals who had sat as judges at the trial of King Charles the First. They came with a Captain Pierce, and probably brought considerable effects with them. They had not been outlawed when they left England, nor did they leave it until they had lost all hope that the Commonwealth, which they had been instrumental in establishing, would be overthrown. They had been fast friends of the immortal Cromwell, and had stood by him in many sanguine fields. Whalley had been one of his Lieutenant-Generals, and Goffe a Major-General. They were grave and dignified in their deportment, becoming the high stations they had held. On their arrival they were courteously received by Governor Endicott, and treated with respect and attention by the principal persons of Boston. They did not disguise themselves, but went publicly to meetings, for as yet there had been no news of the restoration of Charles the Second. This news was not received until the end of November following. It was expected that the Judges of the late King would, on that event, be proscribed, and many of them had provided for such extremity as well as they could. These two were said not to have been among the most obnoxious, and hence it was hoped by them and their friends that they would be excepted, should clemency be extended to any ; and, there was soon a rumor by

* *N. Eng. Judged*, 46-7. — The alleged failure of this embassy is said by many to have caused the premature death of Mr. Norton. See Elliot, *Bog. Dict.* 340. While the Quakers freely said "he was cut off by a sudden and unexpected stroke," for his exertions in exciting the Magistrates in their cruel proceedings against their people. Yet I do not find that there was anything very singular in the

manner of his death. Having preached in the forenoon, he fell down dead in his own house before the service in the afternoon. "He was observed to fetch a great groan, and, leaning his head against the chimney-piece, was heard to say, 'The hand or judgment of the Lord is upon me,' and he sunk down and spake no more, and had fallen into the fire, had not an ancient man, then present, prevented it." — *Besse*, ii. 270.

way of Barbadoes, that all the Judges would be pardoned but seven. But the Act of Indemnity soon followed this rumor, and Whalley and Goffe were excepted.

They fixed their residence at Cambridge, whither they proceeded very soon after they landed in Boston. They seem to have been inmates for a time with Major Gookin, with whom probably they deposited their effects when it became necessary for them to retire into the caves of the surrounding wilderness to escape the pursuivants of the King.* This their personal safety soon compelled them to do.

May 29. Charles the Second was proclaimed in London the lawful King of England, and the news of it in due time reached Boston. It was a sad day to many, and they received the intelligence with sorrow and concern, for they had been warm friends of Cromwell and July. his government. They now saw the latter trodden under foot, and the grave of the former desecrated. But there was no alternative, and the people of Boston made up their minds to submit to a power they could not control. They, however, kept a sort of sullen

Aug. 8. silence for a time, but fearing this might be construed into contempt or opposition to the King, they formally proclaimed him in August.

Meanwhile, the Quakers, and perhaps some other enemies of New England, had obtained the King's ear, and he sent over a requirement calling upon the Government here to answer the complaints in England. This led to the sending over Mr. Bradstreet and Mr. Norton, as agents, as has been stated. They were instructed by the General Court to represent the Colony as loyal and obedient, and to endeavor to take off all scandal which had been promulgated to its prejudice. This was an undertaking, of which it may be truly remarked, that men who had grown gray in political intrigues might have shrunk from in concern; for even the Clergy of the Colony had justified every circumstance of the course of Cromwell, and publicly lauded the piety, as well as justice, of the Court which had brought their Monarch to the scaffold.†

The requisition of the King for some to appear to answer the com-

* The King's Commissioners afterwards made the reception of these judges a ground of complaint against the Colony. They say, "Col. Whalley and Gough were entertained by the Magistrates with great solemnity, and feasted in every place, after they were told they were traitors and ought to be apprehended. They made their abode at Cambridge untill they were furnished with horses and a guide and sent away to Newhaven; for their more security, Capt. Daniell Gookin is reported to have brought over and to manage their estates; and the Commissioners being informed that he had many cattle at his farm in the King's province, which were supposed to be Whalys or Gough's, caused them to be seized for his Majesty's use, till further order. but Capt. Gookin, standing upon the privileges of their Charter, and refusing to answer before the Commissioners, as soe,

there was no more done in it. Capt. Peirce, who transported Whaly and Gough into New England may probably say something to their estate." — Hutchinson, *Col. Orig. Paps.* 419-20. — See also Stiles' *Hist. of the Judges*, a work deserving a beautiful edition and a competent Editor.

† Elliot, *N. Eng. Biog. Dict.* 340, gives it as his opinion that Mr. Norton made a great mistake in undertaking in a matter that required so much duplicity, and sums up by saying, that, "every man should mind his own business;" that all agreed Mr. Norton's death was caused by the unkind treatment he received for his services in the unthankful business which he undertook. That this caused him to die of apoplexy, many months after his return, may be quite as probable as the reason assigned for it by the Quakers, mentioned in a previous

plaints against the Government of Boston, caused much agitation in the General Court; and when it was finally decided to send over agents, it was not an easy matter to procure suitable persons; so sensible was everybody that the complaints to be answered had too much foundation to be easily excused, or by any subterfuge explained away.* And, had it not been for the influence which Lord Say and Seale, then a Privy Counsellor to the King, and Col. William Crowne had with Charles the Second, the Colony would, in all probability, have felt his early and heavy displeasure. Colonel Crowne was in Boston when Whalley and Goffe arrived here, and was among those who visited them, though he is at the same time called a "Noted Royalist." Returning to England soon after, had he been disposed, Crowne could have made statements of what he had witnessed in Boston relative to the persecution of the Quakers, and the reception of the Regicides, which might have caused the King to take a course altogether different from the mild and conciliatory one which, fortunately for Boston, he did take.† Both Lord Say and Seale and Mr. Crowne had interests in New England, and doubtless many personal friends; hence the influence they exerted in their favor. The latter afterwards received a substantial acknowledgment for his good will, which consisted in a grant of a valuable tract of land.‡

The immediate sequel to the mission of Bradstreet and Norton may be thus briefly given:—Charles, through the exertions of a few friends to New England—or doubtless more properly, Boston,—“graciously” received the letter forwarded by the General Court, and although he “confirmed the Patent and Charter,” objects of great and earnest solicitude in their letter to him, yet “he required that all their laws should be reviewed, and such as were contrary or derogatory to the King’s authority should be annulled; that the oath of allegiance should be administered; that the administration of justice should be in the King’s name; that liberty should be given to all who desired it, to use the book of Common Prayer;” in short, establishing the Church of England in Boston. Scarcely anything in that day could have been more grievous to the Rulers and Ministers. Nor was this all. The elective franchise was extended “to all freeholders of competent estates,” if they sustained good moral characters.

The Agents returning and bringing such a mandate from the King was the cause of confusion and dismay in the whole country. Instead

note. Yet Doctor Cotton Mather says, “There were many who would not stick to say that ‘he had laid the foundation of ruin to all our liberties,’ and that his melancholy mind imagined that his best friends began therefore to look awry upon him.”—*Magnalia*, i. 297.—New Edit. 2 vols.

* It is worthy of note that the two persons who had been most forward in the harsh measures against the Quakers, should be chosen to go to England to excuse the matter. It is said that they were averse to going, and it is

not unlikely. They sailed from Boston, Feb. 10th, 1662, and returned in the following autumn.

† Hutchinson has printed a letter from Lord Say and Seale to Gov. Endicott, which was brought over by Col. Crowne. It bears date 10 July, 1661. It will repay perusal in this connection.—See *Hist. Mass.*, i. 220–1.

‡ See an able article in the *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vi. 46, &c., by SAMUEL JENNISON, Esq., relative to William and John Crowne. John is there said to be a son of William.

of being thankful for such lenity, many were full of vexation and indignation; and most unjustly assailed the Agents for not accomplishing an impossibility. They did, without doubt, all that any persons could have done under the circumstances; but this was no security against the ebullitions of ingratitude which followed. To be thus disarmed in the presence of Churchmen, Antinomians, and Quakers, whom they had endeavored by all means to crush, was quite too humiliating to be submitted to without some retaliation; and it has often happened before as well as since, that friends were abused and maltreated for nothing but doing their duty. This is the most sure way to add to the triumph of an enemy, and thus unjust revenge meets its reward.

Among the deaths which occurred this year in Boston, there was one of special note; it was the accidental death of Major Humphrey Atherton, of Dorchester. He had been attending a military parade on the Common, and, as he was returning home in the dusk of the evening, his horse stumbled, and threw him with such violence, that it caused his immediate death.*

* This happened on the 16th of June, and he died the same night.— See *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.* ii. 382; v. 225.— The Quaker writers remark upon the manner of Major Atherton's death; viewing it as a judgment upon him, because he favored the prosecutions against their people. They say, "Humfray Adderton, who at the trial of Wenlock Christison, did, as it were, bid defiance to Heaven, by saying to Wenlock, '*You pronounce Woes and Judgements, and those that are gone before you pronounced Woes and Judgements; but the Judgements of the Lord God are not upon us yet,*' was suddenly surprised: having been, on a certain day, exercising his men with much pomp and ostentation, he was returning home in the evening, near the place where they

usually loosed the Quakers from the cart, after they had whipped them, his horse, suddenly affrighted, threw him with such violence, that he instantly died; his eyes being dashed out of his head, and his brains coming out of his nose, his tongue hanging out at his mouth, and the blood running out at his ears: Being taken up and brought into the Court-house, the place where he had been active in sentencing the innocent to death, his blood ran through the floor, exhibiting to the spectators a shocking instance of the Divine vengeance against a daring and hardened persecutor; that made a fearful example of that divine judgement, which, when forewarned of, he had openly despised, and treated with disdain."—*Besse*, ii. 270.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Alarming Dissensions. — A Synod appointed. — Samuel Whiting. — Disagreements in the Synod. — French Protestants. — Thomas Breedon. — Imprisoned and fined. — Thomas Lake. — The King's Proclamation treated with Indignity. — His Effect in England. — Adam Winthrop. — Chiefs of the Wampanag Indians. — Wamsutta. — His Death. — Its Cause. — Pometacom succeeds him. — Notice of his Dress. — New coinage Regulation. — A Fast. — An Earthquake. — Obstruction of the Printing Press. — The Indian Bible. — Death of John Norton. — Dr. John Owen invited to settle in Boston. — Effects of the Restoration. — Agents expected from England. — The Charter committed to special keeping. — Arrival of Commissioners from the King. — Men raised to go against the Dutch at Manhattan. — The place capitulates and they are disbanded. — Capt. Davenport killed by Lightning. — Incidents attending. — Crops blighted. — Wheat has not recovered to this day.



WHITING.

NOTWITHSTANDING the rigorous course pursued by the Authorities against the Quakers, it does not seem to have occurred to the former that differences of opinion might arise among themselves, by which the safety of the State would be endangered. And yet, although this was the case at the very time of the persecutions already detailed, that was no reason why another sect should intrude itself into the community, and proceed in a manner tending directly to break down and undermine its government and laws. Those differences of opinion relative to certain theological points had at this time, in the opinion of the General Court, become alarming. To remedy the evil, that body ordered a Synod, or Council of all the Churches, to convene at Boston, in the month of September. This has been regarded by many as one of the most famous Councils ever convened in the Country. Few of its proceedings have been recorded. Over its deliberations Mr. Samuel Whiting, of Lynn, is believed to have presided; a place for which his mind and manners were most happily adapted, and to similar places he was often called, as it were by common consent.*

It does not appear that this famous Synod was able to settle anything. Some of its troubles were about proper subjects for baptism, and "a Consociation of Churches." Pamphlets were afterwards published by some of the prominent Divines. Mr. Chauncy and Mr. Davenport were opposed by Mr. Allen and Mr. Richard Mather; one party advocating and the other opposing certain propositions advanced in the Council.

* The REV. SAMUEL WHITING was a native of Old Boston in Lincolnshire, and although he was not long a resident of "New England Boston," he is sufficiently identified with its early history to be noticed in this place. His arrival in Boston was on May 26th, 1636. Here he resided until he was settled in Lynn, which was in the following November. The name of Whiting is very ancient in Old Boston. Mr. THOMPSON, the Historian of that City, finds the name of *William Whiting* in the Subsidy Roll of Edward III. (1333), as an inhabitant at that time; and the Arms of the family have been preserved at St. Lawrence Chantry not less than three hundred years. The connection of our Samuel Whiting with some of

The same General Court* that ordered the Synod, granted some French Protestants liberty to settle in the country. Application was made by Dr. John Touton, one of their number, an inhabitant of Rochelle.

the most remarkable men of the age will be found appropriately noticed in many places; especially in the excellent memoir of him by Dr. Cotton Mather in his *Magnalia*. He was son of John Whiting, Mayor of Boston in 1609 and 1608; and this office was held by his

descendants from time to time for more than a century following. The annexed brief pedigree will furnish a clue to those who may have a desire to trace out the descendants of this early father of New England.

JOHN WHITING, Mayor of Boston, above mentioned ==

Samuel, b. in Boston, Co. of Lincoln, 20 Nov., 1597, Emmanuel Co., Canada, A. B., 1626, A. M. 1629. He died at Lynn in 1674, aged 72. He was twice married. His first wife, in England. Of nine children, by his second only survived, who came to N. E. with her father, and became the wife of Mr. Thomas Wells, of Roxbury.

Elizabeth, daughter of the Rt. Hon. Oliver St. John, Chief Justice of England, and own cousin to Oliver Cromwell. She d. at Lynn, 1677, a. 72.

John, Mayor of Boston, 1655.

Samuel, b. 1622, = Dorcas, da. of Leonard and Chester, one of the first settlers of Weathersfield, Ct. Minister of Pli-lerica, d. 1713.

John, returned to Eng., settled at Leverton, d. 1689. He was a grad. H. C. 1657.

Joseph, b. at Lynn, 1641, H. C., 1661; set. at Southampton, L. I., 1682, d. 1725.

Mary, da. of Governor Tho. Danforth.

Dorothy, m. Rev. Jeremiah Hobart of Topsfield, son of Rev. Peter H. of Hacham, who was grandfather of David Brainard, missionary to the Indians.

Elizabeth, m. Rev. Thomas Clarkson of Chelmsford, 1707.

Samuel, b. 1662, d. 1715.

John, b. 1664; H. C., 1685, Minister of Lancaster; killed by Indians, 1697. His wf. was Alice-Cook of Cambridge.

Oliver, b. 1663, of Lancaster; d. 1736.

Anna Danforth.

John, b. 1681, H. C. 1700. Ord. Minister at Concord, 1712; d. 1752.

Mary, dau. Rev. John Cotton of Hampton, N. H., gr. dau. of Rev. John C. of Boston, gr. gr. dau. of Gov. Simon Bradstreet, and gr. gr. dau. of Gov. Thos. Dudley, and gr. gr. dau. of Gov. Step. Goodyear of Ct.

Samuel, b. 1702, of =
Dorchester, d. 1742;
fourth son of Thomas,
&c.

Mary, b. 1713, m. Rev. Daniel Rogers of Littleton.
Elizabeth, m. Rev. Saml. Webster, of Salisbury.

John of Royaldston, b. 25 June, 1716.
Stephen, b. 6 Aug., 1720.

Thomas, b. =
25 June, 1717.

Mary Lake, a descendant of Captain Thos. Lake, merchant of Boston. See pedigree of Lake, and *New Eng. Hist. & Gen. Reg.* i. 327.

Timothy, b. 24 Feb., 1732; d. 12 =
July, 1799; lived in Lancaster;
Justice Peace, &c.

Timothy, b. 17 June, 1758, =
Captain in the Revolutionary army; d. 13 Jan., 1829;
— lived in Lancaster.

John, b. 24 Feb. =
1760, d. 1810;
General in Revolutionary army,
&c.; lived in Lancaster.

Christopher, b. =
27 Nov., 1761;
d., s. p.

1. Thomas, of Boston, b. 1748; H. C., 1775, d. at Concord, 1820. He had ch. Lydia, Martha, Samuel, Joseph.
2. Mary m., 1st, Capt. Barron, U. S. A.; 2d, Judge Simeon Strong; ch. Mary Barron and Stephen Barron.
3. Lydia, m. John Mulletkin, of Lexington; ch. Nathl. Deacon; John and Dr. Isaac, of Dorchester.
4. William, of Lancaster; b. at Concord, 1760, d. 1832; m. Rebecca, da. Rev. Josiah Brown, of Sterling; she was b. 1762, d. 1848.
5. John Lake, m. Olive, dau. of Ross Wyman, and had ch. *inter alios*, John Lake, Relief and Lucy.

1. John, Col., d. 1852, a. 70.
2. Polly, d. s. p., 1799.
3. Sally, d. s. p.
4. Samuel Kilduff, b. 1787, Lawyer; d. 1817. Ld. Charles Jarvis, Surveyor General of California, is his son.
5. Levi, b. 1790; Col. U. S. A.; d. 1852. Ld. Wm. H. Chase, U. S. A., is his descendant.
6. Nancy W., b. 1793.
7. Thomas J., b. 1796.
8. Joseph, b. 18 July, 1798; d. 19 Mar. 1799.
9. Harriet, born 1809; m. Paul Willard, Esq., of Charlestown, 19 Oct., 1821; parents of PAUL W. jr., Esq., Counselor at law, of Boston.
10. James, Esq. b. 1805, of Boston.

1. Timothy D., b. 1785; d. s. p., 1851.
2. Julia, b. 1787, d. s. p., 1817.
3. Henry, b. 1788; General U. S. A.; a brave officer and elegant scholar, author, &c.; d. 1851. Among his children are Lt. Henry Macombe, U. S. A., and Lt. William Danforth, U. S. N.
4. Sophia, d. s. p., 1853.
5. Fabius, Major U. S. A.; d. s. p., 1842.
6. Maria, b. 1794.
7. Solon, b. 1797.
8. Caroline Lee, b. 1800; wife of N. Mordeus Hentz of Florida; distinguished authoress.

1. William, b. 18 Oct. 1788, Concord, Mass. Col.; m. Hannah Conant, a descend. of Roger C. See p. 52, ante. These are the parents of WILLIAM WHITING, Esq., of Boston, the eminent Jurist, & Pres. of the N. Eng. Hist. Gen. Society.
2. Prentiss. 3. Henry. 4. George. 5. Mary. 6. Lucy. 7. Harriet. 8. Rebecca.

*The legislators of those days employed quite as many hours in the public service as others have since, as appears from an original paper, of which the following is a copy: — "The Deputies have voted to sitt till 4 a clocke afternoon, and to meet at 8, the 2d day. Our Honored Majists. consent hereto. William Torrey, Clerk. The Magistrates consent here-

to. Edward Rawson, Secretary, 18th 8mo. 1662." — The following named gentlemen composed the Court of Assistants this year. — "John Endicott, Esq., Rich. Belengham, Esq., Samuel Symonds, Esq., Daniel Gookin, Esq., Symo Willard, Esq., Richard Russell, Esq., Wm. Hathorne, Esq., Eliazer Lusher, Esq." — *Orig. Paper.*

While these affairs were progressing, Capt. Thomas Breedon made considerable disturbance in Boston. He had done some mischief in England by his representations of the proceedings here relative to the Quakers, and other affairs; and though he may not have gone any further than the truth justified him in going, perhaps it would have been quite as well if the same could be said in respect to his discretion and motives. However this may be, he was at this time in Boston again, and for what he did in England against the people here, or upon some other account, he was called before the Court; and, behaving with insolence, the Court caused him to be imprisoned, and sentenced him to pay a fine of 200 pounds. How long he was imprisoned does not appear; but through the exertions of Capt. Thomas Lake he was
Oct. 18. allowed to give bail to the amount of 1000 pounds, and abide the future order of the Court. Afterwards, at the intercession of Governor Winthrop, of Connecticut, who acted upon the suggestion of Sir Thomas Temple, the fine was remitted.

Breedon was a favorite of the Royalists, and hence his treatment was viewed by many as an indignity towards the King. If this were not sufficient to evince such indignity, another event occurred far less equivocal in its tendency. A copy of the King's Proclamation having been sent by the General Court to be published in Woburn, the Constable of the town, whose duty it was to publish it, refused to do so; and one of the Select men of the same town spoke disrespectfully of it.* These acts, if not treasonable, bordered very closely upon high misdemeanors. The offending parties were therefore proceeded against; but when they were arraigned, no tangible evidence could be found against them, and they were acquitted. This showed the Royalists clearly that all the parties which administered the laws were not on the side of the King; or, in other words, that they were all against him. These and previous proceedings, urged at the Court of England by aggrieved parties and their friends, served to bring about the stringent measures towards the country which soon after followed.

Oct. 18. Mr. Edward Hutchinson and Mr. John Richards petitioned the General Court "in behalfe of the Orphan Adam Winthrop." The Island then known as the Governor's Garden being held by the heirs of the late Governor Winthrop, on condition that two bushels of apples should be delivered to the Court annually in October, the prayer of the Petitioners was, "that the said penalty may wholly be taken off, considering the small advantage that thereby accrues to the said Court." The petition was granted.

The present year is remarkable for many important events; not the least of which was the accession to the chieftainship of the Wampanoags of one of the sons of Massasoit, whose name was Pometacom, afterwards known as King Philip. He succeeded his brother Wamsutta, who died about the beginning of August of this year. His death was

* See *Hist. and Gen. Reg.* v. 392. — Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.* i. 225.

sudden, and, as he had been treated with indignity by Major Winslow, that circumstance was believed by the Indians to have hastened, if it did not cause, his death. The circumstance was at least a very unfortunate one for the English, and is briefly as follows:—Some Boston men going down into the Narraganset country, there heard that Wamsutta, now called Alexander, was plotting mischief against the English, and was endeavoring to engage the Narragansets to join with him in it. The Boston men sent this information to Governor Prence of Plymouth. It is not likely that the Plymouth people had any very serious apprehensions that mischief was intended them, but, agreeably to their established policy towards the Indians, it was thought best to inquire into the matter, and at the same time to keep up the exercise of the assumed authority which had grown up gradually over the peaceful Massasoit, father of Alexander. Therefore, the Governor sent an order requesting the Chief to come to Plymouth to clear up the matter. It is said that he promised to do so; but if he made such a promise, he appears to have disregarded it, and it was rumored that, at the same time he was to have been in Plymouth, he went over into the country of the Narragansets. This, added to the former reports, caused the Governor to send Major Winslow with a few mounted men, well armed, to bring him to Plymouth. The Chief's principal residence was at Sowams or Sowamset, since Warren, in Rhode Island.

Sending thus unceremoniously for an independent Sachem, was, apparently, a high-handed, if not an unjustifiable, measure. However, Winslow proceeded into the woods, and, taking the well-known resorts of the Indians in his way, found a company of them in a wigwam when he had got about half way to Bridgewater. The Major and his party dismounted, seized the guns of the Indians, which they, being on a hunting excursion, had left standing on the outside of their shelter. They then entered and made prisoner of the Chief, and conveyed him to Plymouth. There is no material difference in the accounts of the affair thus far. By some it is said that this conduct of the English threw him into a raging passion, and that it brought on a fever, of which he died shortly after, as already mentioned. By others it is said he submitted to his captivity quietly, and very freely went to Plymouth, and there became sick and died, though he was treated in the kindest manner, and had the best medical attendance. Yet it is pretty well agreed, on all hands, that his death was much hastened by the proceedings of the Plymouth Government, whatever they were.

On the death of Alexander his brother Philip succeeded to the Chieftainship of the Wampanoags. Of him there will be occasion to speak more at length hereafter. He appears to have been of a temperament quite different from that of his father, or of his late brother. He was more cunning than magnanimous; could dissemble without appearing to do so; he was proud without much of ostentation, and more vain than arrogant.

About this time he came to Boston, dressed in the richest style, prob-

ably, that any Indian had ever appeared on the peninsula of Shawmut. His girdle was thick set with beads of various colors, wrought into grotesque and curious figures. His buskins were ornamented with the same material, and in similar pleasant devices. His dress was accounted to be worth the large sum of twenty pounds.

At the May session of the General Court, Mr. Hull, the Mint Master, was instructed to coin one half of the silver bullion, which should be brought in to be coined for a year, into two pence pieces; and one-fifth of the same kind of silver into pieces of the same denomination for the next following seven years. At the same Court a bounty of forty shillings was offered for every wolf killed. A fast was ordered to be kept on the fifth of June, for the success of the Agents in England, disunion, the "unsettled state of great troubles," and some other matters.

1663.
Jan. 26. "At the shutting in of the evening there was a great earthquake, and the same night another something less than the former. And again, on the twenty-eighth of the same month, there was another about nine of the clock in the morning."* It does not appear that any considerable damage was occasioned by these earthquakes.

The sermon before the General Court this year was preached by Mr. Higginson, of Salem. It was recommended by Mr. Wilson, of Boston, and Mr. Whiting of Lynn. The last-named gentleman may have preached the election sermon the last year.

Some difficulty had grown up respecting the liberty of printing. How it originated does not clearly appear. It was of such a nature, however, as to cause a suspension of the Printing Press at Cambridge, since the meeting of the General Court of last year, much to the detriment of the printers, and owners of the establishment. At the May session of the Court for the present year, Mr. Thomas Danforth, "in behalf of the owners of the Press and Printers," stated to that body that notwithstanding Captain Gookin and Mr. Mitchell were "nominated and impoured" at the last session to authorize printing, they had not only refused to accept the trust, but they would allow of no printing at all.

Jan. 2. Whereupon the Court ordered that printing might be done "at the same liberty as formerly," until otherwise ordered by the Court.† How far the prohibition under Captain Gookin and Mr. Mitchell extended is uncertain, though probably only to prevent the issue of works; for the Indian Bible was finished this year at the Cambridge press, under the immediate superintendence of Mr. John Eliot, who had translated the whole into the language of the Massachusetts Indians.

One of the bereavements of this year was the death of Mr. John Norton, already incidentally mentioned. He was born at Starford in the County of Hertford, England, May the sixth, 1606. He came to New England in 1635, and preached the winter of that year at Plymouth, and was urged to continue there, but he soon became permanently settled at Ipswich. There he remained until the death of Mr. Cotton. He

* Morton's Memorial.

† Original Paper.

soon after, agreeably to the dying request of that eminent man, took his place in Boston, as has before been stated. He was considered the greatest man in prayer of his time. "I have," says one,* "heard of a godly man in Ipswich, who, after Mr. Norton's going to Boston, would ordinarily travel on foot from Ipswich to Boston, which is about thirty miles, for nothing but the Weekly Lecture there; and he would profess that 'it was worth a great journey, to be a partaker in one of Mr. Norton's prayers.'" He died on the fifth of April.

After the death of Mr. Norton, great hopes were entertained that his place would be supplied by Doctor John Owen, as it was well known that he intended to come to New England. Therefore, the General Court authorized the Governor to write to that distinguished Divine, desiring him to come over and accept the place. A letter was accordingly sent, and even the ship was designated in which he was to sail; but he and "some choice ones" were "diverted, and that not from hopes of better times there, but fears of worse here."†

No sooner had the government of Cromwell been overturned, but the enemies of Massachusetts gained ground fast in England. This was to be expected, keeping in view the proceedings of the Government here, from its very infancy. The Rulers literally trembled at the restoration, and their fears daily increased after that event. News was brought, early this spring, that several men of war were ordered to proceed to New England, and that in them were coming certain gentlemen of distinction. Accordingly, at the meeting of the General Court,‡ orders were given to Captain Davenport, of the Castle, to give the speediest possible notice of the approach of the expected ships; a Committee was appointed to repair on board them, and to present the respects of the Court to the gentlemen expected; to acquaint those in command that it was the desire of the Authorities for them to give strict orders to officers and soldiers under them, that on their coming ashore, they would at no time come above "a convenient number," and those without arms, and to behave themselves orderly, and to give no offence to the people and laws of the place.

In this, certainly, there was nothing unreasonable, and it shows how much at heart the Rulers at Boston had the morals of their little community. They well knew the dangers that the young would be exposed to if large numbers of sailors and soldiers were allowed to go on shore, and there left to follow their usual vicious inclinations.

The loss of their Charter was one of the things the people most dreaded. It had more than once been demanded, but the demands had thus far been successfully evaded, and singular circumstances happened which favored the course of the Rulers in that particular. Now the

* Mather, *Magnolia*, i. 301, new ed. In this work, and in Dr. Elliot's *N. Eng. Biog. Dict.*, are to be found good accounts of Mr. Norton.

† Extract of a letter of Capt. Gookin in Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 226.

‡ Mr. Richard Mather of Dorchester preached the Election Sermon, from Haggai, ii. 4. "Yet

now be strong, all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work, for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts." If Clarendon had been present at the reading of this text, he might, with propriety, have exclaimed, as he did in his history, that the people here "were already hardened republicans."

situation of things was changed. If the Charter should be again demanded, the demand would probably be backed up by a power which could not be resisted; by soldiers on the spot and ships of war riding before the town.

Thus circumstanced, the Court thought it prudent to make some disposition of the Charter. They therefore ordered Mr. Rawson, the Secretary, to bring it into Court, preparatory to hiding it. It being brought in, and the matter duly considered, it was put into the keeping of four of their number. These were Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Leveret, Captain Clarke, and Captain Johnson; who were "directed to dispose of it as might be most safe for the country."

Meanwhile, four ships* sailed from Portsmouth with about four hundred and fifty soldiers, with orders to rendezvous at a given point in Long Island Sound; and after levying upon New England for additional forces, to proceed against the Dutch at New Netherland. This armament was under the command of Col. Richard Nichols, a gentleman of high respectability, who had been a soldier under Marshall Turenne, and was now one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the Duke of York. With Colonel Nichols were associated Sir Robert Carr, Col. George Cartwright, and Mr. Samuel Maverick, who had been formerly very ill-treated in Boston. These gentlemen had a commission from the King, constituting them Commissioners for visiting the colonies of New England, hearing and determining all matters of complaint, and settling the peace and security of the country; any three or two of them to be a quorum, Colonel Nichols being one.

The fleet having been separated in a fog, the Guinea, on board of which were the Commander in Chief, Colonel Nichols, and Colonel Cartwright, having made Cape Cod, proceeded up to Boston. On the Tuesday following the gentlemen laid their Commission before the Governor and Council; their chief business being now to obtain aid in men for the reduction of the Dutch at New Netherland, as before mentioned. As many as the country could spare were desired to be ready by the twentieth of August. The Commissioners promised, that if, in the mean time, the Dutch should be reduced, or a treaty should be concluded, the men would not be required to march.

It has been said, with something of plausibility, that the people here were very slow in complying with this requisition for men; shrewdly arguing, among themselves, that it was rather bad policy for them to assist in conquering the Dutch, that the conquerors might come and reduce them to an obedience which they had so long striven against successfully.† However this may have been, the General Court proceeded to raise two hundred men, and Colonel Nichols meanwhile sailed

* The Guinea, of 36 guns; the Elias, of 30; the Martin, of 16; and the William and Nicholas, of 10 — Brodhead's *Hist. of the State of New York*, 736. of *New York*, p. 737. If this kind of policy did influence the Bostonians, to say the least, they were swayed by a very short-sighted one; altogether wide of their usual deep sagacity.

† Mr. Brodhead insinuates this, in his *Hist.* See Smith's *Hist. of N. Y.*, 32-35, &c. ed. 1814.

upon his expedition. It was completely successful; the Dutch capitulated, and hence there was no occasion for the soldiers raised
 Aug. 27. in Boston and its vicinity, and they were disbanded.

July 16. There was much damage occasioned this year by lightning. "Captain Richard Davenport, commander of the Castle, being fatigued with labor, laid down upon his bed to rest, and was struck dead. Three or four of the people were hurt, and a dog was killed at the gate. There was only a wainscot partition between the room where the Captain was killed, and the magazine of powder."* This year was noted also for other calamities; "it pleased God to smite the fruits of the earth, the wheat, in special, with blasting and mildew."† Little has been raised on the seacoast since.‡

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Return of the King's Commissioners to Boston. — Make a Bad Beginning. — Their Authority Opposed. — Proceed to Plymouth and Rhode Island. — Death of Gov. Endicott. — Commissioners return to Boston. — Interview with the Magistrates. — Unsatisfactory. — Disloyalty to the King very Apparent. — The Government consent to Proclaim the King. — Required to abstain Coining Money. — To allow other Religious Sects their Freedom. — The Government refuse to acknowledge the Authority of the Commissioners, and Appeal to their Charter. — Case of Thomas Denne. — The People called upon by the Government not to support the Commissioners. — A Proclamation to that Effect issued. — The Commissioners break off Intercourse with the Government. — Cause of their Ill-success. — Fate of Carr and Cartwright. — Carr's Difficulties in Boston. — Assaults a Constable. — Proceedings against him.



BRATTLE.

THE King's Commissioners, except Colonel Nichols, Feb. 15. returned to Boston on the fifteenth of February, and soon held a sort of Court, preparatory to correcting whatever errors and abuses they might discover in the administration of affairs under the existing Government. They began by making a very strange request; which was, that the Authorities should summon all the people of the Province to assemble at the ensuing annual election. This very naturally caused some ill feeling in the Government. They could not understand what such a requisition meant, while they could very well understand that it was highly preposterous. Hence the

* Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 253. — Hubbard, *Hist. N. Eng.*, 642. — Besse speaks of this casualty, as among the judgments upon those who had persecuted the Quakers; but what is remarkable in this author, is his mistaking the name of Capt. Davenport. He says, "John Daufort, a member of the Church, and Captain of their Castle by Boston, as he lay, in the heat of the day, upon his bed, was struck dead, in a strange manner, by thunder and lightning." — *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 270. — See also Bishop, *N. E. Judged*, 491. — The date of the accident is given July 15, by Hutchinson, but Judge Sewall, *Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 298, places it on the 16th.

† Morton, *Memorial*, Ed. Davis, 307.

‡ Lewis, *Hist. Lynn*, 152. — "This was looked at," says Morton, "by the judicious and conscientious of the Land, as a speaking Providence against the unthankfulness of many for so great a mercy, and their murmuring expressed in their words, by slighting and undervaluing terms of it: as also against voluptuousness, and abuse of the good creatures of God, by licentiousness in drinking, and fashions in apparel; for the obtaining whereof, a great part of this principal grain was oftentimes unnecessarily expended." — *Memorial*, ed. 1669, p. 172-3. — See also Mather, *Magnalia*, (new edition) vol. i. page 80.

measure was opposed, and thus early did the Commissioners array themselves unnecessarily against the Authorities. The Council said the people were at liberty to assemble, but they should not encourage it, for two special reasons. One was, the great detriment it would be to the country to take the men from their business. Another was, the exposing of their families to the depredations of the Indians. To these objections Cartwright insolently replied, that the request was a very reasonable one, and that whoever opposed it was a traitor. The Commissioners then set about writing letters for assembling the people on their own authority, and soon after set out to hold courts in Plymouth

and Rhode Island. The death of Governor Endicott occurred March 15. in their absence. The Plymouth Authorities appear to have submitted very readily to the purposes of the Commissioners, and the people of Rhode Island were no doubt glad to have an opportunity to retaliate, as far as words would go, in declaring the wrongs they had received from the people of Boston. However, having set affairs in a train according to their views, the Commissioners returned privately* and separately to Boston, about the latter end of April.

May 2. The Magistrates having assembled the day before election to prepare for the business of that day, the Commissioners desired an interview. The Magistrates at first declined it, because they said there was no Court; yet they finally consented. At the interview several papers were communicated by the Commissioners. To the contents of these there could not have been much objection, judging from a few items which have been preserved. They were on the whole flattering to the Country, declaring the King's great kindness for the people, and his desire to advance their interests, who "had given so good an example of sobriety and industry to all others." It was stated, too, that so far was the King from wishing to abridge their liberties, he was ready to enlarge them. The Commissioners hoped by these protestations to be able to make such representations of their loyalty as would remove all causes of jealousy from their Royal Master. But it was of no avail. The word *loyalty* had too long been expunged from their vocabulary to find a quiet place in it again.

At every step the Commissioners must have seen that whatever they effected, and whatever impression they made, would prove little better than foot-prints in the sand. Yet they proceeded in their duties. They requested that a map of the Colony should be prepared for them, that they might hear and determine claims regarding territory.

May 4. As soon as the business of the election was passed, the Court desired the Commissioners to communicate all of his Majesty's commands and requirements. But this they refused to do; saying, that when they had answered what had already been given them, they would

* Their *returning privately*, is said to have been to avoid the honorable reception which they would otherwise have received. This reason appears to me to be a very strange one; for after what they had seen of the Bostonians I do not think they had any reason to apprehend any very *crushing* load of honors. See Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 234.

communicate more. The Court thought best to comply, so far at least as appearances were concerned. They therefore agreed that their allegiance to the King should be published "by sound of trumpet," and that Mr. Oliver Purchis* should proclaim the same on horseback; and that Mr. Thomas Bligh, Treasurer, and Mr. Richard Wait, should accompany him; that the reading in every place should end with the words, "God save the King." Another requirement of the Commissioners was that the Government should stop coining money; another, that Episcopalians should not be fined for not attending the religious meetings of the community, as they had hitherto been; another, that they should let the Quakers alone, and let them go about their affairs. These were only a part of the requirements, but they were the principal, and were partially complied with. They agreed also to celebrate the King's restoration by a Thanksgiving; also in the same manner the discovery of the "Gunpowder Treason."

Notwithstanding a pretended acquiescence, on the part of the Government, to the requests of the Commissioners, it was evident from the first that little could be effected by the latter, from the evasive manner in which all their orders or recommendations were received. At length the Commissioners found it necessary to put the question to the Governor and Council direct, "Whether they acknowledged his Majesty's Commission?"† The Court sent them a message, desiring to be excused from giving a direct answer, inasmuch as their Charter was their plea. Being still pressed for a direct answer, they declared that "it was enough for them to give their sense of the powers granted to them by Charter, and that it was beyond their line to determine the power, intent or purpose of his Majesty's Commission."

There were those in Boston who had been suffering for their nonconformity to certain laws of the land, and they thought the present time afforded them a prospect for redress. Among the individuals was Mr. Thomas Deane,‡ a merchant. What his case was does not clearly

*So he spelled his own name. From the accompanying Autograph it would appear that he was a very good writer.

Oliver Purchis

†The following passage in a communication which the Commissioners made to the General Court on the 18th of May, was very ill-calculated to gain the end desired. "We are heartily sorry," they say, "to find, that by some evil persuasions, you have put a greater value upon your own conceptions, than upon the wisdom of his Majesty and Council; which argues either an unreasonable jealousy and distrust of his Majesty's so often repeated graces and favors intended towards his subjects here, or that his Majesty is not a competent interpreter of your Charter."

‡He was established in Boston as a factor,

and he and Mr. Lidget were the first who made advances on consignments of goods from England. He returned to England and died at Freefolk, Hants, 27 April, 1686, aged 46, as appears by an inscription in Freefolk Chapel. His second wife, Anne, daughter of William Farr, of London, died 31 Jan., 1709, aged 52. His first wife was daughter of William Browne, of Salem. Mr. Deane was of the family of Deane of Deanlands. James Deane was his father, whose will is in Doctor's Commons, London. — *Items furnished by Mr. W. R. and Mr. J. Deane, of Boston.* — See also *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, iii. 480. The accompanying copy of an autograph is from a power of attorney from Thomas Deane and Peter Sergeant of Boston, to John Walley of Boston, dated 2 Feb., 1633.

Thos. Deane

appear, nor is it of much importance in the present instance. It is sufficient that he applied to the Commissioners for justice, and they therefore notified the Court that they should be in session at May 23, 24. the house of Captain Thomas Breedon, the next day, where the case of Mr. Deane and others, against the Governor and Company and Joshua Scottow, merchant, defendants, was to be heard, and desired their attendance by their Attorney.

This act of the Commissioners brought the contest between them and the Authorities to a crisis. The Commission was at this time full, though at what time Colonel Nichols joined the others does not appear. The Court, on receipt of the summons, issued a Proclamation (which would have very well suited the times of the Declaration of Independence) calling upon the people in his Majesty's name (!) not to consent unto, or to give approbation to, the proceedings of the King's Commissioners, nor to aid or abet them. This Proclamation they ordered to be published through the town by sound of trumpet, and oddly enough added thereto, "God save the King." (!)

May 24. The same day the Commissioners sent a sort of threatening protest to the Court, in which they said they thought the King and his Council knew what was granted to them in their Charter; but that, since they would misconstrue everything, they (the Commissioners) would lose no more of their labor upon them. At the same time assuring them that their denial of the King's authority, as vested in his Commissioners, would be represented to his Majesty only in their own words. The Court, in its turn, summoned Mr. Deane before them, and notified the King's Agents that they might appear, "that justice might be done." Here all intercourse ceased between the Government and the Commissioners for this time.

The conduct of Colonel Nichols, at Boston, is spoken of in terms of high commendation; but Carr and Cartwright are represented as totally unfitted for the business they came upon. After all, it is difficult to see how any Commissioners, upon such an errand, could have given satisfaction. For, a moment's consideration is sufficient to convince any one that the difficulty was not so much in the Commissioners, as in the undertaking. The King, of course, knew nothing about New England affairs, except from interested parties, and hence, when he gave these Commissioners authority to come here and take the Government out of the hands of the people, he acted with the same kind of inconsistency which ruined his father. His advisers ought to have known better. They ought to have known that before they could succeed in assuming the Government at Boston, the original Charter of the country must be somehow disposed of. This was not done; and thus the Commissioners came lame into the country, and went out of it in disgrace.

The Fathers of Boston had cause not long after to speak of "a remarkable providence," by which much expected mischief was averted from their heads. The Commissioners had collected all the unfavorable circumstances they could against the Country, intending on their return

to England to use their information to the prejudice of New England. All the papers collected for this purpose were in the keeping of Cartwright, who, on his passage to England, fell into the hands of the Dutch, who stripped him of everything, even the papers in question, and he never could recover them. Carr, after spending some time at Pascataqua and Delaware, returned to England in 1667, but died at Bristol the next day after he landed, which was the first day of June. Maverick is the same who was here when Boston was settled, and has been often mentioned in previous pages.*

Before dismissing the Commissioners it will be proper to notice some of the difficulties given by one of them to the Authorities of Boston. This was Sir Robert Carr, who probably spent the winter of 1666-7 in Boston. In those days there was a noted tavern or ordinary, called the Ship Tavern, situated on the "opposite corner to what was called Clark's Shipyard," long after; and more recently its site answered to the corner of Clark and Ann streets, at the North End. Opposite to this tavern lived Mr. Thomas Kellond, a merchant, of whom there will be occasion to speak hereafter. That tavern was a favorite resort of the Commissioners, and as there was a law forbidding people to be found at taverns on a Saturday evening, advantage was to be taken of this law to seize Sir Robert Carr, who had recently committed an act of violence on a Constable named Richard Bennet, while in the discharge of his duty. It appears that Bennet went to the Ship Tavern, then kept by
 Jan. 19. "John Vyals," and there, according to the complaint made by Bennet to Mr. Leverett, Carr assailed, beat and wounded him, in an atrocious manner. Mr. Leverett, instead of sending a force sufficient to overcome Carr, wrote him a letter, which was con-
 Jan. 22. veyed to him by Capt. William Davis. In this letter Mr. Leverett said there had been a complaint lodged against him and his servant James Deane, for their "riotous and abusive carriage to his Majesty's officer, Richard Bennet, one of the Constables of the Town," and desiring him to appear the next day, between nine and ten o'clock, at his house, to answer. Mr. Leverett said, "from some considerations he had chosen this way to give him notice thereof, that he and his man might be present to give answer to what should be alleged against them; and the honor and authority of his Majesty in his officers be preserved, with the greatest respect to himselfe the case would admit of." Carr returned a written answer, the next day, saying he would not obey the summons.† Whereupon Mr. Leverett issued sum-
 Jan. 23. monses to both Carr and Deane to appear before him the same day; but this was also treated with contempt, and an insulting

* Hutchinson says he was here in 1667, with a message from Col. Nichols, "which is the last account given of him."—*Hist. Mass.*, i. 250.

† The answer was verbatim as follows:—"S^r yo^r I receyved last night, in answer to w^{ch}, as I am S^r Robert Carr, I would have

complied wth yo^r desyers, byt as I am wth y^r Kyng's Commissiō, I shal not grant yo^r requests, both in respect of his Majestyes honor and my owne duty, and rest yours,

ROBERT CARR.

Boston, Jan. 23, 1666.

For Major General John Leverett, these."

reply was made in writing, at the same time the said Carr "swore divers oaths." * Then warrants were put into the hands of Nathaniel Renolds and John Button, constables, with orders to apprehend the offenders.

Jan. 25. The officers proceeded to the house of Mr. Edmund Downes, where Carr then had his lodgings, but were denied admittance. They read their warrant, however, in the hearing of Carr, who "said he would not come to Authority." The Constables then "commanded Mr. Downes to open the doare, and he said he could not, for Sr. Robert Carr had got the Key when he was gone out of the doares, and he could not get it agayne; and there was in the house of Edmvynd Downes, Capt. Tho. Breeden, and tooke the names of those that weare there to assist" them. This return being made to Governor Bellingham and Mr. Leverett, a Council was called, "whoe mett at Charelestown so soon as the weather gaue leaue." It is supposed that when the "weather did giue leaue," another attempt was made to arrest Carr, and by an officer of spirit and firmness, whose name was Arthur Mason. Whether he succeeded in arresting him, however, is not stated. Mason found Carr with some companions at the house of Mr. Kellond. Going in among them with his staff of authority, he remarked, that "it was well he had not found them at the tavern opposite, for if he had he would have arrested them all;" and that "he wondered that they had been so uncivil as to beat a Constable and abuse authority." Carr said "it was he that beat the officer, and that he would do it again." Mason replied, that "he thought his Majesty's Commissioners would not have beaten his Majesty's officers, and that it was well for them that he was not the Constable who found them there, for he would have carried them before Authority." Sir Robert asked him if "he dare meddle with the King's Commissioners?" "Yes," said Mason, "and if the King himself had been there I would have carried him away." Upon this Mr. Maverick cried out "Treason! Treason! Mason, you shall be hanged within a twelvemonth." Sir Thomas Temple being of the company, Carr spoke to him and others to take notice of what passed. The next day Maverick sent a note to the Governor, charging Mason with high treason, and requiring his arrest. It does not appear that, in the mean time, Mason made any attempt to take Carr into custody, nor does it appear how the affair with Carr ended. However, the Governor informed Mr. Maverick that he was ready for him to appear and prosecute his charge against Constable Mason for treason. Maverick, however, did not appear, though the Governor thought proper to hold Mason for trial, and took sureties for his appearance in five hundred pounds. Maverick soon after sent another note to the Governor,

* "S^r I receved yor menacing warrant by yor Marshal Richard Wayte, and another to my serv^t, and for the same shal cal you to account in tyme and place convenient, as I am his Majestyes Commissioner for New Engl^a, before whome I am to give an acount for my actiones, and doe requyer you in his Majestye's

name to take care that myself and servant be not molested or affronted by any in this jurisdiction of the Massachusets, as you wil answer it at yor and theyr perils. Dated in boston, the 23 of ja: 1655.

ROBERT CARR.

To Mr. John Leverett."

Original paper of the time.

desiring the prosecution might stop ; " being satisfied," he said, " that, although the words were rash and inconsiderate, yet that there was no premeditated design in Mason to injure the King or his government." This was characteristic of Mr. Maverick. He had formerly been much injured in his feelings and estate by the Government of Boston, and the only retaliation that was ever attempted by him appears to be in endeavors to bring about religious liberty in the place. Governor Bellingham duly appreciated this service, and, to proceed counter to Maverick, he determined not to overlook Mason's offence of Treason, and the prosecution proceeded ; but, at the trial, the jury gave a verdict corresponding exactly with Mr. Maverick's wishes ; yet the Court sentenced Mason to be admonished in a solemn manner by the Governor.

CHAPTER XL.

Petitions in Favor of acknowledging the King's Authority. — Hon. Robert Boyle's Advice to Gov. Endicott. — Description of Boston at this Period. — Cambridge. — The College. — Small-Pox. — Baptist Movement. — Baptist Church formed. — Names of the early Members. — Date of the Foundation of their Church. — They are Persecuted. — Fined and Imprisoned. — A Petition in their Favor. — Case of Gould — of Turner and others. — Letter of Goodwin and others. — Brewster's Islands. — Rope-making — First in Boston. — Death of John Wilson. — Old South Church founded.



WILLOUGHBY.

MR. Richard Bellingham was chosen Governor, and Mr. Francis Willoughby, Deputy Governor. The latter resided in Charlestown. He was a gentleman of wealth, and highly respectable, and yet was among the Magistrates who opposed the Commissioners.*

The opposition to these Commissioners was not entirely universal or unanimous among the people. They had, however, a less number of friends in Boston, probably, than in any other town in the country, according to its population. There were good people, who thought it both unwise as well as unjust to oppose the King's Commissioners, which they viewed as nothing less than treason, though they had too much good sense to give it that name ; and there were so many substantial and influential men in the other principal towns, of the same way of thinking, that the Government, on its part, was obliged

* Mr. Willoughby was son of Col. William Willoughby, of Portsmouth, in Hampshire, England, by his wife Elizabeth ; was admitted an inhabitant of Charlestown, 22 Aug., 1638, and from 1640 to the time of his death, he was almost constantly in the public service. He was Deputy Governor till his death, which occurred on the 4th of April, 1671. He was largely engaged in merchandise, and much im-

proved his adopted town by building wharves, &c. In 1641 he built a ship at the point now called Warren Bridge avenue. He lived near the Square, between Harvard and Bow streets, on the estate on which the house stands that was, a few years since, occupied by Mr. Edward Everett, now of the U. S. Senate. See Frothingham's *Hist. Charlestown*, 141-2, and Farmer's *Reg.*, 321.

to receive a petition* from them respectfully, † while, for presenting a much less obnoxious one a few years before, its authors were imprisoned, fined, and otherwise severely dealt with. But Winthrop and Endicott were dead, and how the present petitioners would have fared, had one or both of them been alive, no opinion is necessary to be offered. These petitioners reminded the Court that the “advice of the wise man was to keep the King’s commandment,” that “this place was a part of the King’s dominions, whence it is evident that if any proceedings of this Colony have given occasion to his Majesty to say that we believe he hath no jurisdiction over us, what effectual course had need be taken to free ourselves from incurring his Majesty’s further displeasure, by continuing in so dangerous an offence? Such an assertion would be no less destructive to our welfare than derogatory to his Majesty’s honor. The doubtful interpretation of the words of a patent, which there can be no reason to believe can ever be construed to the divesting of a sovereign Prince of his royal power over his natural subjects, is too frail a foundation to build such a transcendent immunity and privilege upon.” They at the same time intimated a separation from the party opposed to the King, if the opposition were persisted in; that they might be compelled to address his Majesty “to clear themselves from the least imputation of so scandalous an evil as the appearance of disaffection, or disloyalty to the person and government of their lawful Prince and Sovereign would be.”

The Rulers were desirous to be thought loyal in England, and professed to be so; while a determination on their part to do as they pleased, was too manifest to be disguised. But the proceeding against Carr is sufficient to show that the Government had begun to waver in its course. It saw that there was no alternative but to yield. Even that excellent friend of the country, the Honorable Robert Boyle, wrote a letter to Governor Endicott and the General Court, dated two days after Mr. Endicott’s death, in which he said, in answer to some observations made by them, “in your last addresses to his Majesty, and letters to the Lord Chancellor, there were passages much more unexpected than welcome;” “that not only those who are unconcerned in your affairs, but the most considerable persons that favor you in England, have expressed to

* Printed entire in Hutchinson’s *Coll. of Orig. Papers*, 511-13; also reprinted in 8th, 2d Ser. *Mass. Hist. Colls.*, though the Editors of the latter forgot to give the date to it. It was presented to the Court in October, 1666. The names of the Boston signers were,

John Jolliffe,
Hab. Glover,
Robert Gibbs,
Thomas Kellond,
Bernard Trott,
Antipas Boys,
Thomas Savage, Sen.,
Richard Wharton,
John Winslow,
John Freake,
Samuel Searlette,
James Whitecomb,
Richard Price,

William Taylor,
John Woodmansey,
Samuel Bradstreet,
John Bushnell,
John Conney,
Thomas Breeden,
Thomas Deane,
Nicholas Page,
Thomas Brattle,
Simon Lynde,
Ephraim Turner,
Richard Pottesball,
Henry Taylor.

Petitions, also, of the same import, were handed in from Salem, Newbury and Ipswich. There were 33 names on that from Salem; 39 on that from Newbury; 73 on that of Ipswich.

At the head of the Salem petitioners stood the name of Zerubbabel Endicott, son of the late Governor Endicott, and at the head of those of Ipswich was John Appleton. That of Newbury was not less respectably signed. The Brownes, Atkinsons, Woodbridges, Gerrishes, Lowles, Somerbies, Coffins, Noyes and Knights were upon it. Yet Hutchinson says these Petitioners were censured for intermeddling. The censure was probably rather slight; as the parties petitioning were quite too respectable, both in character and numbers, to be otherwise treated.

† Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 532, *new ed.*

me their being unsatisfied in some of the particulars I am speaking of; and it seems generally unreasonable, that when the King had so graciously remitted all that was past, and upon just and important inducements, sent Commissioners to promote the welfare of your Colony, you should (in expressions not over warily and respectfully worded), be importunate with him to do an action so likely to blemish his wisdom or justice, or both, as immediately to recall public ministers from so remote a part of the world, before they, or any of them, be so much as accused of any one crime or miscarriage."

Hence, the Government were given to understand that their request to the King to recall his Commissioners was a highly offensive proceeding. Indeed, an entirely independent State could not have made a bolder request. It was as much as to say to the King, "We do not wish to be looked after. We can take care of our own affairs."

While the King's Commissioners were in New England, they drew up, or caused to be drawn up, an account of the country and its concerns, which is a document of great value and interest. In this it is said of Boston, that "it is the chief Town in the Country, and seated upon a peninsula in the bottom of a bay, which is a good harbor and full of fish. It was fortified, this year,* with two block houses. They had, before, a castle upon an island in the road where ships must pass, about five or six miles from the Town. Their houses are generally wooden, their streets crooked, with little decency and no uniformity; and there, neither months, days, seasons of the year, churches nor inns, are known by their English names."† What the Commissioners say of Cambridge is quite too characteristic of the times as well as of themselves to be omitted in this connection. "At Cambridge," they say, "they have a wooden Collidge, and in the yard a brick pile of two Cages for the Indians, where the Commissioners saw but one. They said they had three or more at school. It may be feared this Collidge may afford as many scismaticks to the Church, and the Corporation as many rebels to the King, as formerly they have done, if not timely prevented."‡ These inferences were drawn after the information elicited from the Government, which was, that "they might say, without boasting, that more than an hundred able preachers, physicians, and other useful persons, had issued from the small college at Cambridge."

About forty persons died of the small-pox this year in Boston, and "divers are slain by lightning."§

Soon after the arrival of the Commissioners, the silenced Anabaptists, as well as the Quakers, thinking they should now be protected in their religious opinions, the former began to consolidate themselves into a

* 1665. A slight mistake, as will have been seen. They mistook repairs for original work. They said "the fort or keep at the entrance of the harbor had five or six guns."

† In certain answers to the Commissioners last year, the Government stated that the number of their ships and vessels was then as follows:—

"About 80 from 20 to 40 tons; about 40 from 40 to 100; and about a dozen ships above 100 tons."—Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i. 244.

‡ See the Narrative in Hutchinson's *Colls. Orig. Papers*, 421.

§ Sewall, in *New. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 208.

Church; some of whom had been in the country from the first settlement at Charlestown.* But they found it necessary "to reserve their particular opinions to themselves."†

Notwithstanding the Commissioners had authority to give liberty to people of all religious denominations, they could not bring the Bostonians to second them, and the Government continued their prosecutions against heretics; and, in the course of the year 1665, William Turner, Thomas Gould, Edward Drinker,‡ John George, and Thomas Osborne, were prosecuted for "gathering themselves into a pretended Church estate."

May 28. Before this, Gould, Osborne, and Drinker, had been baptized, and joined with Richard Goodall, William Turner,§ Robert Lambert, Mary Goodall, and Mary Newell, in a solemn covenant. Goodall came recommended from Mr. Kiffin's Church, in London; || Turner and Lambert came from Mr. Stead's Church, in Dartmouth; "having been regular walkers in the Baptist order" before they came to this country. Gould and Osborne separated from the Church in Charlestown. Drinker and George had lived here many years, but had not united with any

Church. About this time they began to hold regular meetings; Aug. "propheeyed, one by one, and some one among them administered the Lord's-supper, after he was regularly excommunicated by the Church at Charlestown; they also set up a lecture at Drinker's house, once a fortnight." Before 1669, Isaac Hull, John Farnum, Jacob Barney, John Russell, Jun., John Johnson, George Farlow, Benjamin Sweetser,

* "Seth Sweetser, who came over to Charlestown in 1638, from Tring, in Hertfordshire, [Hertfordshire] was one of those early Baptists. I find by the records that he was received a free man that year. His son Benjamin was long a useful member of the Baptist Church in Boston, and he has left a numerous posterity; one of whom has been Schoolmaster and Town-clerk in Charlestown for sundry years past." — Backus, *Hist. N. Eng.*, i. 355. It should be remembered that Mr. Backus printed his history in 1777. In the first *Boston Directory*, 1780, there was a Joseph Sweetser, "retailer, in Prince St.;" John, "gentleman, Ship St.;" John, Jr., "shop-keeper, 80 Newbury St." But four of the name Sweetser appeared in the Directory, twenty years later, 1800. The last year, 1853, there were eighteen.

† Mather, *Magnalia*, ii. 532, *new ed.*, who extracts an observation of "the noble martyr, Phillpot," expressing his opinion of the early Anabaptists. He says "they are an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the Devil to the destruction of the gospel; having neither scripture nor antiquity, nor anything else for them, but lies and new imaginations, feigning the baptism of children to be the Pope's commandment." — *Ib.* In an examination of Mr. Gould before the Church at Charlestown, it was demanded why he now disowned infant baptism, when once he believed in it? He answered, "You were once for crossing in baptism — why do you now disown it?" The interrogator was

silent. — Backus, i. 365. — Gould died Oct. 27th, 1675. — Winchell's *Jubilee Sermons*, p. 16. Backus, i. 414.

‡ For curious as well as interesting items concerning the family of Drinker, see *N. Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg.*, vii. 169, and references. Edward Drinker was a son of Philip, of Charlestown, by his wife Elizabeth. Philip names but two sons in his will (dated 21 : 4 : 1647), Edward and John. He died 23 : 4 : 1647. One of the family emigrated to Pennsylvania, and had a son born on the banks of the Delaware about two years before William Penn arrived, and on the spot afterwards named Philadelphia. That son's name was Edward. He lived to be 102 years old, dying 17 Nov. 1782. By one wife he had 18 children. See Watson's *Annals Phila.*, i. 513, 2d. ed.

§ The same who was afterwards a Captain in Philip's War, and was, with his company, the chief instruments in saving Northampton from the sword of the Indians. He perished after the memorable Fall fight, a fight in which the power of the Indians was fatally broken. His grandson, also named William, lived a while in Swansey, but removed to Newport, R. I., where he died in 1759. He had a daughter, who married a Miller, who, with a son, William Turner Miller, was living in Warren in 1774.

|| Rev. William Kiffin's Church, no doubt. The same Mr. Kiffin who wrote the life of Hanserd Knollys. See *ante*, p. 255.

Mrs. Sweetser and Ellis Callender* had joined the Baptists. Their meetings in Boston were not held until about three years later. The date of the first Baptist Church in Boston is reckoned from the time of Mr. Gould's removal to Noddle's Island, ascertained to be in the year 1668. From this date the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Church was celebrated in 1818.†

Several of the Baptists, who attempted to establish their sect in Boston in 1665, were fined for not attending the established worship, imprisoned for heresy, and banished. In July, 1668, a warrant for the commitment of some of them to jail, was signed by Mr. Bellingham, Eleazer Lusher and Edward Tyng, where they appear to have laid till the fall term of the General Court. Then a petition was presented, in the mournful and supplicating language of that time, by which it is seen that Thomas Gould, William Turner and John Farnum "now lie in prison, deprived of their liberty, taken off from their callings, separated from their wives and children, disabled to govern or to provide for their families, to their great damage and hastening ruin, how innocent soever; besides the hazard of their own lives, being aged and weakly men, needing the succor a prison will not afford; the sense of this, their personal and family most deplorable and afflicted condition, hath sadly affected the hearts of many sober and serious Christians, and such as neither approve of their judgment or practice." Notwithstanding this petition expressed the feeling of some of the best men in Boston, it met with a fate similar to that presented by the Churchmen of 1646. Its chief promoters were fined, and obliged to ask pardon of the Court for the freedom they had taken with it. Among the signers were Capt. Edward Hutchinson‡ and Capt. James Oliver. Mr. Willoughby, Mr. Leverett and Mr. Symonds were also known to have been against the persecutions. §

It seems that some of the prisoners were liberated in the following winter, on the presumption that they were to leave the Colony; whereas they only went to Noddle's Island, and there established themselves,||

* He joined the Church, 9 Nov., 1669. "The next members who joined were Joshua Turner, Thomas Foster, John Russel, Sen. (afterwards their pastor), William Hamlit, James Landon, Thomas Skinner, John Williams, Philip Squire, Mary Gould, Susanna Jackson, Mary Greenleaf, &c." — Backus, i. 414.

† Winchell's *Jubilee*, p. 33. — Speaking of the persecutions of this time, the same author remarks. "The relation of these facts is painful in the extreme, but they are just such facts as are connected with a history of this Church, which included nearly the whole of the Baptist interest in Massachusetts for above forty years." — p. 13.

‡ Capt. Hutchinson always belonged to the more liberal part of the community, and, though the other party took many occasions to injure him, he was always prominent in the Government of the Town. In 1664, the Magis-

trates fined him £10, for "putting in a vote on the day of election, contrary to law, thereby openly contemning the authority of the Court," and ordered him to be disfranchised; but the Deputies would not consent to the decision, and the fine only was exacted. — *Original Paper*.

§ Hutchinson, i. 227, 269 — Backus, i. 380-382. — Winchell, 38-9.

|| "We keep our meeting at Noddle's Island every first day, and the Lord is adding some souls to us still, and is enlightning some others. The Priests are much enraged." "Brother Turner's family is very weakly, and himself too. I fear he will not trouble them long; only this is our comfort, we hear if he dies in prison they say they will bury him." — Drinker's Letter in Backus, i. 400. "The Town and Country are very much troubled at our troubles, and especially the old Church in

and were afterwards taken and sent to prison again.* The following year. The Court of Assistants allowed Gould and Turner, by March 2. giving sufficient security, to visit their families for three days.

While these persecutions against the Baptists were going on, a letter, "subscribed by no less persons than Dr. Goodwyn, Dr. Owen, Mr. Nye, Mr. Caryl, and nine other very revered ministers," and Puritan fathers in England, was received in Boston, strongly discountenancing the course of the Government.†

The same arguments had been made use of for putting down Baptists as for banishing Quakers and other sectaries, but not with the same confidence in their infallibility; for not only did a sect increase in proportion to the severity practised towards them, but the community became daily more equally divided upon the question whether persecution could be justified upon any grounds. Experience had begun to enlarge the views of Rulers and the Priesthood. They probably now heard from some of their best friends in England, that "persecution is bad in wicked men, but is most abominable in good men, who have suffered and pleaded for liberty of conscience themselves."

One of the historians of the Baptists, though he acknowledges himself sensible that "the Divine judgments are a great deep, and that love or hatred is not to be known by such outward events," could not forbear bringing before his readers several "striking examples of judgments‡ upon the Ministers who had moved the Rulers of Massachusetts to exert such force against the Baptists, though they saw the chief procurers of that sentence struck dead before the time came for its execution, and many more of them about that time."§ Other affairs now demand attention; making it necessary to take a retrospective step.

Boston, and their Elders: both Mr. Oxonbridge and Mr. Allen have labored abundantly, I think, as if it had been for their best friends in the world."—*Ibid.*

* From a letter written by Edward Drinker to Mr. John Clarke, at Newport, dated 30 Nov. 1670, it appears that William Turner was then in prison in Boston, where he had been "about a month;" that warrants at the same time "were in two marshals' hand for brother Gould also, but that he had not been taken, because he lived on Noddies Island, and they waited to take him at Town." The same letter discloses that "there were six Magistrates' hands to the warrant to take them up, viz., Mr. Bradstreet, Maj. Denison, Thos. Danforth, Capt. Cookin, Maj. Willard, and Mr. Pinchon. But all the Deputies of the Court voted their liberty, except one or two at most, but the Magistrates carry against all; and because some others of the Magistrates were absent and some that were there were, Gallio like, as one Mr. R. B. G." [Richd. Bellingham, Gov.] Upon which passages Mr. Backus comments:—"Thus a few men at the head of the Government, by the Clergy's help, carried on their oppressions against the minds

of those worthy rulers, Willoughby, Symonds and Leverett, a whole house of Deputies, and the best part of the whole community."—*Hist. N. Eng.*, i. 399.

† A long extract from that excellent letter may be read in the *Magnalia*, ii. 534, *new ed.*; also in *Backus*, i. 395–397. Its date is 25 Mar., 1669. "It probably did not reach Boston till May or June."—*Backus*.

‡ "Mr. Henry Flint, of Braintree, and Mr. Samuel Shepard, of Rowley, died about the time of their dispute with the Baptists in Boston. Mr. Mitchel, who was most active in procuring the sentence against them, died July 9, aged 43; and Mr. John Eliot, Jun., Oct. 13, 1668, aged 35, both of Cambridge; Mr. John Reyner, of Dover, and Mr. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, both died in April, and Eleazer Mather, of Northampton, on July 24, 1669, aged 32. Mr. Sims, who had treated the Baptists so ill, and Mr. John Allen, of Dedham, one of the disputants against them, both died within two years after, as well as many others."—*Backus*.

§ The regular succession of the ministers of the First Baptist Church is thus recorded by Mr. Winchell and others:—Thomas Gould,

A difficulty existed at this time about the ownership of Brewster's Islands. Nathaniel Bosworth and Thomas Colier petitioned the General Court, "by the order and in the names of y^e rest of the inhabitants of Hull," to be defended against the claim of Capt. John Leverett, to whom about 1652, "with reference to the deserts of his father," "some conditional and indefinite grants of Islands" had been made. A committee, consisting of Mr. Richard Russell, Mr. Edward Johnson and Mr. Joseph Hills, reported unfavorable to the Petitioners; but, as it now appears from some original papers, with very questionable justice.

The same Committee, at the same Court, reported a bill allowing two barrels of powder per annum "for saluting of ships" at the Castle. But one barrel had been allowed hitherto. The report was upon the petition of Capt. James Oliver, of Boston, who says, that "now by the increas of shipping, coming and going, itt proues mech to litle for the honorable efecting of the worke." Mr. Hills, who drew up the report, said the Committee were of opinion, that one barrel was "to litle, considering the increase of shipping beyond what hath been formerly, and some expense at the time of eleccion of General Officers."

The business of rope-making appears to have been set up in Boston about 1641, by one John Harrison, who came from "Salisbury," on "mocon of some gentlemen of this Town." Here "he purchased a habitation and ground to work vpon, sutable to his calling." He had, by his business, "with other his labours, sometime by planting at the Islands and otherwise," maintained "his wife and family in some competent manner," which, in 1663, consisted of eleven persons. In this latter year Mr. John Heyman, of Charlestown, had liberty of the Select-men to make ropes in Boston,* "during the pleasure of the Town." But "on further consideration, was prohibited making ropes, and had libertie onely to make fishing lines." This, however, was soon found to interfere with Mr. Harrison's income, and the Select-men ordered Mr. Heyman "to take vp his posts on a certain penaltie, in order to his departure out of the Town, which posts were, shortly after the time limited, taken vp," but being left near the spot, as if to be set up again; and besides, he would not leave the Town, but continued to collect material for carrying on his business. This, together with a scarcity of hemp, caused Mr. Harrison to fear his ability to support his family would fail him, for he was now aged, "having spent the best part of his life in the business in Boston," and had brought up some of his children in the same employment, "who might be useful in that way in after ages." How the matter was finally settled, is not known,

1665 to 1675; John Russell, 1675 to 1680; Wayland, Jr., 1821 to 1826; Cyrus P. Grosvenor, 1827 to 1830; William Hague, 1831 to 1837; Rollin H. Neale, 1837, who is yet officiating.
 1683 to 1699; John Miles, 1683, went to Swansey; John Emblen, 1684 to 1699; Ellis Callender, 1703 to 1718; Elisha Callender, 1718 to 1738; Jeremiah Condy, 1739 to 1764; Samuel Stillman, 1765 to 1807; Joseph Clay, 1807 to 1809; James M. Winchell, 1813 to 1820; Francis
 * His permission bears date 25: 6 mo. 1662. He was ordered to desist from "making fishing lines," 27: 2 mo. 1663.

but at the last accounts it was in the hands of the Select-men. The progress of the manufacture of cordage occupies an important place in the history of manufactures in Boston. It may hereafter be more fully considered. Its beginning is thus briefly stated, perhaps for the first time in anything now extant. In this early day a Rope-Walk was probably as little thought of as a Dry Dock or a Marine Railway. Rope-making was performed in the open field. Posts were set in the ground firmly enough to suspend cords and ropes of no inconsiderable circumference and length. The arrival of the first rope-maker in a commercial place is indeed an era in its history. John Harrison was the first in Boston, if not in New England, so far as has been ascertained. Before his arrival nearly every kind of rigging and tackle for vessels was brought from England. The business went on steadily increasing for nearly a century, when there were fourteen extensive rope-walks in operation. Then a disastrous fire consumed seven of them at one time. Those were in the vicinity of what is now Atkinson street. This must have caused a severe check to the business, but it was only temporary. The most extensive walks, being at the west end of the town, were not damaged by the calamity which fell upon the others.

Aug. 7. This year was rendered memorable by the death of the venerable and reverend Mr. John Wilson.* He was in the seventy-ninth year of his age. From its beginning to the age of thirty-seven years, he had witnessed Boston's progress through every vicissitude. He was perhaps one of the most rigid of the Puritans, and while he was one of the most earnest against the Baptists and Quakers, their historians will hereafter, perhaps, think that he was honest and sincere in his zeal against their early fathers. Time corrects the judgments of men. The Rev. Richard Mather, of Dorchester, preached the sermon at Mr. Wilson's funeral.

The country was considered, at this time, in a lamentable condition, judging from the Preface† to the Election sermon, which, however, was not printed till 1671. It had for its title, "Nehemiah on the Wall in Troublesome Times," and was "by that faithful servant of Christ, Mr. Jonathan Mitchel, late pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridge." Mr. Mitchel died the next year (1668). A Fast was appointed on account of the small-pox in Boston and the burning of London.‡ Persecutions were continued against Quakers; many were fined, some imprisoned and some whipped.

1668. Notwithstanding the distressed state of the country, a Thanks-giving was appointed to be kept for the peace which had sometime

* See *ante*, p. 93.

† It commences:—"The still out-stretched hand of God's powerful wrath over this poor Country, in smiting down our pillars, plucking up our stakes, and taking from us the breath of our nostrils, is a matter so doleful and solemnly awful and tremendous, that we may well sigh out our sorrows in the words of the lamenting Church, Lam. 5: 16, 17," &c. The Preface is signed J. S., which probably

stands for the Rev. John Sherman of Watertown.

‡ Hutchinson very appropriately remarks upon this period:—"The Plague, the Fire of London, the discontents among the people of England, caused by their jealousies of a design to subvert the Constitution there, may well enough be supposed to have been the cause of a respite in favor of the people here."—*Hist. Mass.*, i. 269.

before been concluded between England and Holland. The custom of clergymen's regularly visiting among their parishioners, became this year more regularly practised than heretofore. It was commenced at the recommendation of the Governor and Council, March 8. who urged it on the ground of its being practised by Ministers of the Congregational faith in England. The practice has continued to this day, and among most, if not all religious sects. The General Court at the same time made an order, that all the Baptists should leave the Colony by a given day, or renounce their belief. This was agreeable to the will of an Assembly of the Clergy lately convened in Boston, and the order was specially intended to apply to the society of Baptists within the bounds of Boston.

June 13. Robert Page, of Boston, was presented for "setting saille from Nahant, in his boate, being loaden with wood, thereby profaning the Lord's daye."* The "profaning the Lord's day" had of late grown more prevalent than hitherto, probably, as the Court of Oct. 14. Assistants thought it necessary to make a law "against travelling to improper places on the Sabbath."

The Old South Church dates from this year, and this was the Third Congregational Church. Its origin is traced to the Synod of 1662, before spoken of, which was appointed mainly to settle the question, "Who are the subjects of baptism?" It has also been stated, that instead of settling anything, that Synod actually unsettled the minds of the people, as well as the minds of its own members more than they were before. The First Church of Boston was deeply agitated, while the members of the Synod set about writing pamphlets, one against the other. Mr. Wilson was now dead, and a pastor was to be chosen in his place. The members of the First Church, or many of them, were decided that they must have a minister educated in England, and not a young man. Nobody seemed to fill their minds but Mr. John Davenport, of New Haven.† He had written against the majority opinions of the late Synod. The Church were divided into Synod and anti-Synod parties. A division took place, a new Church was formed, and thus originated the South Church. Over this Mr. Thomas Thatcher was installed, February the sixteenth, 1670; the same person so remarkably preserved from shipwreck when Mr. Avery and many others perished, as has been before mentioned.‡ He was considered an eminent and learned divine, learned also in mechanics and medicine; the latter of which he skilfully practised. Mr. Thatcher continued the minister of the South Church till his death; nearly nine years. §

The Third Church, like the First, was formed at Charlestown, on the

* Lewis. *Hist. Lynn*. p. 153.

† The party in the First Church, which was at first a minority, soon became a large majority, and voted a call to Mr. Davenport, Sept. 24th, 1667. He accepted it, though at the age of about 70 years, and came to Boston.

His installation took place 9 Dec., 1668, and he died 15 Mar. 1670, aged 72.—See p. 76, *ante*.

‡ See *ante*, p. 186.

§ The following is a complete catalogue of the Ministers of the Old South Church:—

Thomas Thatcher,	installed 16 Feb., 1669-70,	deceased 15 Oct. 1678, aged 58.
Samuel Willard,	" 10 April, 1678,	" 12 Sept., 1707, " 67.

twelfth and sixteenth of the third month, which is May, 1669. Its original members were William Davis, Ezekiah Usher, John Hull, Edward Raynsford, Peter Bracket, Jacob Eliot, Peter Oliver, Thomas Battle, Edward Rawson, Joshua Scottoe, Benjamin Gibbs, Thomas Savage, Joseph Locke, Theodore Atkinson, John Wing, Richard Trewsdate, Theophilus Frarye, Robert Walker, John Aldin, Benjamin Thurston, William Salter, John Morse, Josiah Belcher, Seth Perry, James Pemberton, William Dawes, Joseph Davis, Thomas Thatcher (afterwards the first Pastor), and Joseph Belknap.*

The ground on which the Old South stands is a part of an original grant to Governor Winthrop,† who, in 1643, conveyed it to his son Stephen. After the death of Stephen Winthrop, his widow, Judith, in 1639, then "of the citie of Westminster," England, by her executors, conveyed it to Mr. John Norton, late Pastor of the First Church, for two hundred pounds.‡ Agreeably to a provision in Mr. Norton's will, Mrs. Norton, in 1677, gave it to the Old South Church, with the house in which she had resided. The house was of wood, two stories high, and stood nearly opposite the end of School street, fronting south; and, till the first Meeting-house was erected, there was upon the spot no other building; and the premises presented an appearance corresponding with the name by which it was before known, "The Green." This was skirted along the street by a row of beautiful buttonwood trees, which with the house were burned for fuel by the soldiers of George the Third in the winter of 1775 and 1776. Long before this (in 1710) another parsonage house was erected on Milk street, which just one hundred years after (in 1810) gave place to two ministerial mansions.§

Ebenezer Pemberton,	ordained 28 Aug., 1700,	installed 13 Feb., 1717,	aged 45.
Joseph Sewall, D.D.,	" 16 Sept., 1713,	" 27 June, 1769,	" 80.
Thomas Primer,	" 1 Oct., 1718,	" 22 Oct., 1758,	" 72.
Alexander Cumming,	installed 25 Feb., 1761,	" 25 Aug., 1763,	" 36.
Samuel Blair,	" 26 Nov., 1766,	dismissed 10 Oct., 1769,	
John Bacon,	" 25 Sept., 1771,	" 8 Feb., 1775,	
John Hunt,	ordained 25 Sept., 1771,	deceased 30 Dec., 1775,	" 31.
Joseph Lekley, D.D.,	" 27 Oct., 1779,	" 20 April, 1811,	" 61.
Joshua Huntington,	" 18 May, 1808,	" 11 Sept., 1819,	" 33.
Benj. B. Wisner, D.D.,	" 21 Feb., 1821,	" 9 Feb., 1835,	" 40.
Samuel H. Stearns,	" 16 April, 1834,	dismissed 8 Mar., 1836,	
George W. Blagden,	installed 28 Sept., 1836,		

* These names are given as they were published by the Church in 1832. Most of the members probably had wives. The following names, as published by Mr. Wisner from the book of "Admissions," he regards as among the founders of the Church:—Mrs. Margaret Thatcher; Mrs. Elizabeth Gibbs, now Cowin; Mrs. Mary Norton; Hanna Frarye; Mary Salter; Mrs. Judith Hull; Mrs. Mary Savage, now Stoddard; Raimis Belcher; Elizabeth Rainsford; Sara Pemberton; Elizabeth Thurston; Sara Walker; Mary Tappan; Elizabeth Alden; Elizabeth Locke; Sara Oliver; Mary Eliot; Mary Bracket; Susanna Daws; Joanna Mason; Alice Harper; Mrs. Rachel Rawson; Sara Bodman."—*Hist. Old South*, 83.

† This may account for some part of the op-

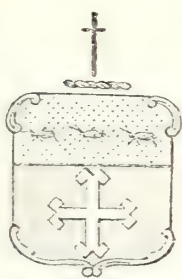
position to erecting the First Church here in 1639. Mr. Winthrop being the owner of the ground, his wishes were doubtless consulted, and very properly too.—See *ante*, p. 243.

‡ It is described in the deeds as "one acre, more or less, now in the tenor of John Norton or his assigns—which messuage and garden platt doe abutt on the high way leading from Boston to Roxbury on the west, on the ground of Amos Richardson the highway there leading to the spring and the ground late of William Tilley on the north part, upon the ground late of William Hilliard, Esq. and Robt. Knight on the east, on the highway there leading to the sea side on the South." The original plat was less than half that now owned by the Society.

§ Wisner, *Hist. Old South*, 53-4.

CHAPTER XLI.

History of the Old South concluded. — Opposition from the First Church. — The Contention made a political one. — Separation of Church and State the Consequence. — Gov. Bellingham opposed to the Old South Society. — The Selectmen allow them to build. — Reconciliation of the two Churches. — Deaths. — Josias and the Mohawks. — Squamauug and Philip. — Philip at Boston. — Has difficulty with Plymouth. — A murder. — Philip again at Boston. — A treaty at Plymouth. — Deaths. — Josselyn in Boston. — Account of his Visit. — Gov. Stuyvesant. — Description of Boston, 1671.



THACHER.*

IN glancing at the history of the Old South, or Third Church of Boston, in the last chapter, notice was taken of its having originated in a difficulty among the members of the First Church; that the nature of the difficulty was to be traced in the proceedings of the Synod of 1662. The course of the party which formed the Third Church was censured by a considerable part of the community, and on the other hand, seventeen ministers † made a public testimony against the proceedings of the three Elders ‡ of the First Church, for their course in settling Mr. Davenport. Thus a controversy was commenced, which finally led to the separation of Church and State. It was carried on with much acrimony for several years, and ran "so high, that there was imprisoning of parties and great disturbances." § The inhabitants of the Town were generally disposed to favor the more liberal party, while the Governor and most of the Magistrates were on the other side. In this manner the subject was carried into politics, and elections turned on the point as to whether the candidate was in favor of the Old Church or the New Church. "The House of Deputies" adopted the report of a committee of its members, which censured the conduct of the New Church, "as irregular, illegal and disorderly." But the people reversed their decision in a manner which could not be mistaken; for, at the very next election of Deputies, nearly all those who censured the New Church proceedings were left out of office, and new ones, known to be in favor of that Church, elected in their stead.

Notwithstanding this strong indication of the minds of the people, Governor Bellingham was for proceeding to prevent the New Society from erecting a Meeting-house; but his Council had begun to think it

* See New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., vol. viii. p. 178.

† John Allen, John Higginson, John Ward, John Wilson, Edmund Browne, Samuel Whiting, Thomas Cobbet, John Sherman, Samuel Phillips, Thomas Shepard, Increase Mather, Samuel Torrey, Zachery Symmes, John Brocke,

Edward Bulkley, Samuel Whiting, Junior, and John Hale.

‡ John Davenport, James Allen, and James Penn, the Ruling Elders.

§ "About baptism and their members joining in full communion with either church." Randolph's Letter, Hutchinson's Col., 532.

was impolitic, at least, to interfere further, and advised the Governor to let them go on; but if they went counter to any law, then they said would be the time to proceed against them. Affairs standing thus, the

^{1669.}
July 26. New Society applied to the Select-men for liberty to erect a House. And, as if their vote was not sufficiently expressive of their opinions, they added, that, "there was need of another Meeting-house." Therefore, after much difficulty, the way was cleared for the erection of a house of worship; and one of wood was commenced immediately, and upon the spot on which the present edifice stands. It was built of cedar, had a steeple, galleries, square pews, and pulpit on the north side. From its location in respect to the other Meeting-houses, it was called the South Meeting-house; and by this name it continued to be known until another House was erected in Summer Street, still farther south, and then, to distinguish it from this, it was called the Old South. This was in 1717.

Still the First Church held out against the "seceders," as the members of the South Church were called, and refused to have any church-fellowship with them. This temper continued for almost thirteen years; notwithstanding the South Church made repeated overtures in the mean while for the restoration of that harmony so necessary to all people, and especially to those calling themselves a Christian people. At length, in 1682, at a meeting of the First Church, it was agreed that proposals should be made to the South Church, "to forgive and forget all past offences," and to live "in peace for time to come." This the latter had always been ready to do, and they at once embraced the proposal.



The first house stood until 1729. It was then taken down, and in the following year one of brick was erected on the same spot, which has stood till the present time. It is perhaps the most noted Meeting-house in the United States. In it discourses have been delivered on many great occasions; in it the fervid eloquence of Warren carried all before it. There his denunciations were echoed against that power under the countenance of which the King Street tragedy was perpetrated. "Here were repeatedly held the meetings of oppressed Freemen, which called forth those peals of patriotic eloquence, which roused this whole country, and shook the British Throne." The first election sermon was preached in it—the Old House—in 1712.

^{1669.} Coaches are at this time mentioned as being in use in Boston. The oldest man in New England died this year. His name was Boniface Burton, and he was aged one hundred and thirteen years.*

* Judge Sewall called him "Old Father Almanac, 13: 4: 1669. Little appears to be Boniface Burton," and noted his death in an known of him excepting this bare record of

April 22. Early this year died also the venerable Richard Mather, of Dorchester, at the age of seventy-three. He was taken ill in Boston, at the house of his son Increase, and, being conveyed home, died in a few days after.

It is incidentally noted that "this year were many Earthquakes;" but as they probably did no damage in this vicinity, no particulars are given.*

The Indians in the immediate vicinity of Boston had been involved in a war with the Mohawks for about six years. It was now terminated, and its end was very disastrous to the Massachusetts Indians. Chikataubut, called by the English Josias, nephew of old Kutchamokin, was the commander-in-chief of the Indians. Himself and about fifty of his Captains fell in their retreat; "a wise and stout man of middle age," says Major Gookin, who had long known him. This was a severe disappointment to the Massachusetts Indians, and they never recovered from the mortification which it brought upon them; especially as they would not be dissuaded by their English friends from going out upon the expedition.†

An irruption of the Mohawks followed that of Chikataubut, which not only threw the Indians in these parts into great consternation, but it caused the English considerable alarm. The extent of their depredations is unknown. It is however recorded that they slew or carried into captivity several of the tribe of the Wamesits. This came particularly to the knowledge of the English, because they were Christian Indians.

1670. Some difficulty had existed for several years between Chikataubut and King Philip, in respect to the boundaries between their lands, which caused the English some trouble. On the death of the former he was succeeded in his chieftainship by his brother, named Squaumaug. Through the agency of the English, probably, Philip met Squaumaug at the house of Mr. William Hudson, at Wading
July 12. River,‡ and there they agreed that the "Patent line," dividing Plymouth from Massachusetts, should also be their boundary, and thus the matter was finally settled.§

Sewall. He settled early at Lynn, where, Mr. Lewis tells us, he was a farmer.—*Ilist. Lynn*, 63. He is presumed to be the oldest Englishman then in New England, and one whose birth dates earlier than any emigrant yet known. He probably came over in the early part of 1635, at which time he was about 70 years old.

* There is indeed a legend to be met with, which cannot fail to be of interest in this age of spiritual manifestations. A certain traveller then in New England says, that the Indians told him "of a river, whose course was not only stopped by an earthquake, in 1663 (as near as he could remember), but the whole river was swallowed up;" and that he had heard it reported from credible persons, "that at this

time there happened a terrible earthquake amongst the French [in Canada], rending a huge rock asunder, even to the centre, wherein was a vast hollow, of an immeasurable depth, out of which came many infernal spirits"!

† See *BOOK OF THE INDIANS*, last ed., p. 109.

‡ A branch of Taunton River.

§ *Original paper*, signed by King Philip, but not by Squaumaug. The signature of the

*Philip alias, Mofacomo
his P mark*

latter was probably considered of no consequence, as Philip was the aggressor, and the

Early this year there were strong indications that Pometacom, now generally called King Philip, was by no means cautious in his carriage towards his English neighbors, and that he would quite as soon offend as please them. His example extended to other Indians about him, and insults and murders were the consequence. The people of Plymouth complained of Philip at Boston, and, by the articles of confederation of the United Colonies, Massachusetts was bound to stand by that Colony, should the conduct of Philip require its interference. This coming to the knowledge of Philip, irritated him, and his conduct become so overbearing, that the English resolved to put a stop to it. In the mean time Philip came to Boston, and preferred charges against Plymouth. However, according to the English accounts, he could not substantiate his allegations, and he withdrew dissatisfied.



KING PHILIP.†

upon which the umpires made up their judgment. The paper to which Philip set his hand, makes him acknowledge, that, "through

settlement was considered complete as soon as his hands were tied. The instrument is formally sealed, and the following individuals said, by their signs manual, that they saw Philip sign and seal the same: — William Hudson, Daniel Fisher, John Wussausmon, William Hahatin, Tom Sampointeen, and Vmpatkis. The two Indians first named wrote their names very well. The two last made their marks. The residence of the Massachusetts Chief was, at this period, at Punkapog, since Stoughton. Hence it is pretty clear that Philip was not very far from pushing his claims to Boston itself, and thus leaving the now reduced Massachusetts without any territory at all.

* His Autograph, *ante*, p. 340.

† *Ibid.*, p. 280.

‡ Afterwards active in the war. His Auto-

Philip was evidently less willing to incur the displeasure of Boston than he was that of Plymouth, nor did he perhaps well understand the nature of the league between them. However, it was determined by the Colonists to ascertain what Philip's real intentions were, and he was invited to meet delegates at Taunton, and to settle, if possible, whatever difficulties there might be found to exist. Accordingly there went down to Taunton from

Boston, Captain William Davis,* April 10.

Mr. William Hudson,† and Mr. Thomas Brattle.‡ These gentlemen were to hear and decide upon the points at issue. Judging from the "submission" which Philip and his Council signed, the Indians had seriously aggrieved the Plymouth people; but no record remains of the evidence adduced on either side,

graph is copied from an original paper of 1680.

Thos: Brattle

§ This engraving of King Philip is reduced from one published with "*The Entertaining History of King Philip's War*," in 1772, by Thomas Church, Esq., at Newport, R. I. The costume is no doubt very correctly represented, as the belts and other ornaments worn by King Philip were then to be seen. The Rev. Ezra Stiles is believed to have supervised that edition of Church's work, though his name does not appear in it. His agency about it was probably rendered at the request of the publisher or printer, Mr. Solomon Southwick, and

the naughtiness of his heart, he had violated and broken his covenant with" the English, "by taking up arms with evil intent against them;" that he was "deeply sensible of his unfaithfulness and folly;" that "the English had always been kind to him;" and that, to prove he intended no wrong in future, he agreed "to give up all his English arms to the government of Plymouth." It soon appeared, however, that if Philip understood what he had set his name to, he regarded it as little as other treaties have been regarded at a much later day. Plymouth soon after complained at Boston that he had not delivered up his arms, and that he continued his insulting carriage. It should be stated, that, at the time he executed the treaty, he surrendered all the arms which he then had with him at Taunton.

Misfortunes, it is said, seldom come alone; and with equal truth it may be observed, that errors and crimes are not far from their companions. At the very time that the attempt was made to conciliate Philip at Taunton, two Indians, said to have belonged to his jurisdiction, robbed and murdered one Zachary Smith in Dedham woods. The perpetrators of the deed were discovered not long after, and one of them was hung on Boston Common, where a part of his body was to be seen upon a gibbet for five years after.* Philip, however, was in no way implicated in this matter.

The disturbance between Philip and Plymouth continuing, both appealed to Boston for support. A council of war was appointed at Plymouth, and Philip was notified to be present, but, instead of that, he came with his Counsellors to Boston, and gave the Governor and
 Aug. 12. Council his side of the story. Upon this they wrote to Plymouth, representing Philip's case in rather a favorable light; whereupon the Council at Plymouth sent a messenger to Boston to invite the Commissioners of the United Colonies, then there, to come to Plymouth.

Accordingly, Governor Winthrop of Connecticut, Major General
 Sept. 24. Leveret, Mr. Thomas Danforth, Capt. William Davis, "with divers others, came to Plymouth." Philip likewise came; and the complaints against him being investigated, were so far sustained, in the opinion of the Commissioners, that they condemned his conduct, and recommended him to alter his course; to "humble himself," and do better in future; or, they said, "he might expect to smart for it." He submitted to their judgment, in appearance at least, and signed another treaty or submission, by which he agreed to pay one hundred pounds, "in such things as he had," and to send yearly to the Governor of Plymouth five wolves' heads, for five years, — "if he could get them." Such was the relation of Philip to the English at this period, and thus it remained until the murder of John Woosausamon, in 1674-5, which was the immediate cause of the war which ensued.

his name may have been withheld from an unwillingness to let it go out with a work holding such a low literary rank as that of Church does.

* He was a son of Matoonas, a Nipmuck Sachem, taken and hanged in 1676, for his par-

ticipation in Philip's war. He was the first Indian who began the war in Massachusetts Colony, as it was said, by killing some of the inhabitants of Mendon. — See BOOK OF THE INDIANS, 263, 264, 698. — See also Dr. I. Mathew's *Prevalency of Prayer*, page 6.

Among the eminent men who died this year, were the Hon.
 May 4. Francis Willoughby, already mentioned; * the Rev. Mr. John Allen,
 pastor of the Church at Dedham, at the age of seventy-five.
 Aug. 26. He wrote in defence of the Synod of 1662, in opposition to
 the views of Mr. Chauncy. The venerable Elder, James Penn, was
 also among those whose labors were closed by death. He had
 Sept. 30. long been an important man in Boston; was chosen beadle of
 the first Church in 1630; having probably come over with the second
 Colony in the spring of the same year.†

The visit of Mr. John Josselyn to Boston, in 1638, has been noticed
 in its appropriate place.‡ In 1663 he visited it again, and resided in
 the country eight years and some months. In his own quaint man-
 ner he says, "Anno 1663, May the three and twentieth, I went down
 to Gravesend, it being Saturday; I lay ashore till Monday, the fifth;
 about eleven o'clock at night I went aboard the Society [a ship], be-
 longing to Boston, in the Massachusetts Colony of English in New Eng-
 land, of 200 and 20 tun, carrying 16 iron guns, most [of them]
 unserviceable, man'd with 33 sailers, and 77 passengers, men, women,
 and children."§

Such was the departure of the voyager for these shores. His voyage
 seems to have been quite destitute of incidents; and, excepting a
 shoal of turtles of some forty miles in extent; finding a shallop which
 had run away from Jamaica, with ten men in it nearly famished; and
 meeting with "a Plimouth man come from St. Malloes in France, ten
 weeks out, laden with cloath, fruit and honey, bound for Boston in New
 England," there is little of interest. Of his arrival he thus speaks:
 "The six and twentieth we had sight of land. The seven and twen-
 tieth we anchored at Nantascot. In the afternoon I went aboard of a
 ketch, with some other of our passengers, in hope to get to Boston that
 night, but the Master of the ketch would not consent. The eight and
 twentieth being Tuesday, in the morning about five of the clock he lent
 us his shallop and three of his men, who brought us to the western end
 of the town where we landed, and having gratified [satisfied] the men,
 we repaired to an ordinary (for so they call their taverns there), where
 we were provided with a liberal cup of burnt Madeira wine, and store
 of plum-cake. About ten of the clock I went about my affairs."||

Mr. Josselyn continued in and about Boston until September follow-
 ing his "arrivage," "about the twelfth hour of the eighth day" of
 which month, he says, "I shipt myself and goods in a bark bound for
 the Eastward, meeting as we sailed out, the Dutch Governor ¶ of New

* On page 275, *ante*. The date of Gov. Wil-
 loughby's death is given a month earlier, which
 is according to Farmer, who is probably Mr.
 Frothingham's authority; but in an Almanac
 printed at Cambridge in 1673, preserved by
 Judge Sewall, it is stated that he died May 4.

† His age is not mentioned, but he must
 have been far ad-
 vanced in years. A
 copy of his auto-
 graph in 1661 is here given. He owned consid-

erable landed estate in Boston, which, it is be-
 lieved, descended, in the female line, to the
 Townsends.

‡ *Ante*, p. 238-40.

§ Account of Two Voyages, p. 35.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 41.

¶ This was Peter Stuyvesant, the "Director
 General" of New Amsterdam. Josselyn's
 meeting him coming up the bay on the 8th of
 September, shows that he was not here before
 that date, as might otherwise be inferred from

Netherlands, who was received and entertained at Boston by the Governor and Magistrates with great solemnity." *

In another place † he relates that he made this voyage to New England "upon an invitation from his only brother." What he says of Boston is referred to this year, as his description necessarily has reference to the place at the time he left it, which is as follows :

"Boston is built on the south-west side of a bay large enough for the anchorage of 500 sail of ships. The buildings are handsome, joyning one to the other as in London, with many large streets ; most of them paved with pebble stone. In the high street towards the Common, there are fair buildings ; some of stone ; and, at the east end of the Town, one, amongst the rest, built by the shore, by Mr. Gibbs ‡ a merchant, being a stately edifice, which, it is thought, will stand him in little less than 3000 pounds before it is fully finished. The Town is not divided into parishes, yet they have three fair meeting-houses or churches, which hardly suffice to receive the inhabitants and strangers that come in from all parts. § Having refreshed myself here for some time, and opportunely lighting upon a passage in a bark belonging to a friend of my brother's, and bound to the eastward, I put to sea again ; and on the fifteenth of August I arrived at Black Point, otherwise called Scarborough, the habitation of my beloved brother, being about an hundred leagues to the eastward of Boston. Here I resided eight years, and made it my business to discover all along the natural, physical and chyrurgical rarities of this new-found world." ||

Josselyn appears to have been a man of science, according to the notions of that day, and had the good sense to follow scientific pursuits rather than to disturb the country by opposing any of the existing prejudices of the people. However, after about eight years, he seems to have become tired of it, and returned to England towards the close of 1671. Of his departure he says, "The year being now well spent, and the Government of the Province [of Maine] turned topsiturvey ; being heartily weary, and expecting the approach of winter, I took my leave of my friends at Black Point, and on the 28th of August, being Monday, I shipt myself and goods aboard of a shallop bound for Boston," where he arrived "about three of the clock in the afternoon." He says he "found the inhabitants exceedingly afflicted with several diseases, as fever and ague, &c."

Mr. Bredhead's Hist. of N. Y., p. 718. He came at this time to meet the Commissioners of the U. Colonies, who began a session on the 3d of the same month, to assert the right of his Government to certain territory which Connecticut had given him some trouble about.

He was baffled and put off "till next year ;" and, as we have seen, the next year he was obliged to submit his whole country to the English under Col. Nichols. Dr. Holmes makes no mention of this important visit of

the Dutch Governor to Boston in 1663, nor does Hutchinson speak of it.

* *Ibid.*, 197.

† *New England's Rarities Discovered*, p. 1. This volume he printed in 1672, soon after he returned to England.

‡ Mr. Benjamin Gibbs, probably.

§ "The passage from Boston to Charles Town is by a ferry, worth forty or fifty pounds a year."—Josselyn, *ib.*, 163.

|| *Rarities*, p. 1-2.

Oct. 10. After remaining in Boston about a month, he sailed for England in a ship called the *New Supply*. She was 190 tons burthen, "her guns being small, and for salutation only, the master, Captain Fairweather, her sailors, sixteen, and as many passengers." On the twenty-seventh of November he landed at Woolwich, where, he says, "I refreshed myself for that night. Next day I footed it four or five miles to Bexley in Kent, to visit a near kinsman." He soon after returned to the ship "lying before Radecliff." Then he says, "I cleared my goods, shot the bridge and landed at the Temple about seven
Dec. 1. of the clock at night, which makes my voyage homeward seven weeks and four days; and from my first setting out from London, to my returning to London again, eight years, six months and odd days."

In speaking of Boston in his last voyage, Mr. Josselyn borrows the most of what he says from Captain Johnson's work, which has been extracted in this history.* To that account, however, he has added the following, which is of sufficient interest to require notice. "The houses are for the most part raised on the sea-banks, and wharfed out with great industry and cost; many of them standing upon piles, close together on each side of the streets, as in London, and furnished with many fair shops. Their materials are brick, stone, lime, handsomely contrived, with three Meeting-houses or Churches, and a Town-house, built upon pillars, where the Merchants may confer. In the chambers above they keep their monethly Courts. The town is rich and populous. On the south there is a small but pleasant Common, where the Gallants, a little before sunset, walk with their Marmalet-madams, as we do in Morefields, till the nine-o'clock bell rings them home to their respective habitations; when presently the Constables walk their rounds to see good order kept, and to take up loose people."† He speaks of the farms owned by the inhabitants at Muddy-river; "that they keep their cattle there in summer, but bring them to Boston in the winter."

* See *Ante*, p. 327-8.

† *Account of Two Voyages*, 162.



CHARLES CHAUNCEY.

CHAPTER XIII.

Fears from the Dutch. — The Town prosperous. — Death of President Chauncy — of Eleazer Lusher — of Gov. Bellingham. — Extensive Fortification. — Statistics of Boston and of New England. — The Castle burnt. — Fears from the Indians. — Their Numbers and Condition. — The Wampanoags suspected. — Position of King Philip. — Murder of Sassamon. — Circumstances of the Murder. — Philip suspected of causing it. — Three Wampanoags executed at Plymouth as the Murderers. — Philip and his men arm. — Benjamin Church. — His Proceedings to prevent a War. — Philip sends to all the bordering Indians to enlist them in his Cause. — Plymouth attempts to reconcile Philip, without Success. — Philip prevents his Warriors from insulting the Messengers.



CHAUNCY.

AT the Election, Mr. Thomas Shepard, of Charlestown, preached the sermon. It was not published, however, until the next year. Samuel Green, of Cambridge, was the printer. It was a quarto of fifty-two pages, and John Sherman and Urian Oakes gave it their "Imprimatur." Mr. Thomas Thacher wrote a Preface to it.

May 28. Boston was in a state of alarm, owing to a war between the mother-country and the Dutch. Consequently a formal declaration of war was proclaimed in Boston. Throughout this and the following year the people were under much apprehension from Dutch ships of war, which were reported from time to time to be hovering on the coast.*

It is a good indication of the prosperity of Boston at this period, that in a contribution made by the Colony for the rebuilding of Harvard College, amounting to 1890 pounds, Boston gave 800 of it.

Feb. 19. The venerable Charles Chauncy, President of the College, died, at the age of eighty; a man distinguished for his learning and piety. He had been President of the College since 1654; came originally from Hertfordshire, England, and was son of Mr. George Chauncy, of Yardly in that County. He arrived at Plymouth in New England in 1638, and was a preacher there three years. After that he settled at Scituate, where he preached about thirteen years; at the end of that period he came to Boston, and was making preparations to return to his native country, probably in conformity to the wishes of the people at Ware, in Hertfordshire, from whom he had been driven during the Laudean persecution. By the influence of the most distinguished gentlemen of Boston he was induced to forego his return to England, and to accept the presidency of the College at Cambridge, as before observed. And thus were the services of the most learned man in America secured to Boston and its vicinity; the good effects of which are continued, even to this day.

* See *N. E. Hist. and Gen. Regr.*, vii. 213.

Nov. 3. Another man of note died this year. This was Eleazer Lusher, Esquire, one of the Assistants, and the "Major of the Suffolk regiment." His residence was in Dedham. And, in about one month after, the people of Boston were called to mourn the loss of

Dec. 7. their Governor, Richard Bellingham, Esquire, in his eighty-first year. He was, perhaps, one of the most rigid of his time, and the Quaker writers have pronounced judgment upon his character in tones of much harshness. In Mr. Endicott's time, they say he was an "active instrument in whatever laws were enacted against them." This is unquestionably true; and likewise, that "his power was less extensive than that of his predecessor," although, "he caused Solomon Eccles, and Nicholas Alexander of Jamaica, who was a Justice of the Peace there," to be banished from Boston; and that, only

Aug. 1. a few months before his death "he imprisoned James Lancaster, John Stubs, John Rance, Thomas Eaton, and Robert Hornden, five strangers, and George Heatheot." They add, that "he died distracted." In drawing the character of Governor Bellingham some† have considered him as inclining to democratic principles, and at the same time violently opposed to all innovations in religious matters. Of the former there does not appear to be much evidence, while of the latter there can be no question. He was a devout and sincere Christian, as well as a strict observer of external forms. At times he was melancholy, and suffered from temporary intellectual aberration, and his last moments were probably passed without his reason. This is what the Quaker historian above cited called dying distracted.‡

May 7. At this annual Election, John Leverett, Esquire, was chosen Governor, and Mr. Samuel Symonds, Deputy Governor. The deputies in the General Court from Boston were the same as they had been since 1665; namely, Mr. Anthony Stoddard and Captain Thomas Clarke; except that Junior is added to that of the latter. Mr. Urian Oakes, of Cambridge, preached the Election Sermon, and Mr. John Sherman and Mr. Thomas Shepard prefaced it. It is without any "Imprimatur."

The fears of an invasion from the Dutch may have given rise to a stupendous project for fortifying the town. A circular wall was ordered to be erected, extending from one extremity of the Cove to the other; or, its terminations were the Sconce, at the point now occupied by India Wharf on the south, and Captain Scarlett's wharf at the foot of Fleet street on the north. Its length was considered to be about 2200 feet.

Sept. 5. It was at first proposed that the work should be done at the expense of the Town; but at a Town meeting held on the fifth of September, a vote could not be obtained to authorize it. The Town, however, instructed the Selectmen, that if they could dispose of the Flats to be included by the contemplated wall or wharf, so as to meet

* Heatheot's offence was "delivering the Governor a letter and not putting off his hat."
—Besse, *Sufferings of the Quakers*, ii. 259.

† Snow, 159.

‡ A few other facts concerning Gov. Bellingham have already been given. See p. 176, *ante*.

the expense of it, they had liberty to proceed with the work. It was to be twenty-two feet wide at the bottom, and twenty at the top, "to be convenient for a breastwork to play guns on," and was to be about fifteen feet in height. The circular line to be built upon was to touch the channel at the nearest point before the Town, and between the wall and the seaward extremities of the wharves built, and to be built, one hundred feet space for vessels was to be left.

As great as this undertaking was in its day, it was commenced with spirit, and successfully completed in due time. Forty-one persons undertook the work, which was let out into lots of from twenty to one hundred and twenty feet. No undertaker allowed to engage for less than twenty feet. In 1681, the proprietors of this work had an act of incorporation from the Council, who had first proposed the work to the Town. Fortunately it was never used "to traverse guns on" against an enemy; for, while it had an existence, no enemy ever passed the Castle; and it may now be said, that from its disappearance to the present time its want for the purpose of defence has never been felt.

This great structure fell gradually into decay, and it has been long since any vestiges of it were to be seen. Its exterior was probably of wood. It went by the name of the Old Wharf, as long as any of it remained.*

The successful accomplishment of so vast an enterprise as this was is more than a tolerable certainty that Boston was at that period in a very prosperous condition; of which the Government in England, as it will appear, was not an idle observer. This is evident from a curious paper† believed to have been drawn up this year, which is probably still to be seen in the State Paper office in London. The well known Edmund Randolph had a copy of it afterwards, to assist him in his statistical knowledge of the country. In that paper, New England was

* From an ancient paper (among a large number of others) kindly put into the hands of the author by the Hon. FRANCIS BRINLEY, the following facts are taken:—"The Out Wharves from Scarlett's wharfe outward to [the] Middle Opening, measure,—the first Outlet or Opening, 27 feet; John Anderson, 40 do.; John Kine for Rob. Cox, 30; Anthony Checkley for B. Beale, 50; John Wensley, 30; Maj. Tho. Clarke, 90; Vacant, or 2d Opening, 66; Ailee [Alice] Thomas, 30; Maj'r. Clarke he filled 3½; do. for Edwd. Grant [?] 20; do. he built 50; Daniel Stone, 20; Danl. Turell, Junr., 22½; Maj. Clarke for Tho. Bill, 22½. [against these two is a brace, and 'Charnock' against the brace.] Jno. Scarlet or Dolbery, 25; Henry Cooler, 40. [Clark & Comp'y. against these two.] Edmund Muntforth [Mountford] 30; Wm. Greeno, 35; Jos. Cox, 34; Jno. Sweet, 30; Timo. Prout, 30; Jos. Baster, 25; Jno. Phillips, Danl. Turell, Senr., and Adams, 113; [Capt. Samuel] Scarlet, 48; Edwd. Wanton, 30; Edw. Winslow, 56; Benj. Gibs, 54; Jno. Scarlet, 43; Augustus Clemens, 25; Tho. Lake and Jno. Winsley, 61; the Middle Open-

ing by Woodmaney's, 70; Woodmaney's, 120; Eliak. & E. Hutchinson, 60; Davis, 40; Perry & Shippen, 30; Alford, 100. Proprietors of y^e Secon^d Division of wharfing on y^e flats taken out of Mr. Kendall's booke. Elisha Cooke, Esqr., and Old Church, 180; Ephr. Nicolls, 25; Gillam & Comp'y., 83; Joyleife & Comp'y., 89½; Mr. Hallowell, 34; Mr. Marshall, 31½; Mr. Brompton, 58½; Oliver, 55½; Henchman & Comp'y., 164; Brattle & Fairweather, 54; M. White, 30."

There are some variations from the above, as entered upon the Town Records; as, "Daniel Turine, Jr., Humphrey Warren, Wm. Davis, Hon. John Leverett, Capt. Benjamin Gillam, Capt. Thos. Savage, Joseph Gillam, Wm. Hallowell, John Man, Wm. Alford, Seth Perry, Edward Sheppen, John Poole, Danl. Hinksman, Theodore Atkinson, Senr., Thomas Peecke, John Woodmansey, Peter Guy, Obediah Gill, Joseph Prout, Jr., Benj. Bayle, and Theodore Atkinson, Jr."

† An abstract of it, though not a very intelligible one, is printed in Chalmers's *Political Annals*, pages, 434-5.

estimated to contain 120,000 souls; fifteen merchants were worth 5000 pounds each; not twenty houses in Boston which contained ten rooms apiece; its number of families were 1500.* “The three provinces of Boston, Main, and New Hampshire, were three-fourths of the whole in wealth and strength” of New England; no musicians by trade; a dancing-school had been set up, “but it was put down;” a free man must be worth about 200 pounds.

Mar. 21. The Fort on Castle Island, built chiefly of wood, was accidentally consumed by fire.† The circumstances attending the conflagration are not mentioned. When Mr. John Josselyn was here, in 1671, he thus remarked upon it:—“There is an island on the south side of the passage, containing eight acres of ground. Upon a rising hill within this island, is mounted a castle commanding the entrance; no stately edifice, nor strong; built with brick and stone; kept by a captain, under whom is a master-gunner, and others.”‡

May 27. The Governor and Deputy are reelected, and Boston chose the same Representatives as last year. Mr. Samuel Torrey, of Weymouth, preached the sermon. On the same day, the General Court ordered it to be printed, and appointed William Houghton, and Thomas Clarke, Esquires, Capt. Hugh Mason, Mr. William Parkes, and Mr. Peter Bulkley, to give the thanks of the Court to the author. It was printed at Cambridge by Marmaduke Johnson, and a long and interesting preface accompanies it, by Mr. Increase Mather.

Since the King's Commissioners left the country, Boston had made rapid strides in wealth and population. But a sad reverse was at hand. Before the fears from Dutch cruisers had subsided, a much more formidable calamity threatened the country. This arose from the hostile attitude of the Indians. Before this last trouble was thought to be serious, however, there was much said in the pulpit about “Apostacies in these goings down of the sun;” that “divine expectations had not been answered” by the people here. Yet a saving clause was sometimes thrown in, that “there were grounds of hope that the Lord was not wholly gone from them.”§

The Indians had been so effectually frightened by the issue of the Pequot war, that for many years after they looked upon the English as invincible, and it had become the fashion throughout the country to

* Yet for several years after this there were no streets paved, excepting a few sections of some of the principal ones, and those of a few rods' extent. Two years later (23 Aug. 1675) we read in the Records, “Whereas Anthony Chicklie [Checkley] hath erected posts before his ware-house adjoining to Robert Cox, upon the towneland or highway, without the consent of the Selectmen, it is ordered that the said Chicklie forthwith take away the said posts, or pay 2s. 6d. in money pr. an. for the standing of them dureing the Towne's pleasure. And said Chickley and Robt. Cox have paved the streete before their dore,” &c.

† Hutchinson, *Hist. Mass.*, i., 234, mentions the fact in a note, under 21 Mar. 1673, but without stating his authority, which was doubtless *Sherman's Almanack* for 1676; and, not being particular in noting that all dates were then Old Style, he has made an error of a whole year. So that, instead of the Castle's being burnt in March, 1673, it was burnt in March, 1674, as above stated. Snow copied the error.

‡ *Two Voyages to N. England*, p. 159.

§ Dr. Increase Mather's *Preface to the Election Sermon* of 1674. See also a tract by the same author, entitled *Ichabod: or The Glory Departing from N. England*.

speak contemptuously upon their power. And, at this period, the English far outnumbered them, and though scattered thinly over a wide extent of country, the Indians were much more thinly scattered over nearly the same extent of territory; for while the latter did not probably exceed 30,000 souls, their white neighbors exceeded four times that number. Besides, much had been done to christianize them, and not an inconsiderable number had renounced savage life, and, in the event of a war, these could be counted upon, at least, as neutral. Such was the state of things up to the close of the year 1674. The natives frequented Boston and other places of the English as usual, except Plymouth. Between that place and the Wampanoag country there was less intercourse, and an increasing jealousy.

Early in 1675, there began to be suspicious circumstances that the Wampanoag Indians, the leader of whom was King Philip, were preparing for war. There was a special reason for these suspicions on the part of the English, because they had lately executed three of Philip's men, for the murder of a Christian Indian. And, although this was immediately a Plymouth affair, it was plain enough by this time, to the Indians, that all the English were leagued together, and that, if an open rupture occurred, they had got to contend with them all. It is improbable, however, that Philip himself intended to begin a war, at least, at the time he did; but circumstances made it his only alternative. He well enough knew the strength of the white people, and consequently knew that a war must end in his ruin. It was not so with the young men of his tribe; they thought more of revenge and plunder than of the consequences of war. Three of their brethren had been executed, as they conceived, in a barbarous manner, for killing a vagabond traitor, as they considered the Indian to be, who had been by them killed. Philip was by no means an old man at this time, — perhaps not above thirty-seven years of age; but he had had more intercourse with the English settlers than the young men of his tribe, and was far better able to calculate the consequences of a war.

To understand the nature of the immediate origin of the war which soon after followed, it will be necessary to be a little more particular. The Indian killed by Philip's men, is usually, in the accounts extant, called Sassamon, but his real name was Wusausmon, as is shown in the margin.* He was a Massachusetts Indian, and was probably born within the ancient limits of Dorchester; perhaps at Punkapog. However, his father and mother lived in Dorchester, and he became one of

John Wusausmon:

* In a previous page (388) it is mentioned that with others, Sassamon was a witness to an instrument signed by King Philip, July 13th, 1670. The 27th of December of the same year, in a conveyance executed by Squamaug,

"Abaton, Momentaug, and John Wosassamon," are mentioned as his Council. Abaton, Nahaton, and Hahaton, denote the same individual. He was a noted Christian Indian, and was preacher among the natives till his death, which happened on the 21st of July, 1717. In 1711 he was stationed at a place called Pecunet. He left a son Amos, and perhaps other children. — MSS. OF JUDGE SEWALL. For other facts, see *Gookin's Hist. Praying Indians*.

the Christian Indians, and was educated for a missionary among them, some time before 1662. Not liking his profession, or from some other cause, he apostatized, and went off with Philip's Indians. As he understood English and could write, Philip took him into his service as a kind of Secretary; and there are several letters existing, which he wrote, by Philip's direction or dictation, to his English neighbors. At length, becoming tired of living among his "heathen" brethren, he abandoned them and returned again to the Christian community; and, after showing proper contrition for his apostasy, he was admitted into fellowship. Not long after this, he was sent among some of Philip's people about Assawomset, in Middleborough, to preach to them. While there, it is supposed, he learned that the Wampanoags were preparing for war; for he communicated such intelligence to the authorities of Plymouth, about the close of 1674. A little time after this, Sassamon was missing,

Jan. 29. and, search being made, his body was found in Assawomset pond, under such circumstances, and with such marks upon it, that the magistrates of Plymouth were satisfied that he must have been murdered. Thereupon inquiry was made for the perpetrators. Three of Philip's men were soon fixed upon, one of whom was his Counsellor.

June 8. These were brought to trial at Plymouth, condemned and executed. One of them confessed he saw the other two commit the murder, but that he had no hand in it; and the other two died protesting their innocence.

While the trial of the accused Indians was in progress, there was a good deal of stir among the natives from Narraganset Bay to Massachusetts. Several of the Christian Indians in the vicinity of Boston, reported it as their belief that the other Indians intended to begin a war. Among others, Waban went to Major Gookin and told him,

April, that as soon as the trees were leaved out, he feared there would
May. be trouble. Soon after, it was reported that Philip's warriors were "marching up and down the country armed as for war," and there was much reason to fear that Philip had enlisted the Narragansets in his designs. This suspicion was soon ascertained to be well founded, by advices from Mr. Benjamin Church,* who had the year before settled at Sogkonate, now Little Compton. A numerous clan of Philip's people inhabited there, and Mr. Church was much beloved and respected by the chiefs among them. They were, therefore, unwilling to join Philip in a war against the English without first consulting so good a friend as Mr. Church was.

The principal leader of the Sogkonates at this time, was a female chief, named Awashonks. To her Philip sent six messengers, who stated to her, that "the Umpames (the Plymouth people) were gather-

Benjamin Church

Col. Benjamin Church, copied from an original paper of 1672, in possession of the author. He died on the 17th of Jan. 1718. He was at Boston on the previous June, which was probably his last visit to the metropolis. — Judge Sewall's MSS.

* The autograph of this distinguished man, Sewall's MSS.

ing a great army to invade Philip's country," and requesting her to arm with him against them. Believing this to be the case, she made a great dance, as was the custom of the Indians, and summoned her
June 6. people far and near to attend it. But her confidence in the friendship of Mr. Church, caused her to send for him, though the preparations for a great war-dance went on. As soon as he received the message, Mr. Church mounted his horse, and, taking with him
June 7. his tenant's son, by name Charles Hazelton, a good interpreter of the Indian language, proceeded to the place appointed. There "they found hundreds of Indians gathered together;" the dance was begun, and "Awashonks herself, in a foaming sweat, leading it." But the moment Mr. Church's arrival was announced, she broke off, and entered into a conference with him. She related what Philip's men had said about the English preparations to attack him, and desired to know the truth of it. He assured her that it was untrue; that he was at Plymouth but a few days before, and that the English were making no preparations for war. She was inclined to believe him, and he promised to go to Plymouth and to intercede with the Government, that in the event of a war she should not be disturbed, provided she would not take part with Philip. This being agreed to, Mr. Church began to make preparations to proceed to Plymouth upon the proposed embassy.

Meanwhile, the execution of the three Indians for the murder
June 8. of Sassamon took place, as already related. That event fanned the already glowing embers into an immediate flame, and nothing now could stay its progress. Philip, it was said, expected to be called to an account for the same murder, and that drove him to desperation. However that may be, his young warriors were full of revenge and fury, and beyond all control, had Philip desired to control them. Some of them had, perhaps with his consent, visited all the tribes and clans from Marshpee to Wachusett, and from Paugatuck to Chickopee, and delegates from many places had assembled at Mount Hope, while the three Indians were awaiting their trial at Plymouth, and war-dances were commenced and kept up for many days together.

Having good grounds to suspect what was going forward among the Indians, and thinking the agitation was occasioned by Philip, on account of his fears for his safety, as the planner of Sassamon's death, the Government of Plymouth hoped to calm him by assurances that he was not to be questioned or troubled about it. The Council, therefore, drew
June 14. up an amicable letter, and Mr. James Browne, of Swansey, was charged with its delivery and explanation. Taking with him Mr. Samuel Gorton as interpreter, when he arrived at Philip's quarters he found him surrounded with a great number of warriors, all armed and painted, who behaved insolently, and Philip himself "very high and not persuadable to peace." Some of the warriors proposed to kill Mr. Browne; but Philip prevented them, saying, that Massasoit, his father, had charged him always to be kind to that gentleman. This speaks not a little in Philip's favor, and is a testimony against the

integrity of those who have branded him as lost to all humanity. Many instances are to be found where he exercised all the authority he possessed to prevent the injury of English families which had been his or his father's friends.

June 16. Mr. Church, as he proceeded to Plymouth, took Pocasset in his way, in order to ascertain how the Pocasset Indians were likely to incline in the event of a war. This clan or tribe was considerably numerous, though not so much so as the Sogkonates; and like the latter they were under a Squaw Sachem, whose name was Weetamoo. She had been the wife of Alexander, Philip's brother, but now had a husband named Petananuit, but as written by the English, Peter Nun-nuit. Mr. Church, falling in with Peter, was by him conducted to Weetamoo, usually denominated Queen of Pocasset. He found her almost deserted by her men, who, she said, were "all gone to the dances." She promised Mr. Church that she would go to Rhode Island, and would not join Philip in a war. Mr. Church then proceeded directly to Plymouth to make a report upon the situation of affairs in the vicinity of Mount Hope.

June 17. Arriving at Plymouth early on Thursday morning, Mr. Church immediately had an interview with the Governor and some of the Council of War. His intelligence confirmed other accounts they had received of the hostile attitude of Philip, and they hastened their preparations to meet the exigency with the utmost despatch. As a further proof that war was really intended on the part of the Indians, certain information was received at Plymouth, that those about Mount Hope had sent their wives and children to the Narragansets for safety. This also showed the English clearly that the Narragansets had joined with Philip against them.

Philip's warriors had now become so clamorous to be permitted to begin the war, that they would listen to no proposals of delay; and the only plan Philip could devise to prevent an immediate outbreak, was to promise them, that on the next Sunday they might rob the houses of the English nearest them, while the occupants were at meeting, and to kill their cattle in the fields; and he strictly enjoined it upon them that they should not be the first to shed blood; for, there was a superstitious whim entertained by Philip, and perhaps his old men, that the party which shed the first blood would be conquered. This probably had the effect to prevent immediate murders, while it did not cause a full compliance with Philip's orders, for some of his men went to the house of Job Winslow,* broke into and rifled it.

June
18 or 19.

* Who he was, or whereabouts he lived, the ell's statement, that he was son of Kenelm Records of the U. Colonies do not state; but Winslow, and grandson of Gov. Edward Winslow, and that he settled in Freetown. MS. papers in his possession, confirms Judge Mitchell's statement, that he was son of Kenelm Winslow, and grandson of Gov. Edward Winslow, and that he settled in Freetown. MS. Letter of Mr. Oris, and Mitchell's *Bridgewater*.

CHAPTER XLIII.

War begins at Swanzy. — News brought to Boston. — Capt. Hutchinson sent to the Narragansets. — The English shed the first blood. — Men raised in Boston for the War. — Proceed to Swanzy. — Eclipse of the Moon. — First Skirmish. — Pursuit of the Indians. — They escape. — Lieut. Oake's Exploit. — Scalps brought to Boston. — Forces march into Narraganset. — Treaty. — Capt. Hutchinson sent to treat with the Nipmucks. — Is ambushed and mortally wounded. — Siege of Brookfield. — Mohegan Indians engaged with the English against Philip. — Above sixty come to Boston. — A House attacked in Dorchester. — Capt. Beers attacked and suffers considerable loss.



SAVAGE.

June 20. AGREEABLY to the permission of Philip, his warriors sallied forth upon Swanzy; burnt two houses and rifled several others, but killed none of the people. They were greatly alarmed, however, immediately began to abandon their dwellings, and were soon collected into three garrisons. Early next morning, or in the preceding night, messengers were

June 21. despatched to Boston and Plymouth. The Council at Boston met in the afternoon of the

same day, and passed an order concerning the Narragansets. This was embodied into a sort of manifesto, and Capt. Edward Hutchinson, of Boston, was forthwith directed to repair to that nation. He was also directed to call upon Mr. Roger Williams, for whom he had letters, and to obtain his counsel and advice respecting his mission. The manifesto set forth that "Philip, Sachem of Mount Hope, did yesterday make assault upon some English houses, and was marching on upon the town of Swanzy;" that some of the Narragansets were already with him, and that he "speedily expected others to come to his assistance." The Narraganset chiefs were therefore ordered, in the most peremptory manner, to call home all their warriors, and to break off all correspondence with Philip, and to furnish the English authorities "the best intelligence they could of this wicked design." Meantime, the Government of Plymouth ordered its forces to rendezvous at Taunton. The Governor invited Mr. Church to accompany the forces, which he did, at the head of a small volunteer corps of English and friendly Indians. With this force he marched as an advance guard. What time they arrived at Swanzy does not appear, and very little is heard of their operations until the arrival of the Boston troops, several days after.

June 23. While the Massachusetts forces were being concentrated at Boston, two messengers were despatched by the Council for Mount Hope, with instructions to try to divert Philip from committing

June 24. hostilities, if possible. These messengers, arriving the next day in the vicinity of Swanzy, were surprised to find the war

already begun, as they came upon dead men in the road, recently shot down by the Indians. They therefore retraced their steps to Boston, giving the alarm wherever they came.

As the Indians intended, the first blood shed in this war was shed by the English. One of the inhabitants of Swanze^y was so provoked by an Indian's persisting in killing his cattle, that he fired upon and wounded him; and, though not mortally, it served to remove the scruple, which the Indians were under, as to the issue of the contest, and thus was begun a most bloody and disastrous war.

On the return of the before mentioned messengers to Boston, "drums beat up for volunteers, and in three hours' time were mustered up one hundred and ten men." Of these, Capt. Samuel Mosley,* became the leader, who, for his courage and conduct on some former occasions, was very popular. There was, at the same time, a Dutchman lying in Boston jail, under sentence of death for piracy; and, perhaps others with him.† They were allowed, on certain conditions, to march under Mosley against the Indians. One of them, a Dutchman, was afterwards pardoned for his services in the war, and had liberty to leave the country, and nothing further is known of him. His name was Cornelius Consort.

Agreeably to the recommendation of the Governor of Plymouth, a Fast was observed in that Colony. Taking advantage of this, the Indians beset the people at Swanze^y, as they were returning from meeting, killing at once about ten or twelve persons.

The Government at Boston, with its best efforts, could not get the forces intended for the expedition against Philip ready till two days after the bloody work was begun. But towards evening, on the twenty-sixth of June, a company of foot under Capt. Daniel Henchman, and another of horse under Capt. Thomas Prentice,‡ marched out of Boston for the scene of hostilities. Captain Mosley was not ready to march with them, being delayed, probably, by arrangements for putting the before named criminals under him. Just before the two companies reached Neponset river, the moon began to be eclipsed. This, some of the men construed to be ominous of an unfortunate issue

Samuel Mosley

* One of the most conspicuous officers in Philip's war was Capt. Samuel Mosley. He was by trade a cooper, which he probably early relinquished and became a skilful mariner, and "was allied by marriage to some of the first families in Boston. His wife, Anne, was the daughter of Thomas and Anne Leverett, parents of the Governor."—Letter of T. W. HARRIS, M. D., to the author. The alliance of Capt. Mosley to Gov. Leverett and other distinguished persons in Boston being known, it is not difficult to account for the easy manner in which he was allowed to pass through some seemingly arrogant assumptions of responsibilities in the

course of the war. Several of his letters are extant, written while in this service, which discover something of the character of the rough and sanguinary soldier. From one of these his autograph is copied. When or where Capt. Mosley died has not come to my knowledge.

† Hubbard, in his history of the war, speaks of "the whole body of the Privateers under Mosley." Mosley, himself, is said to have "been an old *Privateer* at Jamaica." He had probably been privateering during the war between England and the Dutch.

‡ Three Christian Indians only were employed in this first expedition; two of the name of Quannapohutt, and Zachary Abram. They were attached to Capt. Prentice's command, and did excellent service. See Gookin's *Pray. Inds.*

to the war, and they moved onward with faltering steps. However, when "the moon had waded through the earth's dark shadow," they resumed their march, and arrived at Woodcock's house, about thirty miles from Boston, the next morning. At this place they halted to take some rest, and to give Captain Mosley time to join them, which he did with his company in the afternoon. Thence they proceeded to Swanzev, where they arrived before night. They now joined the Plymouth forces, who had been in garrison there several days, and "under whose very noses the Indians had shot down two sentinels."

The enemy were still lurking in the bushes, in all directions about the camp, and, although it was near night, several of Captain Prentice's troop volunteered to go in pursuit of them. The party had proceeded but a short distance when they were fired upon by about a dozen Indians in ambush, who killed their guide, William Hammond, wounded Corporal Andrew Belcher,* whose horse was shot down under him. Quartermaster John Gill,† was struck in the side by a ball; but being clad in a buff coat, with several thicknesses of paper under it, his life was preserved. Mr. Church was in this unfortunate skirmish, and through his efforts the body of Mr. Hammond was rescued from the Indians and brought off.

June 29.

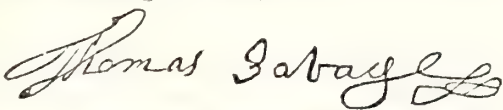
The next day the enemy showed themselves, and were immediately pursued by Mosley's company and some of the others. As they were proceeding down into Mount Hope neck some confusion occurred, and one party of the English fired upon another, badly wounding Ensign Perez Savage in the thigh; yet "he boldly held up his colors" at the head of his company.‡ The Indians exposed themselves but little; but as they fled from one shelter to another several shots were made upon them, and some five or six were killed, as the English heard afterwards. The expedition into Philip's dominions, however, was of small moment. Philip and his followers retreated into the Swamps of Pocasset, as soon as they had done all the mischief they could in and about Swanzev; a few only remaining to deceive the English. The weather coming on rainy, the forces returned to the garrisons. In the evening, about six o'clock, Major Savage arrived from Boston with supplies, and several other gentlemen with him. He was Commander-in-Chief of the Massachusetts forces.§ Major Savage and Major James Cudworth, Com-

* The Christian name of Belcher is not given in any of the histories, but I suppose he is the same who was of Boston in 1703, and father of Gov. Jonathan Belcher. If this supposition be correct, he was son of Andrew Belcher, who was of Sudbury, 1640, and Cambridge, 1646, and was now about 28 years of age.

† Mentioned only by Church, and without a Christian name, which I have conjecturally supplied. That author says Gill and Belcher were Quartermasters.

‡ He was of Boston, son of Hon. Thomas Savage, a "young martial spark," says Hubbard, "scarce twenty years of age;" and

Church, who was on the spot, says he was "a noble, heroic youth." He was at the Narraganset Swamp fight afterwards, and was again wounded, but survived, and died in Barbary, according to Farmer, in 1694.



§ Subjoined is the autograph of Major Savage when he was Speaker of the House of Deputies, 1660. He was the emigrant ancestor of a large and respectable race of Savages. — See Farmer.

mander-in-Chief of the Plymouth forces, determined to march to the vicinity of Mount Hope, hoping to surprise Philip, or to force him to a battle; but they had not then learned the wiles of Indians in warfare, as is manifest from their operations. Philip, as before mentioned, had passed the river to Pocasset. However, the weather becoming more

favorable, the "whole army" * marched out about noon for June 30. Mount Hope. About a mile and a half from camp "they passed some houses newly burned," and "not far off one of them they found a Bible newly torn, and the leaves scattered by the enemy in hatred of our religion." Two or three miles more brought them to Keekamuit, since Warren, where they found the heads of eight Englishmen, which had been killed at Matapoiset Neck, set upon poles. These they took down and buried. After marching about two miles further "they found divers wigwams of the enemy. Half a mile further, as they passed through many fields of stately corn,† they found Philip's own wigwam," but no Indians in all their march. The next day the army returned to head-quarters at Swanzeey, except the troop under

July 1. Captain Prentice, who went to Rehoboth to make what discoveries they could, and to encamp there for the night.

July 2. As Captain Prentice was proceeding to head-quarters the next morning, a scout, under Lieut. Edward Oakes, surprised a small company of the enemy, killed a Sachem named Thebe, and another chief, one of Philip's Counsellors, and two or three others. Oakes lost John Druce, one of his men. The Indians killed in this encounter were beheaded and scalped, and both heads and scalps were brought to Boston and exhibited, which, it is said, were the first scalps ever seen in the town.

Major Gookin had orders, on the second of July, to raise a company of Praying Indians to serve in the war. He at once despatched messengers to all the Praying Towns, with directions to the Chiefs to send him one third of their able men. They obeyed with alacrity, and in

July 6. four days after, about fifty-two of them marched, under Capt. Isaac Johnson‡ of Roxbury, who delivered them to Major Savage, the commander at Mount Hope. These Indians acquitted themselves courageously and faithfully, according to the testimony of Major Savage, Captain Prentice, and Captain Henschman.

July 4. The forces being concentrated at Swanzeey, while the officers were deliberating upon what next should be done, Capt. Edward Hutchinson arrived from Boston with instructions to proceed into the Narraganset country, to prevent the tribes in that region from partici-

* The number of men composing the army, as it was called, is nowhere mentioned. It probably did not exceed 350 men.

† The writer of the "*Present State of New England*," in the OLD INDIAN CHRONICLE, says there were at Mount Hope "a thousand acres under corn," which the English afterwards gathered for their own use; that they took

whatever the Indians had "that was worth taking, and spoiled the rest; taking all Philip's cattle and hogs that they could find."

‡ The same who fell afterwards in the Narraganset fight.

Isaac Johnson

pating in the war ; while Major Cudworth, with the Plymouth forces, proposed to maintain the ground already gained, and to act on the offensive, as occasion might offer.

July 15. It was the fifteenth of July before an understanding could be effected with the Narragansets, and then but a few of them were found to take any part in it, and those appear to have been inferior chiefs or irresponsible persons. On the part of the English were Major Thomas Savage, Capt. Edward Hutchinson, his brother-in-law, and Mr. Joseph Dulle, on the part of Massachusetts ; Major Wait Winthrop and Mr. Richard Smith, on the part of Connecticut. A treaty, as it was called, being drawn up in a number of peremptory articles, and the place of negotiation surrounded with two or three hundred armed soldiers, it was literally executed "at the point of the sword." Such a treaty could not be otherwise than worse than none, for coercion must and will have its reaction, and it proved thus in this case, as will be seen in the sequel. Such is a brief outline of the treaty of Pettyquamscot, so called from the place where it was made.

While the treaty purports to have been made on the part of the Indians by "Agamaug, Wompsh alias Corman, Taitson, Tawageson, Counsellors and Attorneys to Canonicus, Ninigret, Matataog, Old Queen Quaiapen, Quanshit and Pomham," the names only of "Tawageson, Taytson, Agamaug and Corman," appear as its signers. The witnesses were Capt. Daniel Henchman, Capt. Thomas Prentice, Capt. Nicholas Paige of the dragoons, Joseph Stanton, interpreter, Henry Hawlaws, Pecot Bucow, and Job Neff.*

Meantime there was some sharp fighting in Pocasset, but the Indians had the advantage. This elated them, and they committed depredations in every direction. News also was received at Boston, in the course of July, that the flame of war was breaking forth along the eastern coast. The Nipmucks also were thought to be uncertain in their neutrality or friendship. It was therefore determined to send a small force up into their country to ascertain how they were affected by the war. Captain Hutchinson, who had just returned from the treaty with the Narragansets, and Captain Thomas Wheeler, marched from Boston upon that service. Unfortunately, Philip's emissaries were before them, and the Nipmucks had enlisted in his cause. Captains Hutchinson and

July 28. Wheeler went upon this expedition with about twenty dragoons, and at Brookfield were joined with a number of the inhabitants of that town. A meeting was appointed with the Nipmucks in that neighborhood, but when the English came to the place there appeared none of the other party. Not suspecting any treachery, they Aug. 2. proceeded four or five miles further, in the direction of the prin-

* It was at this time probably, that Potok, "a Narraganset Chief of great subtlety," insisted that an article should be inserted in the Treaty, "that the English should not send any among them to preach the Gospel, or call upon them to pray to God." It is likewise proba-

ble, that it was owing to the refusal of the English to comply with that request, that his name does not appear to the treaty. Near the close of the war, Potok surrendered to some of the English forces, who took him to Newport, on R. Island. There he was im-

incipal town of the Nipmucks; but this proceeding seems to have been anticipated by the Indians, for when the English came to a narrow pass, lying between a steep hill on the one hand, and a "hideous" swamp on the other, they were fired upon by "two or three hundred Indians" in ambush. Eight men were in a moment shot down; Captain Hutchinson was mortally wounded, and Captain Wheeler desperately;* yet both commanders succeeded in reaching Brookfield. In all, thirteen were killed and died of their wounds. In Captain Hutchinson, Boston lost one of its most worthy inhabitants; one always forward in that kind of public service, in which duty to his country, and not the emoluments of office, guided his actions. After the siege of Brookfield was raised by a force under Major Simon Willard, Captain Hutchinson was removed to Marlborough, where he died on the nineteenth of the month, seventeen days after he was wounded.†

One of the eight men who were killed in the first attack was Zechariah Philips, also of Boston. That any escaped from that perilous onset, is matter of surprise, and is said to have been owing to the Indian guides, who conducted the English in an unaccustomed path to Brookfield. There were three of those guides, one of whom was made prisoner by the enemy.‡

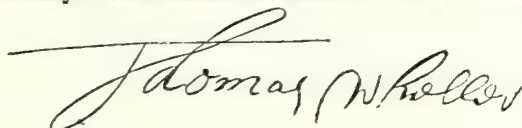
Aug. 4. Before the enemy were driven from Brookfield they burned all the houses except one, into which the inhabitants were crowded. This, but for the timely arrival of Major Willard, just mentioned, would also have fallen into their hands in a short time.

prisoned some time; but, on a requisition from Massachusetts, he was brought to Boston and shot. Gookin writes his name Potucke. In the OLD INDIAN CHRONICLE it is written Potucke and Potuck, and by Hubbard, Potock. — See *Postea*.

* He was shot through his body, and his horse killed under him, but was preserved by the extraordinary bravery of his son Thomas; also wounded, his arm broken. Yet, seeing the peril of his father, he dismounted and succeeded in mounting his father upon his own horse, and both escaped. This Capt. Wheeler I believe to be the same once the owner of the Point still bearing his name. He was of Concord at this time, having gone there recently. The annexed fac simile is from

CAPTAIN EDWARD HUTCHINSON,
AGED 62 YEARS,
WAS SHOT BY
TREACHEROUS INDIANS,
AUGUST 2. 1675.
DIED 12 AUGUST,
1675.

It will be observed that, by the inscription, Capt. Hutchinson died seven days earlier than he did according to the published accounts. The date on the stone is probably wrong, owing perhaps, to its not having been put on till some time after his interment. I am indebted to Mr. JOHN H. DEXTER of Boston for the copy of the inscription.




an original paper of this year. Capt. Wheeler published a Narrative of this affair, and also of the siege of Brookfield, the same year of their occurrence. It is now of extreme rarity, but may be found reprinted in the *Colls. of the N. H. Hist. Soc.*, vol. ii.

† A small plain stone marks the place where the body of Capt. Hutchinson was buried; on which is the following inscription:

‡ This disaster, and the alarming state of the country, occasioned a Fast, which "was ordered by the Old Church (of which the Governor is a member), being lecture-day at Boston, and at the contribution there was collected £69, which was for the distressed families' relief." And on the following Wednesday, August 11th, another Fast was kept by Mr. Mather's Church, and a contribution taken on the same account, which amounted to £68.—Tract of the time in the *Old Indian Chronicle*.

Philip had now arrived in the vicinity, and the besiegers met him in a great swamp not far from Brookfield. There he distributed a quantity of wampum to the principal chiefs, and congratulated them on their successes.

Meanwhile, messengers were sent from Boston to Uncas, Chief of the Mohegans, to solicit his assistance against the hostile tribes. He complied readily with the requisition, and in a few days the messengers returned, having with them three of the sons of Uncas, and about sixty Mohegan warriors. These were soon distributed under the different English Captains, and rendered effectual service against the enemy.

A few days before this a depredation was attempted in the very neighborhood of Boston. An Indian came to the house of John Minot,* in Dorchester, on a Sunday, while all the family were at meeting, except a servant girl, and two small children. The girl had taken the precaution to bar the door, and when the Indian found he could not readily enter that way, he shot off his gun several times into the house; but the girl having secured the children under two brass kettles, ran up into the chamber, charged a gun which was there, fired upon the Indian, and wounded him in the shoulder. He then broke through a window, but when he had crawled partly into the house, the young heroine met him with a shovel of burning coals, which she applied to his face, and this decided the victory in her favor. The Indian escaped, but was found dead in the woods not far off in a short time after. †

Aug. 26. Capt. Thomas Lothrop and Capt. Richard Beers, with about one hundred men, met a large body of Indians near Northfield, and a sharp skirmish ensued, in which twenty-six of the former and ten of the latter were killed. ‡

* In the *Genealogical Register*, i., 172, the Author of the *Minot Genealogy* says this affair took place at the house of a John Minot, who died in 1669, which cannot be true. If the Minot's name were John, he could have been no other than the John who married Elizabeth Breck, as he lived till 1690.

The house which was the scene of this tragedy was recently standing, and has been pointed out to the writer. It is about five miles from Boston, on the turnpike leading from South Boston to Milton.

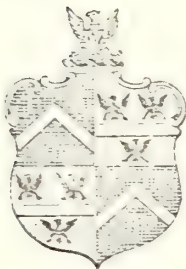
† Aug. 25th. There was a fast at Charlestown, "whereto several of Boston went." A

contribution was made, which resulted in a collection of £78.

‡ Capt. Beers had been in New England forty-five years; "an inhabitant of this jurisdiction ever since the first beginning thereof." He served in the Pequot war; "in two several designs;" "hath many children, and hitherto not any land of the country and of the Town but one acre and a half besides that he hath purchased."—*Petition of 1661. MS.* He was of Watertown. There is an account of the Beers family in Hinman's *Catalogue of Puritan Settlers*.

CHAPTER XLIV.

Philip's War continued. — Relative Condition of the contending Parties. — Christian or Praying Indians. — Destructive Tempest. — Defeat and Death of Capt. Beers. — Jury for trying Indian Captives. — Deportation of Indians from Ninigret. — One seized and hanged. — Others shot by Capt. Mosley's order. — The Mob threaten to murder Prisoners. — Spirited Course of Capt. Oliver. — Quakers punished for refusing to serve in the War. — Defeat and Death of Capt. Lothrop. — An Execution. — Capt. Appleton's Services. — Burning of Springfield. — Hatfield attacked. — Maj. Pyncheon recommends Winter Expeditions. — A large Force ordered to be raised. — Narraganset Chiefs come to Boston and make a Treaty. — Expedition against Narraganset. — A strong Fort. — It is attacked. — The first that entered it discovered. — It is taken. — The killed and wounded.



MOSLEY.*

UPON the whole, thus far, the Indians had almost continued success; but the summer, so favorable to their circumstances, was soon to be ended, and the war had afforded them but small opportunities to provide for the winter. The march of large bodies of the English from place to place during the summer gave them fine chances for capital exploits. They had no baggage trains to guard. The surrounding wilderness during half the year afforded them all the provisions they required; and, as though that season never could end, they laughed and mocked at the snail-like movements of their adversary. By their spies they could often ascertain the points of destination of a body of troops, and with celerity would assemble a formidable number of their companions in some favorable pass among the hills and swamps, and fall upon their pursuers at great advantage.

The Christian Indians had not yet been generally taken into the service of the English, and they became daily more and more exposed to the worst afflictions from both parties. The Indians who attacked Lothrop and Beers were considered to belong to the Praying Indians, but they were far removed from the other communities, and Philip had probably prevailed with them to enter into the war on his side. To prevent other

Christian Indians from a like proceeding, the Council at Boston Aug. 30. sent forth a proclamation forbidding them to go more than a mile from their villages unless accompanied by an Englishman. The resi-

* Arms, — Quarterly, first and fourth sa., and County Palatine of Lancaster. That a chevron between three pick-axes, ar.; Capt. Samuel Mosley was a branch of this second and third or, a fess, between three eaglets family there is not much question. Branches displayed, sa. — Crest, — On a wreath an eagle were allied with the Saltonstalls, Davenports, displayed ermine. — Such was the arms of Whitmores, and other names equally well Moseley of Hough's End, parish of Manchester, known in New England.

dences or towns of these Indians at that time were "Natick, Punkapaog, Nashoba, Wamesit, and Hassanamesit."*

Two days before this, there was witnessed at Boston "one of the most violent storms of wind and rain hitherto known." The Indians gave out that it was caused by their Powwows.†

Sept. 3. Lancaster, Northampton, Deerfield and Northfield, had already suffered at the hands of the enemy. Captain Beers, with a small company of about thirty-six men, was cut off at the last named place; but very few escaping. Among the feeble settlements at the

Sept. 9. eastward the work of death was going on also. In the mean time, a few Praying and other Indians had been captured and were in prison in Boston, and the following named gentlemen were chosen by the Town to sit as jurors at their trial; namely, "Capt.

James Oliver, Mr. Thomas Deane, Mr. James Whitcombe, Ens. Richard Woody, and Mr. John Fairweather."‡ The day following an embassy came to Boston from Ninigret, consisting of eight of his men.

Sept. 10. They brought a letter from Capt. Richard Smith, of Narraganset, which was their protection. They came, it appears, to offer the services of the Niantics to the English in the war. Having finished their mission, a pass was given them by the Authorities, and they were dismissed. As the populace were much enraged against all Indians, the ambassadors of Ninigret fixed their pass upon a staff, that it might be seen at a distance. In proceeding out of town two men came up and seized the man who held up the pass, and dragged him away to prison. The two men were brothers, and, at the trial of the Indian two days

Sept. 12. after, they made oath that he had been fighting under Philip against the English, and that they knew him to be the man who had killed their brother. On this testimony he was hanged. In the course of Captain Mosley's excursions with his Boston Company, he took prisoners two Praying Indians, who, by examinations, he found to have been among those who killed Captain Hutchinson at Wickabaug pond; whereupon they were both shot. This was "towards the latter end of August." About the same time Mosley sent into Boston eight other Christian Indians, who were tried for their lives. Against these nothing seems to have been proved, but the populace were greatly enraged when they learned they were to be set at liberty, and a mob was collected to break open the prison and murder the prisoners. Captain

* Major Gookin, the Governor of the Praying Indians, and well acquainted with most of them personally, as well as their places of residence, gives the names of the latter as follow:—"Wamesit [formerly in Chelmsford, now chiefly included in Lowell]; Okkokonimesit [Marlborough]; Hassanamesit, [Grafton]; Makunkokoag [Hopkinson]; Natick [still so named]; and Punkapaog alias Pakomit [Stoughton]". The whole number of Indians in these places did not probably exceed 450, or 500 souls.

† "It blew up many ships together that they

bulged one another; some up towards Cambridge, some to Muddy river, doing much hurt to very many; also it broke down many wharfs, and blew down some houses thereupon."—Tract of the time in the *Old Indian Chronicle*, p. 30.

‡ Mr. David Anderson and Mr. Thomas Tucker were chosen by Charlestown; John Bowles, Senr. and Mr. Thomas Gore by Roxbury; William Summer and Richard Baker for Dorchester; and Joseph Tantor and Cor. William Bond for Watertown.—*From an original paper in the Mass. Archives*

Gookin was one of the Judges. Against him much abuse was directed. Mr. Eliot came in for a share also ; but he was only an advocate for the accused, and consequently was less offensive. The mob mistaking Captain Oliver to be on their side, by something which he said, or was reported to have said, they therefore went to his house about Sept. 10. nine of the clock in the evening, and requested him to lead them in breaking open the Jail. Whereupon the Captain, taking his cane, "cudgelled them stoutly." This damped their ardor for prison-breaking for the present, but such was the clamor and rage of the people, that, to quiet them, one of the Indians was given up and executed, and in a manner so revolting, that, were the truth alone related, the reader's belief might be confounded.

Early in September another company, composed chiefly of Boston men, was despatched against the Indians, under Capt. Daniel Henchman. For some cause not explained, when these soldiers arrived in Roxbury they refused to proceed under that officer, and the Council sent Capt. Thomas Lake to take his place. Nothing further appears respecting the movements of this Company.*

Several of the inhabitants of Boston, "some whereof were Quakers," refusing to bear arms in the country's service, were punished by being compelled "to run the gauntlet." Efforts had been made to keep a large force in the field, and complaints were loud from those in actual service, and their families and friends at home, against the Quakers, and all such as endeavored to avoid military duty, whether from scruples of conscience or any other cause. This may have led to the barbarous and ignominious punishment above mentioned. However, there were, by the end of August, probably not less than about six hundred horse and foot of Massachusetts men in the dangerous service of hunting Indians in the surrounding wilderness.

Notwithstanding this force was comparatively large for that time, yet it could not prevent the recurrence of many fatal disasters. Captain

Sept. 18. Lothrop, who had fought with Captain Beers at Northfield, was ambushed, and attacked in the furious manner of the Indians, on his march at Deerfield, and with about ninety men, "the flower of Essex county," slain, with almost his whole company.† The next day a party attacked Deerfield, but with small success.

Sept. 21. Captain Mosley having sent to Boston five Christian Indians, prisoners, under the charge of Cornelius Consert, they were ordered to be delivered to Mr. Samuel Shrimpton, to be employed on

* The objection to Capt. Henchman at this time may have arisen from his efforts to prevent violence to the Indian prisoners. He was continued in the service, and was in such favor with the Council and other members of the Government, that, at the close of the war, on his request to be allowed to resign his commission, they refused to receive it. This request was made Sept. 6th, 1676, from which the accompanying signature is copied.

Henchman.

† Capt. Lothrop belonged to Beverley, and had done exploits in the Pequot war. — *Letter from Boston*, dated 28th Dec., 1675. *Harleian Miscel.*, v. p. 400, 4to ed.

Noddle's Island; "he returning them to the order of the Council."

On the next day, an Indian, named Little John, was hanged in
 Sept. 22. Boston for shooting one Stoughton at Taunton.

The frontier along the Connecticut river being in great danger and alarm, since the defeat of Captain Lothrop, the General Court commissioned Mr. Samuel Appleton, one of its members, to command a company of one hundred men, and to lead them into that remote region. He proceeded at once to the relief of the distressed settlements, and was soon after appointed Commander-in-Chief in those parts; * Major John Pinchon not being able to attend to the service.

Taking advantage of the absence of the soldiers from Springfield, a numerous body of the enemy fell upon and burnt the greater part of that town, — thirty dwelling-houses and about twenty-five barns, the mills and other buildings, and killed several people. Fearing the towns below would next be attempted, Major Appleton

fixed his head-quarters at Hadley; Captain Mosley and Captain Jonathan Poole† were stationed at Hatfield, and Major Treat, of the Connecticut forces, at Northampton. Suddenly, in the evening of the nineteenth of October, seven or eight hundred of the enemy made an attack upon the former place. After killing several of Captain Mosley's men who were upon an outpost, and cutting off a scout, they entered that end of the town where the Commander-in-Chief was, who, with great courage and resolution, drove them out with loss, while Captain Poole succeeded in forcing them to retire from the other end, where he was posted. In this affair Major Appleton narrowly escaped with his life; a bullet passed through the hair of his head,† and one of his sergeants, Freegrace Norton, was mortally wounded by his side.

From this time till the next spring there was not much trouble given to the western settlements; the enemy thinking it time, perhaps, to provide a winter's retreat and means of support. However, some continued about Northampton, waylaying the people as they went

into their fields, killing several, and burning four or five houses. Two days before, they killed three of the inhabitants of Westfield.

In a letter of Major Pynchon to the Council, early in October, he recommended falling upon the enemy in the winter; having seen that

* The accompanying Autograph of Major name of "Capt. Jonathan Poole" is found Appleton is copied from a letter which he upon the Treasurer's books of the Colony, as wrote while in command on the Connecticut. having served in Philip's war.

Samuel Appleton.

Jonathan Poole

† I have conjecturally supplied Capt. Poole's Christian name. The General Court, 8: 4: 1671, appointed "Jonathan Poole Quartermaster to the troops commanded by Capt. Edward Hutchinson." I have supposed Capt. Poole of 1675 to be the same person. The

† "By that whisper telling him," says Hubbard, "that Death was very near, but did him no other harm." — *Narrative*, 43. Ten of the English were killed, while the loss of the Indians could not be known, as they carried off their killed and wounded.

little could be effected against them in the summer, and that they must of necessity be more confined to certain localities in the time of frost and snow. Accordingly, when the Commissioners of the United Colonies met at Boston, it was agreed that one thousand men should be raised, in addition to those already in the service; and that they should be in readiness to march "att one houres warning"; that as the Narragansets had not delivered up the Wampanoags, according to treaty, an army should march into their country, and proceed against them as enemies. Over this force Governor Josiah Winslow, of Plymouth, was appointed Commander-in-Chief. Of the thousand men, Massachusetts was to furnish 527, Plymouth 158, and Connecticut 315.

It is remarked that the winter came on much earlier this year than usual, and it was pretty soon ascertained that the Indians had chosen for their retreat a dismal swamp in the Narraganset country. There they had laid in a large amount of provisions of various kinds for the winter. On an island of several acres they had erected a strong fortification by felled trees. Within this were their wigwams and provisions, and there were collected, as was judged, two or three thousand Indians of both sexes, old and young.

Before the meeting of the Commissioners just mentioned, the Authorities at Boston had sent messengers to Narraganset to ascertain how the Chiefs appeared disposed, and to invite them to Boston to confer with them upon the state of affairs. Soon after, four Chiefs came to Boston accordingly, and executed a treaty. By this they confirmed that of Pettyquanscot, made in the beginning of the war; they agreed also that in ten days they would deliver at Boston all those Indians who were fled to them, and who had been in hostility against the English. The signers of this treaty were the great Chiefs Quanonchett,* or Canonchet, Mamatanoo, Ahanmanpowet, and Cornman, on the behalf of Ninigret. Richard Smith, James Browne, Samuel Gorton, Junior, and John Nowhenetts, were witnesses. The two last were interpreters.†

As might have been, and probably was, expected by the English, no part of the treaty was observed. Therefore, on the tenth of December,

* Believed to have been the greatest Chief then living among the Narragansets. He was son of the unfortunate Miantonimo, and was sometimes called Nanuntenoo. Whether he and his companions understood the nature of the treaty which they executed at this time may admit of question. For it was next to an impossibility for them to have surrendered the Wampanoags if they had really been disposed to do so. However, they were accused of the worst kind of treachery for not performing their engagements. And when, in the following April, Nanuntenoo was taken prisoner by the Connecticut army, his captors taunted him with breaking his promise to deliver up the Wampanoags, he indignantly replied, "I will never deliver up a Wampanoag, nor the paring of a Wampanoag's nail to Englishmen." And when told that then he should be put to death, he replied, "I like it well. I shall die before my heart is soft, or have said anything unworthy of myself." He was not long after shot at Stonington, and his body shared the ignominious fate of that of King Philip.

† Calls for help from the inhabitants upon the Pascataqua were at this time very urgent, and Governor Leverett issued an order, that, "William Walderne hath liberty for a berrell of powder and eight gones to carry to the Eastward." It was dated 28 Oct., 1675. — *Original Paper.*

Dec. 10. seven companies of foot and horse marched from Boston for the Narraganset country. Over these, Major Appleton had the chief command. The general rendezvous was at Capt. Richard Smith's, and here the forces all assembled from the three colonies, and on the eighteenth of December marched for the Indian fort, intending to quarter at night at the garrison of Mr. Jerah Bull; but that had been taken by the enemy two days before, and all the people slain, seventeen in number. So "there was no shelter left, either for officer or private soldier," and they were obliged to march on through a deep snow, still falling, and the weather was extremely cold; "finding no other defence all that night, save the open air, nor other covering than a cold, moist fleece of snow." At one of the clock the next day they came to the fort, and after three or four hours of hard fighting, succeeded in taking it, and putting the Indians to flight. There was but one entrance into it, and that was on a long tree, so felled as to reach from the upland outside to the breastwork; and this entrance was defended by a sort of block-house in front, and flankers on each side of it. When the English came to the place, the men would not be restrained, but rushed on without waiting for the word of command, and a soldier, named John Raymond, of Middleborough, was the first to enter the fort.*

The army, coming suddenly upon the enemy, "had no time either to draw up in any order or form of battle, nor yet opportunity to consult where or how to assault." However, the Boston men led the van, and Mosley was the first captain who succeeded in scaling the Indian breastwork. To attack even Indians under such circumstances, was to rush into the very jaws of death. Of the seven Massachusetts captains, three were killed; namely, Captain Isaac Johnson of Roxbury, Captain Joseph Gardner of Salem, and Captain Nathaniel Davenport of Boston. The first named was shot dead upon the tree, as he was undauntedly leading on his men; and the last was mortally wounded after he had entered the fort; receiving at once three fatal wounds.† Before he expired, he called Mr. Edward Tyng, his lieutenant, to him, gave him his gun in charge, and committed to him the command of his company, and immediately died. Being dressed in a full buff suit, it was supposed the Indians took him for the Commander-in-Chief, and many aimed at him at once. Tyng was wounded in the course of the fight, but recovered. Captain Davenport's men were extremely grieved at the death of their leader; he having, by his courteous carriage much

* This John Raymond, or Rayment, survived the fight. A son of his, also named John, received from the General Court a grant of land in consideration of his father's services in that desperate enterprise. The family removed from Middleborough, it is believed, and the name was not for many years known there, and perhaps not since the removal of this family.

† From a document in the Mass. Archives, drawn up 4 December preceding, the accompanying copy of Capt. Davenport's Autograph is obtained.

Nathl Davenport

attached them to himself, although he was a stranger to the most of them when he was appointed their captain. On which occasion he made "a very civil speech," and allowed them to choose their sergeants themselves. Lieut. Jeremiah Swain, of Major Appleton's company, was also wounded, as was also Phineas Upham, lieutenant to Captain Johnson, mortally, though he survived several months; and Lieut. Perez Savage, the same wounded in the beginning of the war.

The number of Indians slain in this sanguinary battle was never accurately known; but, according to the best Historian of the time,* they "lost seven hundred fighting men, besides three hundred that died of their wounds: the number of old men, women and children, that perished either by fire, or that were starved with hunger and cold, none of them could tell." This was "confessed by Potock, a great Counsellor amongst them, afterwards taken at Rhode Island and put to death at Boston. There were above eighty of the English slain, and a hundred and fifty wounded that recovered afterwards."†

* The Rev. William Hubbard, in his *Narrative*, p. 54. That eminent gentleman's autograph, being of rare occurrence, is copied here.

William Hubbard.

† This estimate is probably too low, as by papers in the *Massachusetts Archives* it appears that 96 were killed and wounded of the Massachusetts forces. As a complete list of them has never been printed, one here follows:—

"Soldiers killed and wounded at the battle of Narraganset Fort."

Of Major Appleton's company:—Samuel Taylor of Ipswich, Isaac Hely [Ellery?], Gloucester; Daniel Rolfe, Newbury; Samuel Taylor, Rowley; *slain, four*. Lieut. Jeremiah Swain, Reading; Roger Marks, Andover; Isaac Hsley, William Standley, Daniel Somersby, Jonathan Emery, John Harvey, Newbury; John Dutton, George Timson, Thomas Stone of Ipswich; Symon Cowen, of Rowley; Benjamin Webster, Salem; Elijah Thathan, Woburn; Thomas Abey, Wenham; Benjamin Langdon, Boston; Solomon Watts, Roxbury; John Warner, Charlestown; Samuel Bouterick, Cambridge; *wounded, eighteen*, and left at Rhode Island, except Lieut. Swain and Roger Marks.

Of Capt. Mosley's company:—John Farmer, Richard Barnam, Jerre Stockes, of Boston; William Bourle, Charlestown; Edmund Chamberlaine, Malden; Richard Updick, Narraganset; *slain, six*. Lieut. Perez Savage, John Brandon, Boston; John Sherman, Watertown; James Updick, Boston; James Chadwick, Malden; John Fuller, Dedham; John Shephard, Jacob Coole, Charlestown; Richard Addams, Sudbury; *wounded, nine*. Five left at Rhode Island to attend the wounded, namely, Samuel Fordich, Thomas Weales, James Dighton, Joseph Low, and Joshua Silverwood; to whom no residences are assigned.

Of Capt. Oliver's Company:—Thomas Broune for Paul Bat, Alexander Forbes, Splende Dreror, servant to Daniel Turner, Jr., James Thomas, Henry Hall for Mr. [Peter?] Ligett, of Boston; *slain, five*, except Henry Hall, who is set down as *lost*. Sergt. Peter Bennet, Sergt. [Henry] Timberley [Timberlake in the Treasurer's books], James Lendall, William Kemble, servant to John Cleer, Ezekiel Gilman, Mark Rounds, servant to Henry Kemble, Alexander Bogell, Boston; John Casey, servant to Thomas Gardner, Muddy River; *wounded, eight*, seven of whom were left at R. Island.

Of Capt. Davenport's Company:—Capt. Nathaniel Davenport, Sergt. Theodore Atkinson, Boston; George Howard, Concord; John Hagar, Watertown; *killed, four*. Samuel Swayn, Samuel Read, Cambridge; Samuel Stocker, Medford; Nathaniel Hely, Isaac Learned, Watertown; Thomas Browne, Abraham Temple, Concord; David Batchelor, Reading; Caleb Symonds, John Barker, Zachary Snow, Woburn; *wounded, eleven*.

Of Capt. Johnson's Company:—Capt. Isaac Johnson, Roxbury; Thomas Danfort, Dorchester; Jonathan Pitcher, ———; Allen Duglen, Weymouth; *killed, four*. John Watson, Wm. Linckorn, Roxbury; John Spur, Dorchester; Benjamin Crane, Milton; John Langley, John Taxton [Thaxter?], John Bull, Hingham; Isaac King, Weymouth; Lieut. Phineas Upham, Malden; *wounded, eight*, and were at Rhode Island, 6 Jan. 1675-6.

Of Capt. Gardiner's Company:—Joseph Price [?], Samuel Pikeworth, Salem; Mark Batchiler, Wenham; *killed, three*, on their march before they arrived at the fort; Capt. Joseph Gardiner, Salem; Abra Switchell, Marblehead; Joseph Soames, Cape Anne; Robert Andrews, Topsfield; *killed, four*, at the fort. Charles Knight, Thomas Flint, Joseph Holeyton, Salem; Nicholas Hakens, John Farrington, Lynn;

This was the first, or by far the greatest blow they had received since the war began. Their aged and wise men, and Counsellors, as well as a vast number of their warriors, were in this encounter cut off. Nor did their misfortunes end here. Their store-houses and their stores perished with them. Despair and desperation were depicted in their countenances; famine and the severities of a long winter stared them in the face.

The bravery displayed by the English soldiers at the Narraganset fort fight has many parallels, but none superior in the records of history. All the three colonies were well represented in it, and there is nothing to the discredit of either to be met with in the often-written story. The soldiers of each colony seem to have vied with the others in sharing its hazards as well as its glories. On casting an eye upon the lists of the officers, it will be seen that those of Connecticut and Plymouth suffered about equally with those of Massachusetts. Of the former, Capt. John Gallop, of New London, Capt. Samuel Marshall, of Windsor, and Capt. Robert Seely, of Stratford, were killed in the engagement; Capt. William Bradford, of Plymouth, was wounded by a musket-ball, which, he carried in his body ever after; Capt. John Gorham, of Barnstable, who, though he escaped the arrows of the enemy, died of a fever, occasioned by the hardships of the expedition; and, the afterwards celebrated Captain Church, a volunteer in the staff of General Winslow, was severely wounded

Robert Cocks, Marblehead; Eben Baker, Joseph Abbot, Andover; Edward Hardin, Cape Anne; Christopher Read, Beverly; *wounded, ten.*

Of Capt. Prentice's Troop: — John Wyman, [no residence given] *slain*; Nathaniel Richardson, Nathaniel Belius, [Billings¹] Woburn; Samuel Stone, Cambridge; *wounded, three.*

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